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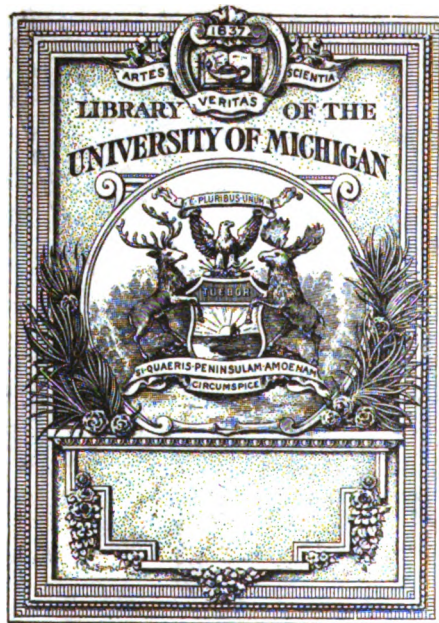
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# *Annals of Iowa*

Iowa, Division of Historical Museum and Archives, State Historical  
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# THE ANNALS OF IOWA.

A HISTORICAL QUARTERLY.

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VOLUME FIVE—THIRD SERIES.

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EDITED BY

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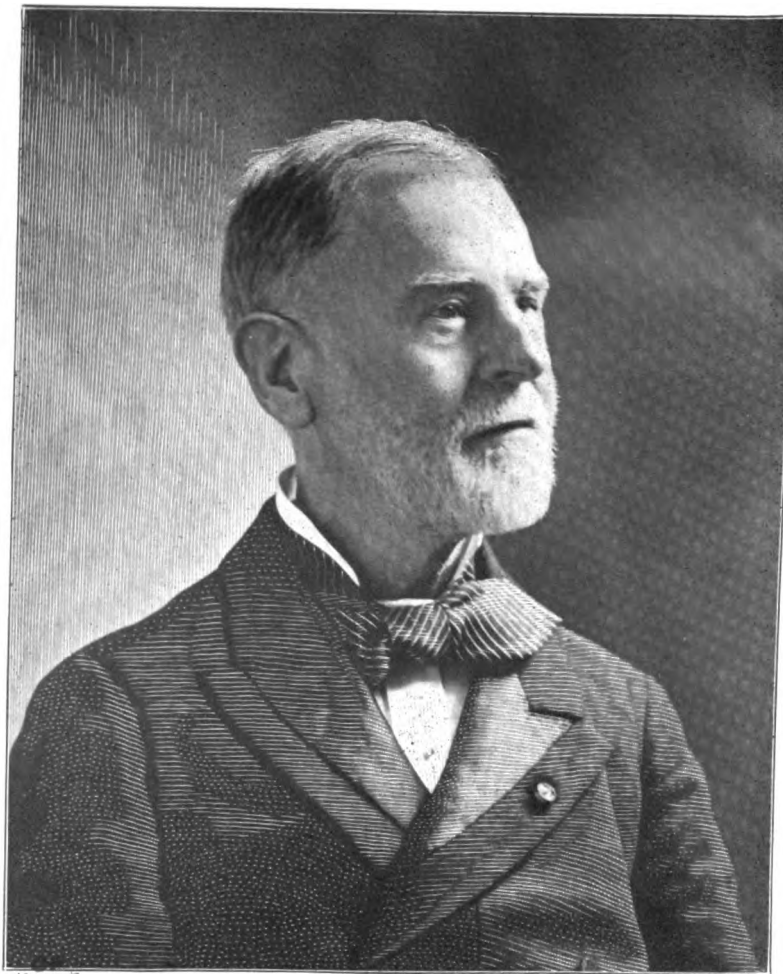
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*Hoyt Sherman*

MAJOR HOYT SHERMAN.

# ANNALS OF IOWA.

VOL. V, No. 1.

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3D SERIES.

## EARLY BANKING IN IOWA.

BY MAJOR HOYT SHERMAN.\*

In the early fifties of the last century, business of all kinds was conducted in the then frontier State of Iowa in a very different manner from what it now is. At the time referred to, drawing a line from McGregor, Clayton county, on the northeast border of the State, southwestwardly to Center-ville, the capital of the "Hairy Nation," three-fourths of the population of the State lived east of that line. All west and northwest was the boundless and almost unexplored prairie, through which the streams, fringed with groves of timber, flowed toward the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. Stretched along these streams, and keeping under the friendly shelter of the groves, were the homes of the few enterprising pioneers, who were all hoping, and patiently waiting, for the "good time coming," when they would have neighbors,

\*Maj. Hoyt Sherman was born at Lancaster, Ohio, Nov. 1, 1827, the youngest brother of General William T. and Hon. John Sherman. Until he was eighteen years of age his time was divided between school and printing office. He came west in the spring of 1848 and settled in Des Moines, where he has since resided. The following year he was admitted to the bar. Alert, active and obliging, his services were in demand in various public capacities in the early days of the future capital city. He held the offices of school fund commissioner, clerk of the district court and post-master, resigning the latter place in 1853. In 1854 he became the head of the widely known banking house of Hoyt Sherman & Co. When the law of 1858 went into effect he took a prominent part in organizing the old State Bank of Iowa, which fills such an important place in our financial history, serving also as cashier of the Des Moines branch. Early in the civil war he was appointed paymaster, with the rank of Major, in which capacity he served three years. On retiring from the army he engaged for a time in mercantile pursuits. He was also one of the founders and long the general manager of the Equitable Life Insurance Company of Iowa. He has been active in general charitable work, and for many years was at the head of the Associated Charities of Des Moines. His recollections of Iowa and Western banking will be concluded in our next number.—EDITOR OF THE ANNALS.

schools, churches, roads, and all the usual comforts of a western civilization. There were no railroads in those days, no telegraphs, no telephones, no pools or differentials, or traffic managers, or railroad commissioners, or any other of the complicated machinery of modern transportation. All freight to towns on the Mississippi river was transported by steamboats, and to the counties back of the river by the old familiar two-horse team, or the equally familiar, though slower, three and four yokes of oxen. There was no surplus product of any kind to market, as everything raised by the settler in excess of his own simple wants was required by the new comer, until he had time to raise his own crop. The keeper of the general store had his bank account in an old stocking, or hair trunk, and as he was about the only man who had money, it was, of course, decidedly poor picking for the regular banker of those days. They were few in number, and were all located in the river towns. Their names were: Charles Parsons, of Keokuk; Coolbaugh & Brooks, of Burlington; Green & Stone, of Muscatine; Cook & Sergeant, of Davenport; W. J. Barney & Co., and Langworthy Bros., of Dubuque.

One of the leading transactions of the banker of that day, in fact the leading one over-riding all others in number and profit, was that of "entering land on time;" that is, purchasing from the government a tract of land, previously selected by the settler or speculator, at the regular rate of \$1.25 per acre, and selling it to him on one year's credit, at \$1.75 an acre; that meant *forty per cent. interest*. From two and one-half to three per cent. per month was the current rate of interest, but in transactions of this character forty per cent. was paid, because it figured out even change, and because the customer could stand it. That rate of interest obtained for several years in the central and western parts of the State, and could be safely paid by land dealers. It was only occasionally that a regular bank discount was applied for at that rate of interest, and then while the customer received

very little money on his discount, he had an abundance of sympathy.

Back from the river towns a few enterprising men and firms called themselves bankers, because it helped them in the purchase of land warrants in the eastern cities, and looked well on their printed letter-heads. Their principal business, however, was "entering land on time," and buying government land for non-resident investors and speculators. A business call on them, at that time, for a New York draft or a discount would have been received with a stare of astonishment, or treated as a feeble joke. Many of these same men, a few years later, became legitimate bankers by gradual development from their land business, and thus were the founders of prosperous and well established banks in existence today. Those were the days, too, of Jacksonian principles in Iowa, for we had no banks of issue. The circulating medium was of many varieties—in gold, American coin, English sovereigns, French twenty-franc pieces, and an occasional Spanish doubloon. In silver, Spanish milled dollars and quarters, Mexican dollars, and French five-franc pieces—the latter very plenty and current for ninety-five cents. In paper money, principally notes of the State Bank of Ohio, Indiana and Bank of Missouri; all solid and well founded in public confidence. Besides these a small quantity of eastern bank notes were in limited circulation, but were looked upon with suspicion because so far away from the place of issue. The United States land offices were the busy places, where large money transactions were made in the purchase of government lands; and as only American coin would be received there in payment for the public domain, those offices absorbed all the supply; and in fact at times the premium for American gold became so great it was a decidedly profitable business for bankers to deal in it as a kind of merchandise. Emigrants and speculators from the far eastern states, attracted by the marvelous and but little exaggerated stories of the rich and bountiful soil to be



bought of the government at a nominal price, would come out with drafts on New York, Boston or Philadelphia banks, (fearing to assume the risk of carrying large sums in coin,) and exchange their drafts at a heavy discount for gold with which to make their purchases of the government, the price then of the richest and most productive land in the world, in an excellent climate, and in a State with a promise of a marvelous growth, being only \$1.25 per acre; the added discount to convert their drafts or eastern bank notes into coin was the merest trifle to them, while it gave to the bankers an important source of profit. These bankers not only realized the premiums on the sale of gold coin, but the drafts or eastern bank notes were in the best possible shape for use in renewing their supply of coin, and in making the exchange called for by their mercantile customers.

While the Mississippi and Ohio rivers were the only arteries of commerce through the great central west, nearly all the purchases by merchants for local markets were made in Cincinnati and St. Louis; and the notes of the western banks named were used by the bankers to keep up their accounts and furnish exchange to customers. The above recited branches of business, short lines of legitimate discount, and an occasional speculative flyer, constituted the current transactions of the banking houses above named.

While these houses were plodding along in a quiet, conservative way, a marvelous change was going on in the "back counties." The numerous land agencies, of which nearly every little county seat had one or more, were passing through a transition state from mere agents for the sale of land warrants and entry of lands, into full-fledged banking houses, with very crude ideas of what constituted banking; but with a realizing knowledge that their occupation of entering lands was gone, they started in with a calm assurance of success, and adopted practices that set at defiance every known law or usage of banking. The sale of exchange, care of deposits, discounts and collections, all afforded too little

business in themselves to furnish even a modest living, and their time was pieced out by acting as a real estate agent, a conveyancer, practicing law, serving as justice of the peace, a notary public, keeping a general store, or other branch of trade or profession, according to the taste of the individual banker, or the needs of trade. Tradition has it that in one case the striped pole of the barber was placed alongside the sign of the banker, both professions being represented by one individual, who could thus give his customers literally "a double shave." So that the profession of banker in those early days covered almost every other calling or occupation by which a scanty living could be eked out.

But while this large class of newly fledged bankers were putting themselves in shape for future operations, events were occurring in other States that tended to make their path in business anything but rosy, and which for the time being completely revolutionized all past experience with the circulating medium of the country. The States of Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin inaugurated the system of free banking, granting to private corporations the privilege of issuing bank notes to circulate as money, based only on the security of a deposit of state bonds with a state official. It was literally "*free banking*," everything relating to the organization of a bank of issue being of the simplest character. The corporation could be formed by two or more individuals, by signing a few printed blanks, involving little or no expense;—no inquiry into the standing or character of the men behind the enterprise—(a convict was as good a subject to incorporate as the honest and tried citizen). The location could as well be an obscure cross-roads village of one hundred inhabitants, as a city of large commercial importance—in fact, the more obscure the town, and the more inaccessible and remote from ordinary routes of travel, the greater the difficulty of returning notes to it for redemption, and therefore, in point of fact, the more desirable location in the judgment of the promoters of the enterprise. All ordinary

barriers that prudent legislators build around great privileges of that character, to protect the public from loss and imposition, were in this case omitted; and any individual, man or woman, who could muster up money or credit enough to get hold of \$25,000 of Arkansas, Mississippi or other depreciated state bonds, could start up a shin-plaster mill, and deluge the public with the miserable stuff; even residence at the location of the so-called bank not being required of its proprietor. The first move of the projectors of these wild-cat institutions, after getting their bank notes ready, was to find a locality in which to circulate them remote from the point of issue, so that their return for redemption should be as tedious and difficult as possible. Iowa was an excellent field for these fellows to operate in. It had but meager facilities for handling bank notes through express companies; banking machinery for the return of this worthless stuff was not as well organized as in older communities; and besides, all money was scarce and in great demand; and a number of bankers yielded to the temptation held out to them by these free bank operators, and took their currency for circulation in their respective neighborhoods. Some of the inducements held out to bankers to handle this stuff were, either the use of it three or six months without interest, or as a loan in larger sums and for a longer time at a nominal rate of interest, the consideration on the part of the borrower being the guarantee to give it a good circulation—that is, to scatter it out so that it would not return to point of issue for redemption in a long time; or if any of it did by chance go in, to pay cost of its redemption. A few of the banks organized under this system were legitimate concerns, and the notes issued by them well secured and of par value; but the greater number were essentially wild-cat in character, located at inaccessible points; and in fact the value of the circulation depended entirely on the worth of the state bonds deposited as security, which were mostly those of southern states, some of very questionable value because of repudiation in the past, and all





A COUNTERFEIT \$10 BILL OF THE STATE BANK OF INDIANA.

In the early '50s, before the "panic of 1857," all reputable banks of general circulation had their notes counterfeited by dishonest men, skilful in some one branch of steel plate engraving. The above "bogus" \$10 bill of the State Bank of Indiana, is a fair sample of that kind of work, the true character of which was quickly detected when it came into the hands of a skilful bank cashier or teller; but as long as it was kept away from banks, and in the hands of farmers, mechanics and others not experienced in handling bank notes, was readily passed from hand to hand as genuine paper money.

subject to fluctuation in price in the eastern markets, as about the only demand for them was as a basis on which to found these paper mills.

This kind of bank notes formed the bulk of the circulating medium in Iowa for several years, and one of the difficult problems to be solved by the fresh, inexperienced bankers of those days, who had to receive this kind of money from their customers, was how to keep it circulating so that it would not die or fail on their hands. To add still further to the complication, some of our own bankers, acting perhaps on the theory of self-defense, applied to an easy-going legislature of the then territory of Nebraska for bank charters, with privilege of issuing circulating notes, and those issues were based on personal credit alone—not even going through the form of security deposited with state officials—and were shoved out freely to a good natured public, who in turn shoved it over to their fresh bankers for safe keeping, and return in something better. It was a queer mess of stuff that floated around as money in that early day, and the banker who handled it had to keep himself posted, not only as to its quotable mark in the *Bank-Note Reporter*, but it was also necessary to know what particular state bonds were deposited for its redemption, and their market value, which was an uncertain and fluctuating figure. There was but one good feature about the stuff as I recall it. The counterfeiter of bank notes was active and skillful in those days, but he was too shrewd to waste time in trying to counterfeit it—its probable existence was too ephemeral, and there was just a suspicion that the counterfeit might be more valuable than the genuine.

To illustrate how the bank note deposits were assorted and treated by the bankers at that interesting period, I copy literally the labels on the several compartments in an old currency tray, in which the notes were assorted as they came in, and from which the checks were paid. These labels were: Eastern Penn., N. Y. and New England, in one compart-

ment; Ohio, Indiana and Missouri, in another; then Va., Md. and Ky.; in another Ill. and Wis., and lastly, Western Mixed.

The first named notes were choice par funds, rating next to gold, and they were shipped to New York for exchange purposes. The next two (O., Ind., Mo., Va., Md. and Ky.) were "bankable funds," so-called, and graded as among the safest of bank notes. "Illinois and Wisconsin" took in the few legitimate free banks in those states, located principally in Chicago and Milwaukee; but the last label was more comprehensive than all the others put together. It included "rag tag and bob-tail," everything not comprehended under the other labels but resembling a bank note. "Western Mixed" was the dignified and formal name for it. Its pet names were "stump-tail," "red-horse," "wild-cat," "brindle-pup," and many others of like endearing character. The vigilant banker watched that pile of currency closer than the others. Its increase in quantity caused much anxious concern—and its decrease corresponding elation. As the close of the business day approached, if the supply was large, he prayed inwardly for checks to come in for payment; and if he could close up with that part of his tray empty, his sleep that night would be calm and peaceful. That kind of money reversed the usual order of things in the mind of a banker—a large balance, instead of being a source of satisfaction, was a very disagreeable menace.

The relations existing between the banker and his customers were of a more personal and friendly character than now—communities were smaller and individuals were brought closely together socially, as well as in business matters, and there was a feeling of mutual interest between them, and of satisfaction in evidences of business prosperity, and as well pleasant family relations. The banker anticipated the probable needs of his customer, and was prepared to extend all required accommodations in the limits of safety. And on the other hand the same thoughtful consideration governed the actions of the customer. If his business re-

quired the accumulation of a large balance with his banker, to meet some payment or other emergency at a particular date, he would make it convenient to give timely notice when the money would be called for, and whether in exchange, coin or currency. It occurred many times in the experience of bankers in those days that the balance of any one of several depositors, subject to sight check, exceeded the total cash of all kinds in the bank; but the banker lost no sleep over that contingency, knowing very well that he would get advance notice of any unusual call for money, and have plenty of time to meet it. All that could truthfully be said of the general average bank depositor, but there were exceptions in this as well as in all other general rules. The depositor who wanted to overdraw a few hundreds—who wished to be supplied with exchange in sums to suit him without premium—who wanted collections against him held over for a few days—was around to make the banker's life weary with those and many other little requests of like character, with which the public is familiar.

The literature of the profession, at least as far as the West was concerned, was confined to the monthly publication of bank note reporters and counterfeit detectors, the principal one of which, and in fact the standard authority, was *Thompson's Bank-Note Reporter*, published in Wall street, New York City. Each monthly issue was closely scanned for items of interest connected with the business, new banks and their officers, others in liquidation, with the varying discounts on their notes, and especial attention was given to the description of new counterfeits, of which each issue had a number. The body of the work contained titles of banks of issue of each state, arranged alphabetically, and following the title of bank and name of president and cashier, came a list of counterfeits against the different denominations of bills of that bank, and in some cases this list was a very long one, describing dangerous issues of every size from Ones up to Fifties, and in many cases the bogus imitation resembled



so closely the genuine, that the bank was compelled to call in all notes of that denomination and issue others on a new plate. *The Reporter* was always a familiar feature of the banking office, and placed within easy reach of the teller for frequent reference.

It was in the furnishings and fittings of the banking office, that the contrast between then and now was more marked than in any other respect. The office was generally in a cheap and ordinary one-story frame structure of slight construction. Inside, a modest pine or black-walnut counter fenced the bank proper from the outside public. A cheap standing desk and a table of like quality, with a big coal stove and one or two chairs, comprised the furniture behind the counter. There were no elaborate plate-glass or wire screens, or other elegancies of the modern banking house, nor private rooms in which to withdraw and hold business conferences—those had to be attended to by retiring to the corner of the office most remote from the counter. There was a necessity for dispensing with side rooms, screens and other arrangements for privacy; every official connected with the office had varied duties to perform which required easy and convenient access to all parts of the room. In some cases the proprietor of a bank in a growing town was not only its president and cashier, but also teller, bookkeeper and janitor, with an occasional spell of carrying in the coal. Banking hours were nominally kept, and they included more time than is the present practice, but were not so closely observed. It was not an uncommon thing for a banker to “close up” and go to his midday meal, and occasionally he closed up to go out and “take a drink” with a customer; but it can be truthfully said to the credit of the profession that there was very little dissipation among them as a class. In describing the inside furnishing of the office one very important article was omitted. That was the safe—the gorgeously painted and decorated sheet-iron safe—in which the treasures of the bank were nightly stored. All the modern appliances



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of time-locks, chilled iron and steel plates, and ingenious combinations were lacking then; but the treasure and trusts were given in charge of that wonderful box, which would offer no more resistance to the modern burglar than if constructed of pine. The simple but unbounded confidence with which the banker in those primitive times nightly placed all his treasure in that safe, located in a cheap, pine shanty, and retired to his "peaceful couch," was the very sublimity of faith. It needed only a visit to a neighboring blacksmith shop for a cold chisel, or to a carpenter shop for even a hatchet, as the only tools necessary for the enterprising burglar to force the outer door or window, then cut through the thin sheet-iron outer casing of the formidable safe, then the plaster filling and slight wooden interior work, and all the coveted treasures were within his reach; but fortunately the bank burglar of those days did not follow the advice of Mr. Greeley to "go west," perhaps because he had a suspicion that it would prove too "poor picking."

This article has already reached such great length that I can only briefly recall some events connected with the wide-sweeping and disastrous "panic of 1857," with its long train of failures and disasters. The Ohio Life and Trust Company, whose principal office was in Cincinnati, established a branch office in New York City. This soon became the main office as far as business was concerned, and was the representative and depository of nearly all the leading banks in Ohio, Indiana and other western states. August 24th of that year the New York branch, without premonition of weakness or danger, closed its doors. As described in the papers of the day, the failure acted like a clap of thunder in a clear sky. Contrary to the predictions of well-informed men that its failure would not affect others, or even affect the parent bank at Cincinnati, prominent houses and chartered banks all over the central and western states closed their doors, and after developments showed them to be rotten and bankrupt. The parent Trust Company, at Cincinnati, was then re-

garded as one of the most substantial banking institutions in the West. In July, 1857, it paid a semi-annual dividend of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.; its stock the day before the failure was quoted at  $99\frac{3}{4}$ ; in September it sold at 15, and soon dropped out of sight. Several Iowa bankers of considerable prominence were forced to close their doors and withdraw from business, but the most serious results to this State and its banking interests, grew out of the decided depreciation of State stocks which formed the basis of free banks of issue.

The methods of banking and facilities for conducting business, as they existed a little less than a half century ago, were far different from the present order of things; then the currency consisted of notes issued by banks, chartered by State legislatures or under a State system of banking (and each individual State had its own peculiar system), and a little national coin. The systems and kinds of currency numbered perhaps twenty-five in all; contrasting with our present system of one or at most two forms of circulating notes, both based upon and solid as credit of the national government itself. Then, for means of communication between business centers we had the old-fashioned stage-coach, with a few short and incomplete lines of railroad; now lightning trains on our well-equipped roads, and perfect express, telegraph and telephone service. Then the methods of exchange, keeping books, safe-keeping of money and valuables, were all cumbersome, primitive and expensive; now everything that modern skill and ingenuity can throw around the conduct of the business is brought into use. Then the banker and his customer were known to each other but a few months or years—no long acquaintance to build up personal or firm credit and friendship, upon which real security rests; now the banker is brought into contact with men and firms whose long business history for probity and fair dealing have laid a foundation for credit as substantial and safe as the highest order of collateral. Bankers of the present day, whose busi-

ness experience is limited to the last score of years, can hardly imagine or realize the difficulties encountered, the risks assumed, and unknown in this later period, which confronted the banker of nearly half a century ago, and were part of his daily experience. Looking at the past with modern eyes, it is only wonderful that any of the first generation of bankers sailed safely through the breakers and wrecks of worthless currency, dishonest borrowers, and insecure methods for the safe keeping of the treasures placed in their charge.

While great differences existed between the manner of conducting the business in all its varied branches then and now, that difference does not extend to the personal character of the banker. The successful banker, now as then, represents in his profession the highest order of citizenship—honesty, probity, truthfulness, correct habits, public spirit and that dignity and simplicity of character that insures perfect confidence and respect.

DES MOINES, IOWA, MARCH 1, 1901.

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AN ACTIVE "BUSINESS PLACE."—It is stated that at the city of Keokuk, Iowa, since the commencement of the present season, 8,000,000 feet of lumber, 2,000,000 shingles, and 4,000,000 laths, have been used. The calculations are that the consumption will reach 25,000,000 feet of lumber, and 20,000,000 laths. The business, so far this season, has doubled that of the last. Thirteen hundred carpenters find constant employment in the carpenter shops of the city; brick kilns keep a hive of nine hundred men as busy as bees, and there are thirty brick kilns which have already manufactured and sold 60,000,000 bricks. The amount will reach 60,000,000 for the season, all of which will be used.—*Quasqueton (Iowa) Guardian, October 1, 1857.*

## THE TRAGEDY OF OKOBOJI.

BY HARRIS HOOVER.\*

Spirit Lake, called by the Indians "Minnewaukon," is situated in Dickinson county, Iowa. It is nearly circular in shape and seven miles in diameter, and covers an area of nearly fifty square miles.

Immediately south of Spirit Lake and separated from it by a narrow isthmus—eighty rods in width—lies East Okoboji Lake, which extends in a southwestern direction seven miles, where it is joined by West Okoboji Lake, of equal length, the two bending westward in the form of a horse-shoe. These lakes are skirted with timber, the water is pure, the soil rich and productive, and everything conspires to render this section a terrestrial paradise.

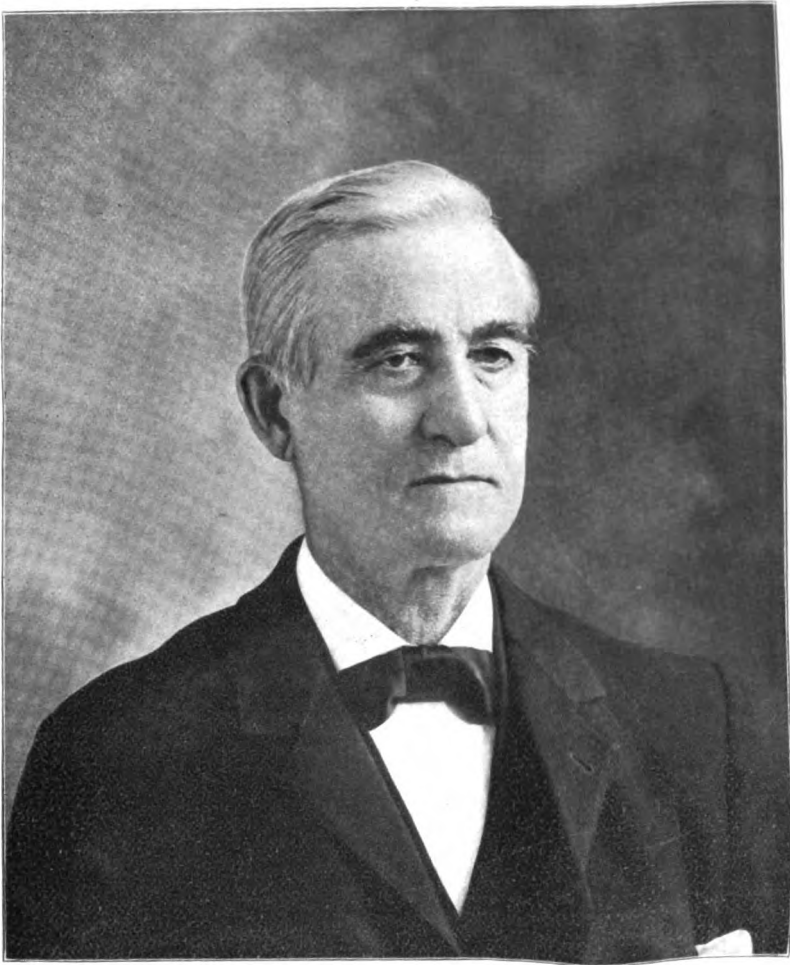
Today Dickinson county has a population of 8,000; the value of real estate is \$6,281,400; personal property, \$1,696,316. It contains ten hotels, twenty churches, sixty schools, seven newspapers, and is traversed by fifty miles of railroads. The people are prosperous and happy, and to a traveler seeking a home in the west it presents a vision of peace and security that lulls the weary pilgrim to rest with the implied assurance that "'twas ever thus." Ah, no! Had it been so this narrative had never been written.

The following sketch of Spirit Lake was written in 1857:

"As the Pacific ocean stretched out before the astonished gaze of Pizarro, or the grand Mississippi, robed in stately pride, before DeSoto, so Spirit Lake, sleeping beneath her pearly robes, first greeted our vision. Although not able to cope with her larger prototype, the ocean, in point of sublimity, this beautiful sheet of water possesses natural charms seldom equaled. Lying, as it does, surrounded by gently undulating hills and skirted with beautiful groves, to the approaching traveler it presents the appearance of a fleecy cloud floating in a sombre sky, forming a picture on which the imagination loves to dwell and which might furnish an ample theme for a poet's pen or painter's pencil.

"This is Spirit Lake *in winter*. If she is capable of presenting so many attractions under unfavorable circumstances, what may be her charms when freed from the embrace of the 'Ice King of the North' by the balmy breath of the smiling liberator, Spring? When she shall have put on her beautiful garments, her skirts of living green embroidered with flowers of the prairies; when her bosom gently heaves when kissed by the loving south-

\*Harris Hoover was born near Clearfield, Pa., April 21, 1833, where he grew up a farmer's boy. He was educated in the common schools and at home, his father being a professional teacher. He came to Webster City, Iowa, in May, 1856. He had learned the carpenter's trade, and assisted in erecting some of the earliest buildings in that town. He enlisted in the Spirit Lake Expedition, March, 23, 1857, returning April 8. He was appointed justice of the peace May 29, 1857, one of the first in Hamilton county—and elected in October of the same year. Later on he joined the Iowa Frontier Guards, Capt. Henry B. Martin, and spent some time in that command near Spirit Lake. June 20, 1861, he enlisted in the First Iowa Cavalry under Colonel Fitz Henry Warren, remaining in the service until September 30, 1864, having participated in nearly all its marches and engagements. After the war he returned to the vicinity of his old home in Pennsylvania, where he resided several years. His present residence is Carnegie, Pa. He wrote one of the earliest and best accounts of the Spirit Lake Expedition for *The Hamilton Freeman*, at Webster City, in the summer of 1857. The publication of the present paper completes the personal narratives in our possession relating to the massacre and expedition. In addition to what has appeared in *THE ANNALS*, reference may be made to Mrs. Sharp's book, as well as to Richman's "John Brown Among the Quakers, and Other Sketches."—EDITOR OF *THE ANNALS*.



*Yours Fraternally,*  
*Harry Hoover.*

HARRIS HOOVER.





wind, and her blue eye reflects the dancing sunbeam? Then she will appear like a precious sapphire in an emerald setting. While Burns was immortalizing Bonnie Doon, Schiller the Rhine, and Pope the Thames, Spirit Lake echoed only the cry of the red man, and the foot of a Longfellow had not yet trodden our western wilds—

'Else here had been the Iliad changes rung,  
And Tempe's vale been left unsung.'"

The "voyageur," Radisson, in his "Journal" of 1662, says of the Dakkotas, or Yankton Sioux: "They were so much respected that nobody durst offend them;" and the Jesuit missionaries, in their "Relation," 1671, say: "They make themselves dreaded by all their neighbors."

At this time this war-like tribe (called by the Ojibways, Nadowaisiwug, or "adders") occupied all the territory west of the Mississippi and east of the Rocky Mountains, including what is now the State of Iowa. A subdivision of the tribe was called Wakpekute, one of whose chiefs was named Wamdisapa, or "Black Eagle," a savage of peculiarly ferocious and quarrelsome disposition. This trait caused him and his followers to secede from the tribe and retire to the vicinity of the Vermillion river in Dakota. On Wamdisapa's death Sidominadota became chief of the band and was holding that position at the time of the settlement of the country about Fort Dodge, Iowa. One day in 1854 he was found dead on the prairie; his squaw and two children were found dead in the lodge. They had all been murdered by a trader named Henry Lott, who immediately afterward burned his dwelling, situated on the west fork of the Des Moines river at the mouth of the creek named for him, and fled the State. How far this treacherous act influenced subsequent events may be a matter of conjecture. But considering the revengeful nature of the average Indian, it is quite probable that such seed, sown in such ground, would in time produce a bloody harvest.

Sidominadota being dead, Inkpaduta, or "Scarlet Point," became chief and was, if possible, more ferocious than his predecessors. His personal appearance was anything but prepossessing. He possessed a robust frame and his face was deeply pitted with small pox. Such a man was only "fitted for treasons, stratagems and spoils," as his subsequent actions proved.

In 1856 a dozen families built their cabins along the Okoboji lakes, and about the same number located at a point north of Spirit Lake, then called Springfield (now Jackson) in Minnesota. There were also a few settlers further south, and others still along the Little Sioux river. To the east along the Des Moines river was a settlement called "The Irish Colony," in all about forty families. The scattered and isolated situation of these pioneers rendered them peculiarly susceptible to an attack from an enemy and equally defenseless in such a contingency.

But in the absence of any knowledge of hostile designs on the part of the Indians no preparations for defense had been made. The winter of 1856-7 was one of exceptional severity. The snow fell to the depth of three or four feet on the level and the fierce winds from the north piled it in the ravines to the depth of fifteen to twenty feet. It was thought that

the extreme cold and deep snow would be unfavorable to migration and that the Indians would remain in close quarters till spring. How delusive this opinion was subsequent events too sadly proved.\*

The Indians now made ready to quit the country of the three lakes and the State of Iowa. Before doing so, however, they peeled the bark from a large tree that stood near the Marble cabin on the west shore of Okoboji, and on the white surface thus exposed, left in picture writing, a record of their deeds. The number of persons killed by them was indicated by rude sketches of human figures transfixed with arrows. There was also a sketch of the Mattock cabin in flames.

The fact of this massacre in the lake region of Iowa was discovered on March 9 by Morris Markham, a man who had been living at the house of Noble and Thatcher but who was absent when the attack by the Indians was made. He fled with the news to Springfield, Minnesota. Word was at once sent to Fort Dodge, but the story was discredited until Orlando C. Howe, R. U. Wheelock, and B. F. Parmenter arrived from Okoboji Saturday, March 21, and confirmed the terrible news.

On Sunday, the 22d, a public meeting was called in the school house, and on Monday, the 23d, two companies were organized in the town, Company A commanded by C. B. Richards, and Company B by John F. Duncombe—all of Fort Dodge.

On Sunday, March 22, the inhabitants of Webster City, in Hamilton county, received intelligence that the Indians were murdering the settlers at Spirit Lake, burning their dwellings and carrying the women into captivity. At first the citizens were inclined to discredit the reports from the fact that similar reports had been circulated which proved to be unfounded. But as the messenger, Mr. White of Fort Dodge, was personally known to many, a full investigation was made, and as soon as the people became satisfied of the truth of the statement the excitement became general. A meeting of the citizens was immediately called when a spontaneous expression of feeling took place. A committee of arrangements was appointed to make the necessary preparations for an immediate march to the rescue. A call for volunteers was promptly responded to. Those whose age and circumstances disqualified them from participating in the expedition generously offered every assistance in their power. Owing to the inclemency of the weather, and in view of the hardships and exposure to be encountered, it was deemed prudent that the company be composed of young and robust men, such as in the judgment of a committee, appointed for that purpose, might be deemed qualified to endure the privations of such a tour. Accordingly on Monday morning, March 23, the volunteers, the number of whom exceeded the estimated requirements of the case, were ranged in single file and the selections made by J. D. Maxwell, county judge. Being

\*The account of the massacre is omitted from Mr. Hoover's manuscript. It may be read at length in Mrs. Abbie Gardner-Sharp's "History of the Spirit Lake Massacre," published at Des Moines in 1885, and in her letter of Oct. 4, 1887, to Hon. Charles T. Fenton of Webster City. The letter was copied in THE ANNALS OF IOWA, Vol. III, pp. 550-51.

ready, armed and equipped, we left Webster City at one o'clock, March 23, arriving that evening at Fort Dodge, where we were received by a large and enthusiastic meeting of the citizens of Webster county.

Companies A and B being fully organized, it remained for us to complete our organization which we did by the election of the following officers: John C. Johnson, captain; John N. Maxwell, first lieutenant; Frank R. Mason, second lieutenant; Harris Hoover, orderly sergeant, and H. N. Hathway, corporal.

Our force now consisted of nearly one hundred men, under command of Major William Williams, with G. R. Bissell, surgeon, and G. B. Sherman, commissary. (I omit the complete roster of the battalion, as it is to be found in enduring bronze on the west face of the granite monument erected by the State of Iowa at Pillsbury Point, Okoboji, Iowa).

We left Fort Dodge about noon, March 24, but owing to our baggage wagons being detained we did not proceed far, but camped at Beaver creek, about seven miles from Fort Dodge. We now began to realize what the words "active service" meant, for most of us were raw recruits, and soldiering, not only a novelty, but one of the stern realities of life, our appetites emphasizing this view of the case and suggesting prompt action. Three large camp fires were built and I was surprised at the alacrity and cheerfulness with which the boys adapted themselves to their changed environment, and soon became expert cooks. On the morning of the 25th we resumed our march, following the course of the Des Moines river, and as the stream was not as yet much swollen, we used the bed of the same as a thoroughfare, crossing and re-crossing a dozen times before we reached Dakota City (so called) in Humboldt county. We did not find any "city of refuge," so we made the best of what we *did* find—a bed on the open prairie.

Thursday, March 26, as we proceeded on our journey the trail became more and more obscure and the snow deeper and deeper. In some places it was so hard as to require breaking down before our teams could possibly pass. In other places it had drifted into the ravines to the depth of ten or twelve feet. The water had drained off the prairies into these ravines converting the snow into slush and rendering many places almost impassable. It soon became evident that the only practicable mode of procedure was to wade through, stack arms, unhitch the teams, attach ropes to them and pull them through. This done we performed a similar operation on the wagons; then again rigged up we broke roads to the next slough and amused ourselves with a repetition of the aforesaid interesting performance. In this manner we were two days in reaching McKnight's Point, on the west fork of the Des Moines river, eighteen miles from Dakota City, having spent one night on the frozen ground without fire or water. Here we found Captain Duncombe, Lieutenant Maxwell, and R. U. Wheelock, who had gone ahead the day before to select the route to be followed, as no visible trail existed. This proved to be a very arduous task, and before night they all became exhausted and Capt. Duncombe accepted some cordial offered him by Mr. Wheelock. This "cordial" proved to be laudanum and so over-

came the captain that, had it not been for his companions, he would soon have slept his last sleep.

When within two miles of the grove Mr. Wheelock kept himself from freezing by keeping Captain Duncombe awake, while Lieutenant Maxwell—too much exhausted to walk—lay down on the crust of the snow and rolled over and over to a cabin in the grove. At the cabin Mr. Maxwell found the old pioneers, Jeremiah Evans and William Church, and these two men followed Maxwell's trail to where he had left Duncombe and Wheelock. By almost superhuman effort they succeeded in dragging them to the cabin, where Duncombe fell asleep and only awoke late the next day. We naturally expected that Captain Duncombe would resign in favor of Lieutenant Stratton and return to Fort Dodge; but the next morning he was again on duty and insisted on resuming his command and persevering in its arduous labors.

On Saturday, March 28—for reasons best known to themselves—some eight or nine of our party grew faint-hearted, turned their backs on their gallant comrades and their faces toward the "flesh-pots of Egypt." One man, an old Mexican soldier, declared that it was suicidal to continue the march, and that "it would result in the destruction of the entire command." But this defection only drew the balance closer together, and with set lips they declared that only death should prevent them from discharging their solemn duty to the suffering and distressed.

Under this complication of difficulties the conduct of our gallant commander, Major Williams, was deserving of the highest praise and worthy the emulation of those of greater physical strength and fewer years. He was always on the alert, as from the signs we knew not at what moment we might find ourselves in a savage ambuscade. Frequently he was on foot, wading through the snow at the head of his men and by his voice and example cheering and inspiring them on their weary way, proving himself entitled to the name of an experienced soldier and gentleman. On the 28th we got a good start and camped that night at Shippey's, near the mouth of Cylinder Creek. At McCormick's, a mile below Shippey's, we found C. C. Carpenter, Angus McBane, William P. Pollock and Andrew Hood, who joined Company "A" and went with us from that point.

Sunday, March 29, we reached "the Irish Colony" (now Emmetsburg), in Palo Alto county. Here we obtained some provisions and were joined by several recruits.

Monday, March 30, we left our teams, which were pretty much exhausted, and, having supplied ourselves with fresh ones, proceeded onward.

After leaving the Irish Colony signs of Indians became quite frequent and constant vigilance was exercised. A detail of scouts under Lieutenant Maxwell was sent ahead to reconnoiter and report in case they should meet any straggling bands of Indians. After traveling about ten miles the advance guard discovered in the distance what they supposed to be Indians, and prepared for an attack; but which, upon inspection, proved to be a party of fugitives, men, women and children flying from the scenes of butchery which they had just escaped. Several of them were recognized

as former citizens of Hamilton county, but recently of a settlement in Minnesota, then called Springfield (now Jackson) about eight miles north of the Iowa line. They were in a pitiable plight, wounded, cold, hungry and exhausted by three days and nights of travel over the bleak prairie, the women's skirts and shoes worn to shreds. One man—Mr. J. B. Thomas—had his left arm broken and horribly mangled by a rifle ball. Mr. D. N. Carver was shot through the arm, the ball lodging in his side. Miss Drussilla Swanger (sister of Mrs. Church) was shot through the left shoulder and severely wounded. Proceeding to a grove in sight we camped and rendered them such assistance as we could, Dr. Bissell dressing their wounds and accompanying them to the Irish Colony. The refugees informed us that on the evening of March 26 Mr. Thomas' house, where four or five families had collected for safety, was surrounded by Inkpaduta's band, and while a number of them were standing in a group at the door were fired upon. Little Willie Thomas fell shot through the head, and others were wounded. The door was closed and a gallant defense made, during which it is known that Mrs. Church killed an Indian. At dusk the Indians were beaten off and the siege raised. The other houses in the settlement were pillaged and the contents either destroyed or carried away.

About midnight the besieged determined to start south, to reach the nearest settlement, with but an ox-team and sled, their only means of transportation. The wounded and small children were placed upon the sled, together with such supplies as were absolutely needed, while the women walked and led the larger children. When almost exhausted this forlorn band of refugees came face to face with what they supposed to be their deadly foes. As may easily be supposed, they were in no condition to defend themselves, and prepared for the worst. But just here occurred an instance of heroism that has never been excelled and seldom equalled. John Bradshaw took eight loaded rifles and marching a few rods in advance, stacked seven of them, and taking the eighth in his hands prepared to sell his life as dearly as possible—a single Greek at the pass of Thermopylae, a Marius leaping into the gulf in the Roman forum. A few minutes of agonizing suspense and wails of grief were succeeded by shouts of joy. The supposed Indians proved to be the advance guard of the relief expedition, one of whom, William Church, had recognized his wife among the refugees.

The survivors of the Springfield tragedy numbered thirty-three, as follows:

J. B. Thomas, wife and five children.

Mrs. Church and two children.

Mrs. Nelson and one child.

Mrs. Dr. Strong and two children.

Mrs. Harshman and two children.

J. B. Skinner and wife.

— Harshman and wife.

Morris Markham.

— Smith and wife.

Drusilla Swanger and Eliza Gardner.

John Bradshaw and David Carver.

George Granger and A. P. Sheigley.

Jareb Palmer and John Stewart.

Dr. E. B. Strong's name does not appear in the above list as he prudently took time by the forelock and fled to the Irish Colony in advance, leaving his wife and children to follow at their leisure.

John Bradshaw, Morris Markham and Jareb Palmer joined Company C and returned to Granger's Point.

Tuesday, March 31, we reached Big Island Grove, where we camped to reconnoiter, as we expected to find Indians in that vicinity. We were disappointed, although comparatively recent signs were visible. We found an ox which had been killed, his horns cut off and the hide laid open along the back to secure the tendons, which are quite useful to the Indians.

Wednesday, April 1. This morning, when a short distance on our way, an amusing incident occurred. Major Williams had sent forward a party of scouts with orders not to fire a gun unless they encountered Indians. Some of our party hearing the report of a gun, a halt was ordered. We then heard a number of shots in rapid succession, and directly a party of men was seen issuing from the grove in advance of us, as though they were pursued. The cry of "Indians" was at once raised and our men (exasperated by the recital of deeds of treachery and violence to which they had just listened) became ungovernable and rushing from the ranks threw themselves into defiant attitudes. Some even went so far as to cock their guns, although "the enemy" was at least two miles distant! However, the Major soon succeeded in restoring order and convincing the fast young men that their movement was somewhat premature. The supposed Indians proved to be our scouts who had encountered some beavers on the lake, and in pursuing them had become so excited as to entirely forget their orders. These scouts reported that they had discovered an Indian lookout scaffold on a tree on Big Island from which the country could be surveyed for miles around. A fire, still smouldering, indicated that the "look-out" had been recently occupied.

Proceeding on our way we reached G. Granger's, on the river near the Minnesota line. Here very unwelcome news awaited us. We learned that the main body of the Indians had left Springfield five days in advance of our arrival, and that a detachment of United States troops, sixty in number, had arrived from Fort Ridgely on the 27th of March and were then quartered at Springfield. This was disappointing in the extreme. We had hoped that if we did not reach the scene of action in time to afford the distressed settlers relief we might, at least, be in time to deal out justice to their murderers. After all our toil and privations endured in hopes of being able to accomplish something, the reflection that we had arrived too late was anything but cheering. Upon inquiry we learned that the United States troops had arrived the same day that the Indians left and that a few of them had followed the marauders a short distance, discovered where they had camped the night before and from the number of "teepees" com-

puted them to number about forty warriors. On the way they found various articles of clothing and other materials cast away by the Indians on account of the great amount of plunder with which they were burdened. The fact that the Indians were allowed to escape without any effort to pursue them seems quite unaccountable, except upon the hypothesis of the cowardice or incompetency of Captain Bee,\* their commander.

Our position at this time was a rather perplexing one. Anticipated by the United States troops, the Indians five or six days in advance of us, and our provisions almost exhausted, it soon became apparent that the only alternative left us was the melancholy one of paying the last tribute of respect to the remains of the unfortunate settlers and returning home. Accordingly, on the morning of April 2, a company of twenty-five men was selected and placed under the command of Captain J. C. Johnson, with orders to proceed to Lake Okoboji and bury the dead, while the residue were to return to the Irish Colony.

The names of the burial detail, as far as can be ascertained, were as follows:

Captain J. C. Johnson, Lieutenant John N. Maxwell, Jesse Addington, William E. Burkholder, A. Burch, Henry Carse, Henry E. Dalley, William Ford, O. C. Howe, Elias D. Kellogg, William K. Laughlin, R. McCormick, Jonas Murray, B. F. Parmenter, George P. Smith, R. A. Smith, O. S. Spencer, C. Stebbins, J. M. Thatcher, S. Vancleave, R. U. Wheelock, W. R. Wilson, and three others whose names have not been preserved.

I was prevented from joining the party by an accident (a severe sprain of the ankle) which unfitted me for traveling.

The sad task performed by these men of burying the dead at Okoboji and their subsequent perilous march to the Irish Colony, has been so well described by Lieutenant John N. Maxwell and W. K. Laughlin in *THE ANNALS*, Vol. III, pp. 525-32 and 541-5, that I need only refer to the same.

Major Williams being at the Colony dispatched runners down the river to look for Captain Johnson and the four men with him. They returned that evening without any definite information. The next morning Smith, Addington and Murray came in. They stated that they had separated from Capts. Johnson and Burkholder early the previous morning; that the latter had taken off their boots at night and that in the morning they were so frozen that they could not get them on again. That while cutting up their

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\*Barnard E. Bee was born in South Carolina, and appointed a cadet at large in the United States Military Academy in 1841. He graduated 33 in his class of 41 in 1845, and was at once promoted to brevet 2d Lieutenant, 3d U. S. Infantry. He had an active and honorable career in "the old army," serving in Mexico, and several years on the southwestern and northwestern frontiers. He was promoted for gallant and meritorious conduct in the battles of Cerro Gordo and Chapultepec, and his native State, South Carolina, presented him, in 1854, with a sword of honor "for his patriotic and meritorious conduct in the Mexican War." He resigned from the Union Army in 1861 and joined in the Rebellion against the United States. He became a brigadier general and was killed at the Battle of Bull Run, July 21, 1861, at the age of 37. While his early career was a very active one and generally brought him great credit, his conduct in abandoning the pursuit of the Indians at Spirit Lake was at the time severely criticised, and the more, perhaps, because in those days the regular army was often called upon to aid in returning fugitive slaves to their southern masters.



blankets and tying them on their feet they disagreed about the course to be taken. Pulling off their boots was a fatal mistake. They were last seen traveling in a southeasterly direction, and their bleaching bones were found on the open prairie eleven years afterward, being identified by the remains of their guns and powder flasks. Thus perished two brave and true young men in the very flush of early manhood. Their melancholy fate cast a deep gloom over the entire company, as they were especial favorites. I was not personally acquainted with Mr. Burkholder but Captain C. B. Richards of Company A, says of him:

"William E. Burkholder was a young man of rare promise, educated, brave, generous, and unselfish. He volunteered for this expedition knowing that it would be at a great sacrifice, having been nominated by the Republicans of his county as their candidate for treasurer and recorder, knowing that his absence might, and probably would, result in his defeat. But he never gave it a regretful thought. His patriotism and his manhood called him and he went to lay down his young life that he might protect his fellow citizens and their frontier homes from the merciless savage."

I had the honor of being the friend of the lamented Captain Johnson. As such I feel it to be my duty to offer, in my humble way, that tribute which is justly due to his memory.

John C. Johnson was born and reared in Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania. With a view to bettering his condition in life he removed to Illinois, and subsequently to Webster City, Hamilton county, Iowa. It was here I first became acquainted with him. His gentlemanly manners and generous, frank disposition, won my esteem and confidence. When the news of the Indian outrage reached us his business claimed his attention at home, but unmindful of self, he thought only of the sufferings and wrongs of the unhappy victims, and knew no other way than that pointed out by duty and patriotism. On the morning of our departure to the front he remarked to me that "Pennsylvania's sons should not be 'weighed and found wanting,'" and most nobly did he sustain his assertion throughout the arduous labors of the expedition. So favorable was the impression made by him on the company that he was unanimously chosen our captain, and subsequently proved himself worthy of the confidence reposed in him. He faithfully executed the orders of his superiors, maintaining order and decorum in his company. His orders were given in a manner to insure promptness of action, yet in such a courteous way that it was a pleasure to obey him. He appeared to have the comfort and welfare of his men at heart, and by his self-sacrificing nature won the esteem of all who became acquainted with him. I marched beside him through the day and slept beside him at night, and must say that I never met any one to whom I became so much attached in so short a time. I believe I but reflect the sentiment of his company in saying that there was not one who did not esteem and love him.

But to return to the fortunes of the main body of the expedition:

Thursday, April 2. We marched from Granger's Point and camped a short distance above Prairie Creek.

Friday, April 3. We reached the Irish Colony where we expected to meet the burial detail, but as yet none had arrived. The following morning, April 4, was very disagreeable, rainy and cold. But as our provisions were daily diminishing in quantity and deteriorating in quality, it was deemed prudent to resume our march homeward.

About 2 o'clock Saturday we reached the banks of Cylinder Creek, which, owing to the recent rains and the melting of the snow, was impassable. This creek pursues a meandering course in a little valley of perhaps a half mile in width. The flats were overflowed with water, about waist deep, while in the channel or bed of the stream the water was ten or fifteen feet deep. A halt was ordered and council of war held. C. C. Carpenter and one or two others went on a reconnoitering tour southward toward the timber on the Des Moines river, but found only a wide expanse of water. So they returned and reported—"No thoroughfare in that direction."

Major Williams, with one of the wagons containing the sick and wounded, returned to the Irish Colony, about twelve miles distant.

Captains Richards and Duncombe constructed a boat by calking the cracks of one of the wagon beds and selecting Guernsey Smith and Solon Mason to assist them, endeavored to construct a ferry by means of a rope, with the laudable design of transporting us across "the vasty deep." But alas, for human foresight. They succeeded in reaching the other shore, but at that moment the boat (?) collapsed and the four occupants were precipitated into the water. An attempt was made to build a raft, but that too proved abortive. Added to these discouragements the high wind and extreme cold resisted all the endeavors of the experimenters to return, and as night was coming on they sought shelter at Shippey's cabin, two miles below. While awaiting the result of the aforesaid experiment I was irresistibly reminded of a certain couplet relating to the river Jordan:

"Part have crossed the flood  
And part (fain would be) crossing now"—

the only impediment being the entire absence of means. We now found ourselves in a most unpleasant situation. A prospect of drowning if we proceeded, a prospect of starving if we remained where we were, and ditto if we returned. Various plans were proposed only to be abandoned as impracticable, and it appeared to resolve itself into a case of every man for himself. For my own part I confess to being a little puzzled to know just how to dispose of myself. I knew there were not provisions sufficient for us all at the Colony, and as to staying where I was I looked upon the chances as being one to ten of freezing to death. It was growing colder every minute, and the wind blowing a hurricane. The only avenue open to me seemed to lay in the possibility of crossing the creek. Even of this "Hope told no flattering tale"—but the chance was at least one in a hundred and I resolved to make the best of possibilities. So I gathered up my belongings and, accompanied by a friend—Amos K. Tullis—I started northward. When asked where I was going I replied: "I am going to walk around Cylinder creek." Apparently my comrades did not think there was much danger of my putting this threat into execution, so we were allowed

to depart in peace. We ascended the stream about one and a half miles where I saw a bunch of willows, which I knew must grow upon the bank of the channel, and might perhaps assist us in crossing if we were fortunate enough to reach the place. After wading about eighty rods we reached them and found behind them a bank of snow or drift formed during the winter in the eddy of the bunch of willows, now a compound of slush and frozen snow, and extending, perhaps, half-way across the bed of the stream. By breaking willow brush and covering the snowbank we made a partial bridge which served to support us as far as it went. The only alternative was now to jump, which I did, and to my surprise and gratification I brought up in about five feet of water, being lucky enough to reach the opposite bank of the channel. My comrade now threw our blankets and followed. He was not so fortunate as he landed (?) in deeper water and was temporarily in danger of being swept away; but I quickly reached him the muzzle of my rifle and drew him to my side. By again wading about a quarter of a mile we gained the bluff, thankful that "the Rubicon" was passed. By running about four miles we reached the cabin of the Shippey family and obtained shelter for the night. The same evening Captains Richards and Duncombe, with Smith and Mason, came in.

Sunday morning, April 5. We returned to the creek to look for our companions, but as there were no signs of life, the conviction was forced upon us that our fears were realized, and that they were all frozen to death. The stream was by this time frozen over except the channel, about fifty feet wide, in which the ice was partially formed, but not sufficiently solid to walk upon. The captains deserve praise for their noble efforts in behalf of their men. They worked for two hours in the severe cold, attempting to crawl over the ice to reach the opposite shore, but, notwithstanding their warm hearts, the intense cold overcame them and they were obliged to abandon the attempt. Returning to the Shippey cabin another night of horrible suspense was passed. Comparatively comfortable as we were, the condition of our comrades haunted us like a grim spectre. We could not imagine how it was possible for them to survive the horrors of such another night, while our utter inability to relieve them added poignancy to our grief.

Monday, April 6. We again proceeded to Cylinder Creek and found the ice strong enough to carry a horse. Crossing over we were overjoyed to find all our companions alive. They were piled up like so many flour bags in the most approved style, under a frail tent, constructed of a wagon cover, partially banked up with snow which served to check the fierce wind and saved them from freezing to death. Now they crossed the creek on the ice, (the formation of which they had patiently waited), after lying in this position over forty hours, without food or fire, on the open prairie, with the mercury at 32° below zero.

Those of us who had succeeded in crossing Cylinder Creek now thought best to reach home as soon as possible.

After paying dearly for our accommodations where we stopped over Sunday, we "departed every man to his tent," some going by way of Fort

Dodge, and others striking across the prairie to Boone river. I was one of a party of eleven that took that route. The first night we slept at the house of Elwood Collins on Lott's creek. These good Quaker people not only gave us the best treatment in their power, but volunteered to take care of two of our exhausted comrades—A. N. Hathway and E. W. Gates.

Tuesday, April 7. We arrived at Corsaut's on Boone river about ten o'clock at night. The next morning Mr. Corsaut hitched up his team and hauled us to Webster City. We arrived at home Wednesday, April 8, about noon, having been gone seventeen days and marched 250 miles.

In the course of this narrative it has been mentioned that four women were taken captive at Spirit Lake. At this date they were trudging painfully toward the northwest as slaves of the braves of Inkpaduta's band. One of the braves was wounded and borne on a litter. He had received his wound at the hands of Dr. Harriott, and was the only member of Inkpaduta's band injured, except the one killed by Mrs. Church, at Springfield, Minnesota.

The captives were treated as beasts of burden and, after suffering untold hardships and indignities at the hands of their captors, two of them were murdered.

Six weeks after the massacre at the lakes the Indians reached the Big Sioux river, about where the town of Flandreau, in South Dakota, now stands. While crossing this river Mrs. Thatcher was pushed into the stream by a young brave (?) and her attempts to reach the shore thwarted by him and others of the band who forced her back into the current and as she drifted away she was shot.

The fate of Mrs. Noble was similar to that of Mrs. Thatcher. Having displeased Roaring Cloud—son of Inkpaduta—she was brained with a club. The wife of Marble, after much bargaining, was purchased by two Indians and brought to Chas. E. Flandreau, agent for the United States government for the Sioux Indians, at the agency at the Yellow Medicine river in Minnesota, May 21, 1857.

Miss Abbie Gardner was ransomed through the efforts of the Indian agent, Flandreau, and Governor Medary, of Minnesota, June 23, 1857. The price paid for her was two horses, twelve blankets, two kegs of powder, twenty pounds of tobacco, thirty-two yards of blue squaw cloth, thirty-seven yards of calico, a few ribbons, etc.

That Inkpaduta himself, or any of his band, except Roaring Cloud, ever suffered for his bloody deeds is doubtful in the extreme. Roaring Cloud was killed. He ventured back to the Yellow Medicine to woo, it is said, some dusky maiden, but his presence was revealed by an enemy and a detachment of soldiers from Fort Ridgely surrounded him. He fought his pursuers but fell pierced by many balls.

Years have come and gone. Time, the mighty magician, has wrought wondrous changes in the landscape about Minnewaukon and Okoboji.

Where once stood the rude log cabin of the early pioneer now is reared the stately mansion. Where once the industrious beaver patiently wrought, the otter played, and the lordly elk stooped to slake his thirst, may now be seen domestic fowls and lowing herds. Where once the tall prairie grass waved, now ripening wheat covers the earth as with a mantle and waving corn nods its tassels in the breeze. And where blood once splashed and enriched the soil, flowers spring to please the eye and charm away bitter memories of the past.

No excellence is attained without a corresponding sacrifice, and the blessings of peace are often purchased at the price of blood and treasure. That ingratitude is not a characteristic of Iowa people is fully attested by the granite monument at Okoboji and the brass tablet at Webster City, recording the names of those who suffered or died that the present generation might live. Having myself participated in those early scenes and struggles, I value them at their true worth, and here offer my humble tribute to the brave.

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**HIGH WATER PREVENTS WORK.**—State Fish and Game Warden Delevan was in the city Wednesday and is greatly put out because the work of taking fish from the lakes and bayous, for distribution throughout the state, cannot be commenced. The mighty "Father of Waters" is on a rampage, and unless it begins to recede soon and goes down very rapidly, there will be very little, if any work done here this fall. As a matter of fact the gathering of fish should have commenced about September 1st and Deputy Warden Swift had everything in readiness for an active season's work, but the fates appeared to decree otherwise, and the unusual and unlooked for high water has made the work entirely out of the question. Such high water in the fall of the year is an unusual occurrence—in fact, it has occurred but once before in 25 years, and that was in the fall of 1884. There is still hope for two or three weeks' work during the latter part of this month and the first of next, and should the opportunity be offered, three or four crews of fishermen will be put on.  
—*Sabula Semi-Weekly Gazette*, Oct. 13, 1900.

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**QUICK TRIP.**—Mr. Peter Mertz made the trip from San Francisco to Burlington, Iowa, in the short space of 30 days.  
—*Western American*, Keosauqua, Iowa, Jan. 17, 1852.

## THE OLD PRAIRIE SLOUGH.

BY CHARLES ALDRICH.

Among the characteristic landmarks of old Iowa which are now becoming obsolete, the prairie slough was one of the most conspicuous and the most necessary to be reckoned with. During the springs and summers of long ago one heard a great deal about them. They were the terror of travelers, for in those days we had no railroads, and the Western Stage Company was often compelled by the bottomless condition of the roads to abandon their coaches and use common lumber wagons instead. A long and strong rope was often indispensable, both with the coaches and lumber wagons. It was tied to the tongue of the vehicle which had been "sloughed down," and the teams were placed out on solid ground where they could pull their very utmost. It was sometimes necessary to pry up the wheels, and it came to be a saying that the traveler must carry with him a fence rail in order to do his part in the business. In some extreme cases he had literally to "work his passage." When I came into Iowa in 1857 the railroad extended west of Dubuque only thirty miles. From there on we journeyed in a lumber wagon, in which we carried our few household belongings, and the type, cases and stands for a small, old-fashioned printing office. Very fortunately my wife and sister rode in a buggy. The No. 3 Washington hand press was wagoned through later. Our route was close to the present track of the Illinois Central Railroad. We had several times to unload our lumber wagon and carry our freight across by hand. In the outskirts of the village of Independence we saw a wagon with a much lighter load than ours stuck fast in the center of a wide slough. How the poor man and team were extricated from this forlorn place we never knew, for they were too far out in the mud and water for us to attempt to reach them. The sloughs were very plenty on this long road of

150 miles, and we often had to use all our skill to get through or around them.

Hon. L. S. Coffin, the well-known Iowan who has made his name illustrious through his beneficent labors in behalf of railroad employes—a reform of which he was the sole originator—migrated into Webster county from the south. He had a heavily loaded wagon, in which the members of his family were also riding, and when he attempted to cross—near the site of the present village of Stratford, Hamilton county—one of those wide, deep sloughs through which, if you went one way you would likely wish you had gone another, his wagon stuck fast. His team could not move an inch and he was in much perplexity, for that wide stretch of country as far as eye could reach was without a house! But leaving things as they were, he started out on foot to see if he could find any one to help him. He soon descried a man with two or three yokes of oxen—a “breaking team”—a couple of miles away. On reaching him he found a ready helper who started at once with his teams to get him out of his trouble. On reaching the spot this was readily accomplished. Mr. Coffin was very grateful and wanted to pay the rough looking young man for what he had done. But the latter refused to take anything. Mr. Coffin tried to force upon him a \$5.00 bill. But the man was incorrigible. Mr. C. next bethought him of a bottle of whisky which had luckily been brought along to be handy in case of “snake-bites,” but the prairie-breaker was equally set against taking a drop of whisky! Mr. Coffin, who was possibly less an advocate of prohibition than he afterwards became, scarcely knew what to make of a frontiersman who would neither take pay for so good a job nor indulge in “a pull” at the whisky bottle! That event occurred some forty-seven years ago. Mr. Coffin “still lives” on his farm near Fort Dodge, and John N. Maxwell, who helped him out of the slough, also resides on his farm a few miles southeast of Webster City. Mr. Maxwell, who was one of the heroes of the Spirit

Lake Expedition and of the great Civil War, is yet a practical temperance man, "peart and chipper," as I once heard Walt Whitman describe himself, hale and hearty, at the threshold of old age.

The prairie slough was always an interesting object and a wonder to me. In the winter it would be frozen solid—as cold and dead as an iceberg. Some of the larger ones, however, would be studded with muskrat houses, huge piles of coarse weeds and mosses, which the animals tore up from the bottoms of the sloughs. These creatures wintered in their houses safe from everything except the spears of the Musquakie Indians. But in the summers the prairie sloughs were fairly alive—and with a variety of life. Several species of small mollusks—coiled shells—the names of which the reader may find in any elementary book of conchology, if he is curious about such matters—had lived and died in our prairie sloughs for countless ages. The winds drifted the bleached and empty shells ashore, where they often looked like piles of small white gravel. Several species of birds nested in the weeds and coarse grasses which grew out in the water. Yellow-headed blackbirds were the most conspicuous. They were about the size of the purple grackle (crow blackbird) which often comes nowadays into our cities and towns to build its nests and rear its young in the shade trees. The head and neck almost to the shoulders were a bright yellow and glistened like polished gold. They were very beautiful birds, but their notes were terribly harsh—as distressing as the filing of a saw. The beautiful red-wings also made their homes in the sloughs, as did the marsh wrens. They ingeniously wove together several stalks of coarse grass and made themselves strong nests—safe from predatory wolves and foxes. In point of numbers the red-wings far surpassed the others, breeding every summer by millions in our prairie sloughs. The nests of the marsh wrens were marvels of ingenuity. When minks were plenty, they also had their abodes in and about the sloughs. Ducks, geese and



cranes summered in these damp regions, often appropriating the muskrat houses for their nests. And there were mosquitos beyond any computation. They simply swarmed in clouds.

Myriads of beautiful dragon-flies—"devil's darning needles"—were also evolved in these prairie sloughs. The young dragon-fly, in the first stage in which it would interest a common observer, was an ill-looking, scraggy, rough water bug. But it presently grew tired of living under water, and on a warm, sunshiny day, crawled up one of the weed-stalks. Finding a fit place for ridding itself of its old clothes, it sat down to wait. After a while as it dried off in the sun, the back of the head cracked open and a new head, shining like a diamond, was slowly protruded. Its back also soon split open and the new creature slowly came forth with a little bundle compactly rolled up on the middle segment of its body. As the sun continued to warm the insect the bundle unfolded, stretching out into gauzy wings. If, at this juncture, you frightened it, the smart young dragon-fly promptly flew away. Its birth and education were things of its brief past and it was "ready for business"—keen to enjoy all the pleasures of its short existence. The old shell closed up as the new insect left it, and remained a dry, gray husk, clinging by the stiffened limbs to the support selected for this curious transformation scene.

No two prairie sloughs were alike. We had ponds or lakelets, where the water was open, in rare instances abounding with fish—and others, where the surface was covered with dense growths of bulrushes and coarse grasses, which looked black when seen from a little distance. One could go around such places dry shod. Little valleys with but gradual descent, down which the water slowly crept through the grass roots and the black ooze, were also called sloughs, as were wide reaches of swamp lands. These last were the teamsters' and travelers' terror, for it was impossible to go around them. In the spring and in rainy seasons they be-

came almost impassable, and when a wagon stuck fast the horses or oxen had a wonderful penchant for lying down, no doubt in great discouragement—and there you were!

In July, 1859, I made a journey to Spirit Lake. Cyrus C. Carpenter—years afterwards one of our distinguished governors—was easily persuaded to go with me and show me the way, which was scarcely more for many a weary mile than a dim trail. He was familiar with every mile of the journey and I was not. The weather was so extremely warm that my horse gave out on the treeless, houseless, 25-mile prairie between the Des Moines river and the lake, and we had to stop on the road until the sun went down, and travel until 1 a. m. to reach our destination. While resting on the ground in the shade of the buggy we became very thirsty. Finally, Carpenter, pointing southwest, asked me, "Do you see that patch of black grass?" I saw it plainly though it was half a mile distant. "There," he remarked, "is plenty of water, and I will go and get some." After long plodding through the long prairie grass he returned with half a pail of water. It contained fragments of decaying bulrushes, and was doubtless alive with animalcula, but in my terrible thirst I never tasted anything more refreshing. The grass was black—dark green—because it grew tall and rank in the mud and water. Carpenter had learned all about "black grass" in his work as government surveyor.

The prairie slough also entered into our local politics—in this way: we had somebody running for office every year, much as we do nowadays. One of "the claims" that some of these patriots used to set up was, that they had "waded sloughs" in the interests of pioneer settlers! I remember stating editorially in reply to one of these "claims," that undoubtedly in coming time monuments would be set up to mark places where some of these illustrious men had entered the sloughs and where they came out on the farther sides. I had my own experience in the sloughs, and can recall many instances in which my buggy stuck fast, the

horses fell down, and I had to jump into the water—and be very quick about it, too—and loosen the harness to save the poor beasts from drowning.

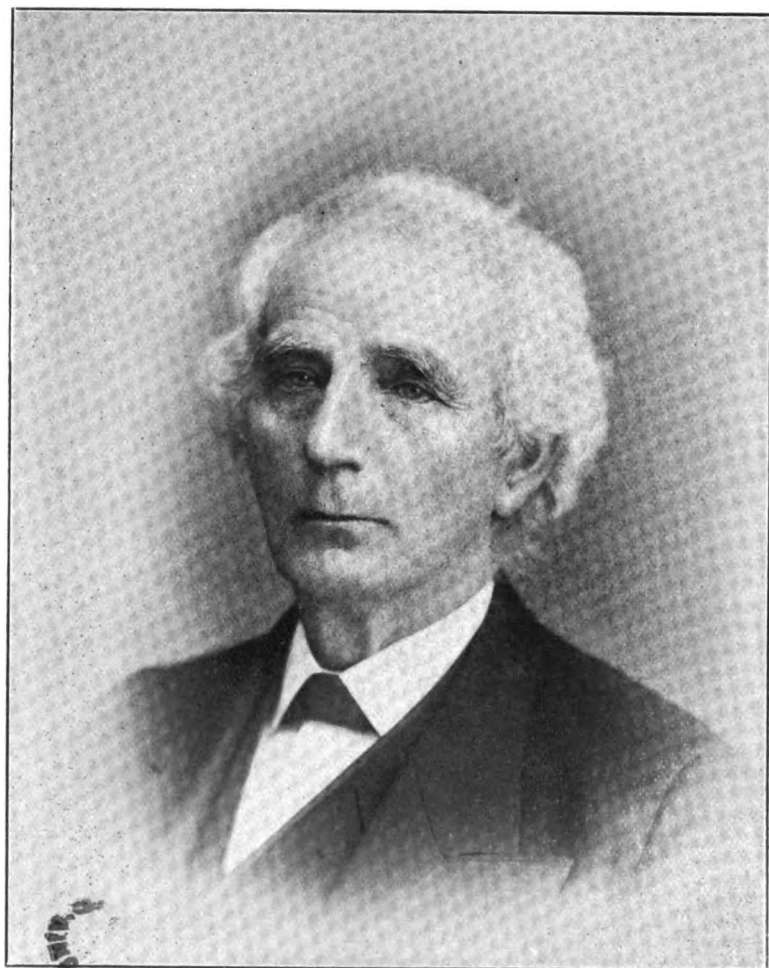
Among the precious schemes adopted by ambitious people for draining sloughs, I recall one which was in the highest degree unique—far ahead of any ever devised by the late Col. George E. Waring, Jr., our great American authority in that field of usefulness. These drainage “experts” were reported to have “invented” this plan: A large ditching-plow was drawn by means of long ropes and several yokes of oxen, *across* the shallow enclosed ponds, from one side to the other, simply making a large furrow, but providing no outlet whatever! This was termed “draining the swamp lands!” It used to be asserted in those early days that some of these thrifty operators occasionally found county authorities along the frontier weak enough, or dishonest enough, to grind out warrants and pay for such work! And thus they doubtless “made money.”

But what changes have been wrought! The prairie slough is almost as much a thing of the past as the deer or the buffalo. Tile drainage and the obvious changes in our climate have made dry land of their beds, and many species of animals and birds which once dwelt in them have entirely disappeared. Even the large aquatic and wading birds no longer pass this way, or come and go in very diminished numbers. Some species may also be very near extinction. Cultivated fields occupy the places where the little lakes and ponds shimmered in silvery brightness forty years ago.

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DEATH OF A REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIER.—Timothy Brown, a revolutionary soldier, died in Washington county, in this State, on the 3d instant, at the advanced age of ninety-two. He was in the army at the surrender of Lord Cornwallis. —*Western American, Keosauqua, Iowa, Jan. 17, 1852.*





*James Young,*  
*Arial K. Eaton.*

GEN. ARIAL K. EATON.

## GEN. A. K. EATON.\*

*Mr. President, Pioneer Law Makers of Iowa, Ladies and Gentlemen:*—I do not stop to debate with myself the propriety of a son offering a tribute to the memory of his father, but gladly accept your kind invitation to speak on the life, character and legislative services of Aial K. Eaton. The exhaustive biography of his old-time personal friend and co-legislator, P. M. Casady, which was published in your records of the re-union of 1898, and the elaborate paper read by A. K. Eaton himself on "Recollections of the 3d General Assembly," at your re-union in 1892, which was also published, render it unnecessary for me to burden you with many details.

He was born amid the hills of New Hampshire, at Sutton, in Merrimack county, December 1, 1813, and died July 16, 1896, at his home in Osage, where he had lived for more than forty years.

His was an heroic ancestry. His grandfather followed the regulars from Concord to Boston; was at the battle of Bunker Hill; became lieutenant and served throughout the Revolutionary War. He was of the stern Puritan stock. He belonged to the New England race of Puritans: that race that challenged the haughty slave-holding cavalier of the South and was victor in the combat. It is the Puritan of New England that has made America what she is.

In his childhood his first morning view was of the sun-kissed granite crags of Kearsarge just across the valley from his home. That rugged mountain was worthy to give its name to the American ocean terror. Just over the mountain was the birth-place of the leonine Webster, and a little farther away of the brilliant lawyer and afterward president of the United States, Franklin Pierce. At the foot of it

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\*This paper was prepared at the invitation of the committee of arrangements, by Hon. Willard L. Eaton, son of Gen. A. K. Eaton, and read at the Biennial Reunion of the Pioneer Law Makers of Iowa, held in the State Historical Art Room, February 14 and 15, 1900.

Senator William E. Chandler lives today. Adjoining the Eaton farm on the north was the birth-place of Gen. John Eaton and his family, for many years United States Commissioner of Education, and now in charge of educational matters at Porto Rico. Just beyond and across the valley lived the Pillsburys, now of Minneapolis, the elder members of whom went to school to my father in his young manhood. At an early age he became fatherless, and somehow, upon the rockiest of all farms, his mother lived and he managed to obtain an academic education. He was scholarly from his childhood and always an idealist. Those New England men of the earlier time communed with the mountains. They seemed to absorb the very integrity of the granite upon which they walked. I have wondered if those men of the earlier day, as they walked amid the hills and looked upon the purpling horizons and stood in the presence of the granite crag and lofty mountain, did not get visions of great things that we know nothing of. I have wondered whether great stone faces, like that in the Franconian mountains, did not form themselves out of the hills and become imbued with life and speak to them great thoughts in a language of which we can never know. It must make men kingly and majestic to walk and talk with mountain brook and majestic New England scenery.

My father began teaching when he was seventeen. At the age of twenty-three he turned his face toward the unknown, trackless west. He finally reached Detroit, and lack of money compelled him to walk 300 miles across Michigan to Washington, Ohio. Stern necessity then pointed out to him a vacant log house, which he fitted up with slabs on pins for desks and began a select school with two pupils. His room was soon filled, however, and he taught there for three years and then made his way to Randolph county, Indiana. For several years he was county auditor of that county. He was admitted to the bar in 1842 in Randolph county, Indiana. On December 7, 1844, he was married to my mother,

Sarah Jarnigan, who still lives at the old home in Osage. In 1846 he again turned his face toward the west and crossed the Mississippi and settled in Delhi, Delaware county, Iowa, in the second log cabin built upon the town plat. In this log cabin I was born October 13, 1848. He was soon elected to the office of prosecuting attorney, and in 1850 to the 3d General Assembly, and re-elected in 1852. We are now speaking of a time half a century ago. The mists and the shadows have gathered about those days and to call them up seems like the stirring of the breeze upon the mountains. But two years before that the Indians had been removed from northeastern Iowa. In his first election but 350 votes were cast in all, west of Dubuque county. But fourteen families so far as known lived west of Delaware county. Eleven of those lived in the neighborhood of Cedar Falls and Janesville, and three in the neighborhood of old Bradford, formerly near the present site of Nashua. When he entered the legislature he represented an empire. Its boundary on the east was the mighty Mississippi; on the south the south lines of Dubuque, Delaware, Buchanan and Black Hawk counties to the Des Moines river; on the west the Des Moines river itself; on the north the Minnesota line. All this vast country, except what was termed the Turkey river country, was included in his district. To call up such a fact may well stagger credulity. In the presence of it one ought to pause and reverently, with uncovered head and uplifted heart, exclaim "What hath God wrought!" That tenantless empire of fifty years ago has become the garden of the world. The smiling face of prosperity looks upon it. Happiness walks its highways and virtue guards it. It challenges comparison with any other tract of its size under the sun.

When Ariel K. Eaton left his cabin home for Iowa City, the then capital, to attend the 3d General Assembly, he walked the entire distance from Delhi and received pay for a mileage of 150 miles. The compensation of legislators in



those days was \$2.00 per day for the first fifty days and \$1.00 per day thereafter, and mileage at ten cents per mile. It was in this session that the Code of 1851 was adopted, and it is a priceless heritage to me to scan the journals of that session and find the name of A. K. Eaton mentioned so frequently and so honorably. He was thoughtful and scholarly to the day of his death, and it was fitting that he should be chairman of the committee on schools in those earlier days when the foundations of our State were being laid. In those days was born our present school system, which is the delight and pride of Iowa. He served on many other committees, but it seems to me from my knowledge of him, and remembering that in all his life he took a deep interest in our schools, that he must have been more interested in educational matters than in any other, even his chosen profession of the law. There are those still living and in this presence who served with him and who know of his energy, his untiring labor and his valuable services in the 3d and 4th sessions of the General Assembly of Iowa. While a member of the Legislature he had the good fortune to become acquainted with that unique character in American history, George W. Jones. He was his loyal supporter in his successful race for the first United States senatorship of Iowa. The friendship between those men thus early formed was lasting and unwavering. Their deaths were within a week of each other. It was a beautiful sight, and one never to be forgotten, to see those two men together in later years when their heads became white with the blossoms of age; when they lived in the glory of the past and without fear of the future. In 1855, through the good offices of Gen. Jones, my father was appointed receiver of the land office, and first removed to Decorah and finally with the land office settled at Osage where he became one of the original town proprietors and where the balance of his life was spent. The last time my father met with you was at your re-union in 1894, when the whole State, as it were, under the proclamation of Governor

Jackson, met in the capitol to do honor to that marvelous character, Gen. George W. Jones. My father sat beside him on the speaker's platform in the House. Gen. Jones was then ninety years of age. A. K. Eaton, who was then over eighty years of age, spoke from the same platform. You will remember him, tall and stately, with the stoop that always comes in the afternoon of life, as he spoke of the early days of Iowa. His mental characteristics were somewhat peculiar. He had the integrity of his own granite hills of New Hampshire. His purposes were fixed, but they were always upward. He was utterly incapable of a dishonest thought or act. His face showed strength of character, and while he never uttered a joke in his life, yet he enjoyed pure wit and frequently indulged in it. No man ever heard him utter a word that was not perfectly proper for any parlor in the land. During his declining years he was the most familiar figure upon our streets. He had a smile and a kindly word for every man, woman and child. Somehow, he instinctively knew where poverty, distress and trouble dwelt, and was a constant visitor to such as needed his encouraging presence. The angel of peace hovered over his declining years. He went out from this world without fear, for he knew that his upright life made him a prince wherever he might be, either here or in the hereafter. His funeral was held under the trees in the park and there were gathered such a company as never met before. Men, women and children who never saw the inside of a church were there, for they were his friends. Our little world said of him, "The elements so mixed in him that nature might stand up and say to all the world 'This was a man.'" And he was a Pioneer Law Maker of Iowa.

Gentlemen: the twilight and the shadows are gathering about the most of you. Remember that there is no such thing as death, for your works which represent you will follow you. Your friends, or your sons, will speak as I have done, and keep your memory green. I thank you.

## OLD CHANNELS OF THE MISSISSIPPI IN SOUTH-EASTERN IOWA.

BY FRANK LEVERETT.

One would naturally think that a stream which had been dignified by the title "Father of Waters" would be one that had shown evidence of exceptional stability rather than a bent toward vagrancy. But the Mississippi has been truly a vagrant stream; sometimes it has been forced from its bed by the intrusion of ice in the glacial winter, and sometimes by the accumulations of its own dirt or sediment. It has been shifting not only in the middle portion on the borders of Iowa, but in its lower and its upper portions as well. So many have been its wanderings that only a part of them are as yet understood.

If we turn to a good map of the lower end of the Mississippi valley, a series of branching channels will be found, which distribute the waters quite widely before entering the Gulf. These branching channels or distributaries are traversing a great accumulation of sediment or delta deposit that has been brought down the river and dropped near its mouth. The branchings and shiftings of the stream there, are apparent to every one for they are now in progress. The reason for the shiftings is also readily found in the excessive deposition which has taken place. The main channel of the stream for a long distance above its mouth has built up its bed and banks until it is now flowing on a low ridge which slopes away from the river toward either bluff. It has become necessary to build artificial banks or levees to hold the stream in its course. When these are broken in time of freshets the river turns into the lower land that borders its channel and it becomes difficult to bring it into subjection and hold it in its old course.

This behavior of the Mississippi will serve to show how easily the course of a large stream may be shifted under cer-





tain conditions. To illustrate the opposite condition, of very prolonged persistence, we would cite the Susquehanna, which crosses the entire Appalachian System of mountains and appears to have maintained its course faithfully through the long period in which the mountains have been in process of uplift. Whether a stream shall persist in its course or be turned adrift depends upon its ability to meet and overcome obstacles and adverse conditions.

Although no mountains of rock have been uplifted in the path of the Mississippi, its valley and much of its drainage basin have more than once been encroached upon by a moving mountain of ice, which became a more complete obstacle to its old course of drainage than the Appalachian Mountains have been to the course of the Susquehanna. There seems also to have been times when the upper portion of the Mississippi valley has had similar conditions to those which are now found in its lower course. As indicated below, its delta-like, silted up portion, at one time reached to the vicinity of St. Paul, Minnesota.

#### THE EVIDENCE OF SUCCESSIVE GLACIATIONS.

From the earliest days of settlement it has been noted that the central portion of the Mississippi Basin carries a mass of earth and rocks made up of materials, gathered at various points in Canada and the northern United States, which have been transported southward as far as the vicinity of the Ohio and Missouri rivers. This mass of earth and rocks has come to be known as "drift" or "glacial drift," and the transportation has been found to be due to movement of ice from Canada down into the Mississippi Basin. It was at first supposed that the ice floated as bergs and dropped the earthy material and stones which it contained into an inland sea or arm of the Gulf of Mexico. But now it is well established that it moved on the surface of the land in great fields such as the ice-field which still covers much of Greenland, and moves from the interior to the borders of that island. A full discussion of the evidence that it was a field of land ice

and not floating icebergs cannot be given in the space allowed for this paper. But it will perhaps be sufficient to say that the drift has such a definite southern border as could have resulted only from a movement over a land area. If the drift had been deposited in a sea its border should be very indefinite. In addition to the definite border at the south there is found to be a tract in the upper Mississippi region which is driftless, though bordered on all sides by heavy deposits of drift. This tract lies mainly in southwestern Wisconsin and extends slightly into northwestern Illinois, northeastern Iowa and southeastern Minnesota. It has a lower altitude than regions to the north which are heavily covered with drift. This and other evidence goes to show that its driftless character is not due to its being above the limits of the fields of ice, but instead it stood outside their limits.

The character of the drift and other evidence indicate that one field of ice, known as the Keewatin, moved from Keewatin in the central part of Canada southward across Manitoba, Minnesota, Iowa, northern Missouri and the adjacent portions of the Dakotas, Nebraska and Kansas to the vicinity of the Missouri River. It appears also to have encroached a little upon western Illinois. The driftless area, just mentioned, stood on its eastern border. Another field of ice known as the Labrador, moved from the elevated region east and south of Hudson Bay southwestward across the Great Lakes and the states of Michigan, Wisconsin, Indiana and Illinois to southeastern Iowa. The driftless area stood on the western border of this ice-field. There was still another ice-field in the Cordilleran region west of the Rocky Mountains but that does not bear upon the present discussion.

In addition to the division into several ice-fields a study of the drift has shown that it is necessary to recognize successive advances and retreats of each of these ice-fields. Account must also be taken of the order of advance of the different ice-fields. It is found that after an ice-field had

reached its farthest limits and then had melted back far to the north another advance took place which carried the ice-field nearly to its previous limits. This alternation was repeated several times producing a succession similar to that of a series of years in our northern latitudes, the glaciation finding its counterpart in our snowy winter and the succeeding period of freedom from ice in our warm summer season.

As each of these glaciations has produced an easily recognized deposit of drift geologists have been able to interpret the succession of events. They have found it convenient to apply names to the successive glaciations and to the deposits of drift which they made and also to the interglacial stages. The glaciation in which the Keewatin ice-field reached farthest is called the Kansan stage of glaciation, and its deposits the Kansan drift, because in Kansas it reached its extreme limits.

There is evidence in eastern and southern Iowa of the existence of a still earlier sheet of drift, called the Pre-Kansan, which seems to fall short of the limits reached by the Kansan drift. Being completely covered by the later deposits very little is known concerning it, but it probably had considerable influence upon the drainage. We leave it with this brief notice.

The glaciation in which the Labrador ice-field reached its farthest limits is called the Illinoian stage, and its deposits the Illinoian drift, because it terminated in the State of Illinois.

There is evidence that the Keewatin ice-field had reached its farthest limits, deposited the Kansan drift sheet, and withdrawn from the field, long before the Labrador ice-field reached its extreme limits and made the deposit of the Illinoian drift. This is well shown in the region where these drift sheets overlap, in southeastern Iowa. There the surface of the Kansan drift has been concealed beneath the Illinoian drift. It is found by outcrops along streams and by well records, that the Kansan drift had become channelled



by streams, and weathered deeply, and a well defined soil had formed on it, before the Illinoian drift was deposited. The period of weathering and soil formation, has been called the Yarmouth interglacial stage, from the village of Yarmouth in Des Moines county, Iowa, where the occurrence of this buried soil first came to the writer's notice. The soil and attendant weathering is called the Yarmouth soil and weathered zone.

Following the melting away of the Labrador ice-field and uncovering of the Illinoian drift there came another period of erosion by streams and weathering and soil formation, which is known as the Sangamon interglacial stage. This was succeeded by another advance of the ice both on the east and west side of the driftless area. It fell short a little of reaching the limits of the earlier glaciations on the borders of the driftless area and fell far short of reaching so far south as the older drift sheets. That on the west side of the driftless area extended south into eastern Iowa about to Iowa City, its southern limits being in the northern parts of Johnson, Cedar and Scott counties, and its eastern limits in western Dubuque, eastern Jones, and northeastern Clinton counties. It projected down the Wapsipinnicon valley about to the Mississippi, overlapping slightly the Illinoian drift in eastern Clinton and northern Scott counties. This has been named the Iowan stage of glaciation, and the deposits which it made the Iowan drift, from the clear development in eastern Iowa. The immense boulders of northeastern Iowa were deposited at this stage of glaciation. At the time of the Iowan glaciation there seems to have been an exceptionally low altitude and slack drainage along the Mississippi valley as far up as St. Paul, and this as shown below had an important influence upon the drainage.

Later stages of glaciation affected the headwaters of the Mississippi, but as their influence upon the portion of the valley bordering eastern Iowa is less distinct than that of the stages mentioned space will not be taken to discuss them. .

## THE OLD DRAINAGE OF THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI.

The portion of the Mississippi drainage basin which lies within the limits of the drift has a drainage system which is very different from the system or systems which drained the same region before the drift was deposited. The Mississippi itself may be occupying sections of two or more independent preglacial valleys. The drift deposits have so greatly concealed the old valleys that it is hardly possible at present to determine what relation the several sections sustained to one another, much less to show the relation to the great systems by which the interior of North America was drained.

Referring to the drainage map of southeastern Iowa (Plate 1) it will be seen that the valley of the Mississippi is very irregular in width. It is narrow near Le Claire, and from Davenport to Muscatine. It is also narrow for a few miles above Keokuk. But elsewhere it has a width of three to six miles. These narrow portions are at places where the river has departed from old lines of drainage while the broad portions denote places where it is utilizing the old valleys.

The portion on the border of northeastern Iowa seems to have turned away from the present valley near Clinton; but it has not been fully determined whether it passed southeastward through the Green River Basin of Illinois to enter the present Illinois Valley near Hennepin, or took a westward course for a few miles through the lower end of the Wapsipinnicon Valley and then turned southwestward past Durant to join the old valley occupied by the present Mississippi below Muscatine. However, the evidence from wells and the great breadth of the Green River Basin seem to favor the southeastward course into the Illinois. This being the case the Mississippi passes from one old drainage system to another in its course between Clinton and Muscatine. But if the southwestward route proves to have been the course of the old drainage the present river departs from it only a few miles and enters a lower section of the same old valley below Muscatine which it occupies above Clinton.

There seems to have been a large drainage line leading southward in preglacial times past West Branch and West Liberty to connect with the broad valley of the Mississippi below Muscatine. The course of the old valley has been determined for only a few miles as that region has now so thick a covering of drift that the course is shown only by means of well borings. Those which are made in the line of the old valley go to depths of over two hundred feet without reaching rock, while those out of the line of the valley usually reach rock at less than one hundred feet.

From Muscatine the old valley is followed by the present Mississippi to the village of Montrose a few miles below Fort Madison. The present river there turns southward across a point of the old east bluff, while the old valley continues southwestward to the mouth of the Des Moines River, where it again receives the present Mississippi. The shaded strip in the map marks the unoccupied part of the old valley in Lee county and serves to show its connections with the occupied portions above and below. It will also be observed that the lower or Des Moines rapids of the Mississippi appear at the place where the river is cutting a new channel east of its old valley.

The comparative size of the old and new channels is shown in a section, Fig. 2 on folded plate, taken from Vol. III of the Iowa Geological Survey. The position of this section is indicated on the map by the line A—B.

#### CHANGES RESULTING FROM THE KANSAN GLACIATION.

When the ice had melted away at the close of the Kansan stage of glaciation, the drift which it had deposited seems to have so completely filled the old channel in Lee county that the stream found a lower passage along a new course. It is not certain that much of the drainage of the upper Mississippi took the present course across the lower rapids at that time. Indeed there is a possibility if not a probability that a considerable portion took a course farther east. The most probable course would be that from Clinton

southeastward to the Illinois through the Green River Basin. Owing to disturbances produced by the succeeding stage of glaciation, the Illinoian, it will probably be difficult to map the system of drainage which prevailed on the eastern border of Iowa, in this, the Yarmouth interglacial stage.

#### CHANGES RESULTING FROM THE ILLINOIAN GLACIATION.

By reference to the map it will be seen that the border of the Illinoian drift lies west of the Mississippi in southeastern Iowa, from Clinton to Lee county, and passes across the lower courses of its main tributaries. The presence of this drift on the west side of the river indicates that the valley from Clinton to Lee county was covered by the ice sheet and would lead us to expect some disturbance of the drainage, if not a complete displacement. An examination of the part of Iowa immediately west of the Illinoian drift border has resulted in the discovery of a complete course of temporary drainage of the Mississippi along or near the border of this sheet of drift. The position of this temporary Mississippi channel is shown on the map. It will be observed that it turns away from the present Mississippi at the mouth of the Maquoketa and passes southward across Clinton county to the Wapsipinnicon, thence southwestward across Scott and the southeast corner of Cedar county to the bend of the Cedar in Muscatine county. It follows the Cedar down to the Iowa and there passes southward on the west side of Columbus City and continues to Winfield in Henry county. Thence it passes westward as a double channel to Skunk River at the corners of Washington, Henry and Jefferson counties. From there it passes southward along the western border of Henry county following Skunk River to Rome, and the lower course of Cedar Creek (reversed) to the vicinity of Salem. It then turns southeastward and joins the present Mississippi about six miles below Fort Madison.

The southern portion of this channel from the Iowa valley at Columbus southward to the junction with the present Mississippi, seems to have been occupied only for a brief

period as it was excavated to the slight depth of but thirty to fifty feet and to a breadth of one to one and one-half miles. At Columbus its bed stands 120 feet above the level of the Iowa River or 710 feet above sea level, and there seems to be scarcely ten feet fall in passing from there to Skunk River. In its course along Skunk River and thence southward to the Mississippi it falls more rapidly, the old bed being about 675 feet at Rome, 657 feet at the line of Henry and Lee counties and 620 feet where it joins the Mississippi below Fort Madison. There is thus a fall of ninety feet in a distance of about seventy-five miles.

The portion of the old channel northeast from the Iowa River has only a short section (between Wapsipinnicon and Cedar rivers) that is up to the level found immediately south of the Iowa River. From this it appears probable that streams continued to flow in this northern part of the channel after the southern part had been abandoned. It will be observed that Cedar River still flows through a part of this channel but it has excavated its bed to a level more than 100 feet below the level at which the waters of the Mississippi drained from it past Columbus. The portion connecting the Maquoketa and Wapsipinnicon rivers has been cut down to a level about fifty feet lower than the old bed at Columbus, showing that it too was a drainage course for a longer period than the portion south from the Iowa River. It seems probable, as indicated below, that the Mississippi itself flowed through this part of the channel at a later time than the Illinoian stage of glaciation. Summing up the above observations, it appears that the southern part of the channel was abandoned by the Mississippi, and also in a large part avoided by other streams, after the ice sheet had melted back far enough to permit drainage through the neighboring portion of the present Mississippi. But the northern part was utilized to some extent by the Mississippi and to a large extent by other streams down to a more recent date, the Cedar still making use of a considerable section of it.

CHANGES ACCOMPANYING OR FOLLOWING THE IOWAN STAGE OF  
GLACIATION.

At the Iowan stage of glaciation the ice, as already indicated, came down on the Iowa side to the border of the Mississippi near Clinton. It came down on the Illinois side to within a few miles of the Mississippi east of Clinton. The Iowa and Illinois lobes of ice appear to have been coalesced at that time over the headwater portion of the Mississippi above the driftless area.

During the Iowan glaciation a deposit of fine silty material called loess (from a similar deposit on the Rhine in Germany) was laid down between the Iowa and Illinois glacial lobes and in the region to the south. It caps the bluffs of the Mississippi and spreads out to long distances on either side. The precise mode of deposition of this loess is not fully determined. The material was apparently contributed in part by waters escaping from the ice, for it sets in abruptly at the ice border and contains rock constituents similar to the constituents of the fine portion of the glacial drift. This material is likely to have been carried by wind outside the limits reached by the glacial waters. The wind may also have brought in some of the material from the dry western plains. It is found that the thickest and coarsest portion of the deposit follows the main valleys and leads down the Mississippi to the borders of the Gulf. This deposit seems, therefore, to have been connected in some vital way with the great streams of the region. Some geologists have thought that during the deposition of this loess, the Mississippi Valley as far up as St. Paul was in about the condition of the present lower course through Louisiana, and all are agreed that the conditions for drainage were much less favorable than at present.

There seems good evidence that on the borders of Iowa the valley was so filled that the stream flowed near the level of the top of its present bluffs. This is well shown by remnants of the old flood-plain of the stream and of its tributaries

which stand far above the reach of the present waters. On the lower course of Skunk River, for example, the broad terrace which once served as the flood plain of that river opens out into the Mississippi Valley at a level more than 100 feet above the present stream and only forty to sixty feet below the bordering uplands. Let the reader picture the Mississippi flowing at a level 100 feet or more above its present water surface and he will restore a condition which there is good reason to think, prevailed on the borders of Iowa near the close of the Iowan stage of glaciation.

After the loess had been deposited, the country drained by the Mississippi appears to have become more elevated, and with this increase in altitude the streams became more rapid and began to deepen their channels. It was apparently in connection with this deepening of the channels that some of the peculiar drainage features on the borders of eastern Iowa were developed.

Referring to the map it will be seen that several island-like tracts of upland appear on the borders of the Mississippi or in its valley between the mouth of the Maquoketa River and Davenport, around and among which there is a network of channels. The channels are not all cut to a similar depth, a feature which indicates that some of them were abandoned earlier than others. The channel leading from the Maquoketa to the Wapsipinnicon past Goose Lake stands about 660 feet above the sea or nearly 100 feet above the level of the Mississippi at Clinton. The other channels are all cut to a level less than 600 feet above the sea, except the easternmost one on the Illinois side whose bed is a little more than 600 feet. The broad channel which leads from the Mississippi at the mouth of the Wapsipinnicon southeastward to Rock River is cut below 580 feet or to a level less than twenty feet above the present streams. The channel which connects the Rock River and the Mississippi east of Davenport also has a bed below 580 feet. The beds of the unoccupied channels in the vicinity of Clinton stand between 580 and 600 feet,

Franklin

Viele

Sonora Quarry

*Saint Louis*

*Keokuk*

*Burlington*

*Kinderhook*

640
620
600
580
560
540
520
500
480
460
440
420
400
380
360

Keokuk

<i>Coal Meas.</i>
<i>Saint Louis</i>
<i>Keokuk</i>
<i>Burlington</i>
<i>Kinderhook</i>

544.0  
7





but the channel which the Mississippi flows in is below 580 feet as far up as the limits of the map.

The development of these islands and channels seems to have proceeded about as follows: At the close of the loess deposition when the stream began to erode that deposit its waters were not confined to a single course but found their way southward along several lines now indicated by the channels shown on the map. Some of these channels happened to be across rock points on the slopes of the preglacial valley that had been covered by the loess, while others were in the line of old valleys. One by one the less direct channels were abandoned until the stream is now established in the shortest of the routes through that district. It has held its course across a rock point just above Clinton at the village of Fulton, Illinois, and also at the Le Claire or upper rapids, though at flood stages it sweeps around both of these rock points as well as across them. The channels across the rock points are much narrower than those in the line of old valleys because the rock presents greater resistance to the corrasion of the stream than is presented by the soft drift material that fills the old lines. It is rather surprising that the advantage of directness of route across these rock points should more than offset the disadvantages in the resistance to erosion, but the course taken by the stream proves this to be the case. It is scarcely probable that the stream will in the future turn from its course across these rock points to the less direct courses around them. Indeed in this upper part of the valley the "Father of Waters" seems to have settled down to a steady course, except at flood seasons, when it becomes too full to stay within bounds.

A list of publications bearing upon this portion of the Mississippi Valley is appended.

*The Mississippi Valley.* By J. W. Foster. Chicago, 1869.

*Bridging the Mississippi River.* By G. K. Warren. Report of U. S. Army Engineers for 1878-79, Vol. 4, Part 2.

*Water Power on the Mississippi and its Tributaries.* By J. L. Greenleaf. Tenth Census of the United States, Vol 17, 1880.

**Drainage Systems of Iowa.** By C. A. White. *Geology of Iowa*, Vol. 1, 1870, pp. 85-70.

**Physical Features of Rock Island County, Illinois.** By A. H. Worthen and James Shaw. *Geology of Illinois*, Vol. 5, 1878, pp. 217-226. See also brief references to the rapids on the Mississippi by Worthen, *Geology of Iowa*, Hall and Whitney Survey, 1858, and *Geology of Illinois*, Vol. 1, 1866.

**The Driftless Area of the Mississippi.** By T. C. Chamberlin and R. D. Salisbury. Sixth Annual Report U. S. Geological Survey, 1884-85, pp. 199-322. This paper refers to many earlier publications that touch upon the driftless area.

**The Pleistocene History of Northeastern Iowa,** by W J McGee. Eleventh Annual Report U. S. Geological Survey, 1889-90, pp. 189-577. Earlier papers by McGee that bear upon the history of northeastern Iowa are embodied in this monograph.

**The Illinois Glacial Lobe,** by Frank Leverett. Monograph XXXVIII, U. S. Geological Survey, 1899. See especially pages 19-70, 89-97, 119-184, 460-480.

The topography and drainage of the following counties in eastern Iowa are briefly discussed in the reports of the present Iowa Geological Survey as follows:

In Vol. III, 1893, Des Moines County and Lee County, by C. R. Keyes. Buried River Channels in Southeastern Iowa, by C. H. Gordon.

In Vol. IV, 1894, Allamakee County, by Samuel Calvin; Linn County, by W. H. Norton; Van Buren County, by C. H. Gordon, and Keokuk County, by H. F. Bain.

In Vol. V, 1895, Jones County, by Samuel Calvin, and Washington County, by H. F. Bain.

Volume VI, 1896, contains an elaborate paper by W. H. Norton on the artesian wells of Iowa.

In Vol. VII, 1896, Johnson County, by Samuel Calvin.

In Vol. VIII, 1897, there is a preliminary outline map of the drift sheets of Iowa by H. F. Bain, and reports on Delaware and Buchanan counties, by Samuel Calvin.

In Vol. IX, 1898, Muscatine County, by J. A. Udden; Scott County, by W. H. Norton. Norton's report contains maps illustrating the drainage changes in the vicinity of the upper rapids (Plates IX, X, XI).

Volume X, 1899, contains a report on Dubuque County, by Samuel Calvin and H. F. Bain, with a topographic map of the county by the U. S. Geological Survey.

Topographic maps of a large part of eastern Iowa have been made by the U. S. Geological Survey, Washington, D. C.

In the Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science there are short papers by Bain, Beyer, Calvin, Fultz, Leverett, Shimek and Todd, which discuss special features of the drift, the loess, and the drainage of eastern Iowa.

There are also brief discussions of the glacial deposits by McGee and other geologists published in the Transactions of the Iowa Horticultural Society.

In addition to the monographs and papers which have appeared in the above mentioned official reports a considerable number of papers are found in geological magazines, but

these are largely by authors who have published more fully in the official reports. Mention should be made of a paper by Oscar Hershey on the Physiographic Development of the Upper Mississippi Valley, *American Geologist*, Vol. 20, 1897, pp. 246-268.

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**THE DES MOINES STEAMER.**—Our enterprising friends at Iowaville are busily engaged in the construction of a steamer building at that place for the Des Moines river trade. The intention we understand is to have her completed and ready for next spring's business. We like the idea vastly. The first stroke of her paddles on the Des Moines will commemorate the beginning of a new era in every branch of industry in this great valley. When our friends launch their boat we should like to be there to see.—*The Western American*, Keosauqua, Iowa, June 19, 1852.

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**WE UNDERSTAND** that a noble old buck ventured into our town early this morning, and boldly sought provisions in the yards of some of our townspeople. He was soon routed, however, by the dogs, and away he went towards the woods, passing in close proximity to several houses, and skipping over fences as if they were mere straws. The depth and duration of the snow this winter, have deprived the deer of their usual sources of food, and caused them much suffering from hunger. Venison is plenty in our market, and fine carcasses can be bought at from 3 to 4 cents per pound.—*Quasqueton (Iowa) Guardian*, Jan. 31, 1857.

## NEBRASKA "WILD-CAT" BANKS.

AN EXPERIMENT IN FINANCE IN THE WEST BEFORE THE  
CIVIL WAR.

The two following articles may very properly be read as fitting addenda to that of MAJOR SHERMAN, printed elsewhere in this number of THE ANNALS. They throw more light upon early financial conditions in Iowa and the neighboring territory of Nebraska. The first is a farther elucidation of what is meant by the terms "wild-cat" and "red-dog" currency; and the second is an unanswerable argument in favor of laws under which banks could be established for the benefit of the people in communities where up to that time there had been none.

An object lesson in finance is presented by two large frames hanging in the Museum of the Public Library of Omaha. In them is an almost complete collection of issues of the "wild-cat" banks that flourished in Nebraska in the later 50s, when the theory of an irredeemable currency first found lodgment in the West. For many years there hung attached to one of the frames the following quotation from a speech made by A. D. Jones, a representative from Douglas county, at the time the first bill authorizing "wild-cat" bank charters was passed:

When I shall have been gathered to my fathers and an humble monument graces the spot where lie buried my bones, it will gratify my soul to look down from the high battlements of heaven and read engraved thereon this simple and truthful inscription: "Here lies an honest man—he voted against the inauguration of 'wild-cat' banks in Nebraska."

Curiously enough the first aggregation of capital ever incorporated in Nebraska was a banking institution, which obtained the privilege by a subterfuge. Its title was the Western Fire and Marine Insurance and Exchange Company. Its charter gave it power to deal in exchange, and this power was speedily construed as a license to do a general banking business. Its cashier was L. R. Tuttle, who was under President Lincoln treasurer of the United States, and its paying teller was A. U. Wyman, who held the same office under a later administration. This was in 1855.

At the legislative session in 1856, the first real battle over the incorporation of "wild-cat" banks was fought out. J. Sterling Morton, afterward Secretary of Agriculture under President Cleveland, led the fight against the banks. He was just fresh from college, and his declaration that legitimate banking business could be maintained only upon surplus capital, of which there was then none in the Territory, carried no weight. When the measure came up in the Council he handed in a minority report from the committee to which the bills had been referred in which he sarcastically urged that each note issued should bear the legend, "Bill holders individually liable."

On the day the bill became a law five banks, at Nebraska City, Bellevue, Florence, Omaha and Brownsville, were incorporated. The stock ranged from \$50,000, and the stockholders were made individually liable for the redemption of all currency issued. There was no provision for a specie reserve and no safeguard against individual rascality. So attractive a method of gaining wealth without exertion brought dozens of promoters of banks to the State when the next Legislature met. Six applications for charters were made. The committee grew alarmed and in its report pointed out that if these charters were granted and the banks issued currency to the limit allowed it would give a per capita circulation to Nebraska of \$750.00. As a result only two charters were granted.

Then the panic of 1857 came. The wave of bankruptcy which started with the failure in Cincinnati of the Ohio Life and Trust Company, and in New York of John Thompson, the broker, did not strike Nebraska until several months later. Even while eastern banks were toppling, the western newspapers congratulated themselves upon the supposed fact that while Wall street might be the money center and the great stock and currency regulator, the money strength of the country was in the West.

The Tuttle Bank of Omaha failed first. It had issued

currency without check and had less than \$200 cash on hand when it closed. The Brownsville Bank was closed soon afterward. Its collapse was occasioned by the presentation for redemption by a lot of steamboat hands on their way up the Missouri of a few hundred dollars' worth of its currency. The cashier excused himself for a moment, walked out the back door and never came back. Just \$63 was realized at the sale of its assets. In the safe was found several thousand dollars' worth of the bank's currency. The notes were excellent samples of the engraving of the day, and so unimpaired were they in public estimation that long afterward a Brownsville man was able to pass the bills at St. Louis as good money.

But two of the nine banks survived the panic. The only reminders of their existence are in the musty court files and in the collections of several numismatists. The only statistics available show that the total value of their notes in circulation, at their maximum of prosperity, was \$420,000, when their specie reserve was only \$136,000. The maximum of deposits was \$125,291 and loans and discounts \$418,097. The maximum of capital stock issued was \$205,000.

The Platte Valley Bank at Nebraska City stood the strain longest, and so great was public confidence in it that when other banks were failing many helped to hold it up by deposits of specie. When it failed it redeemed every note at par, because its president would not allow it to be said that such paper bearing his name was ever hawked about at a discount. It was the only State bank owned by residents of the Territory, men from Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin being behind the others.

One curious result of the circulation of so much money in the Territory was that people came to believe that if a man could only get his bills engraved he had a right to start a bank. One without a charter was floated at De Soto, a town no longer in existence. Its bills were sent as far away from home as possible. A local paper gave warning that

when the crash came the good name of the town would suffer. An opposition paper retorted that the bank was as safe as any other, because its solvency and the redemption of the notes of all depended upon the individual stockholders. It had half a dozen imitators. The newspapers of the day tried to do their duty by occasionally quoting the market value of the various bank issues, which ran from fifty cents on the dollar to par.

The craze to get rich by means of manufactured money seized all kinds of companies. At one point a hotel was erected purely upon scrip, at Lincoln the city government sought to make both ends meet by issuing scrip that passed current at par for a time, and was principally used at the last to pay city taxes, a reaction that furnished the basis for the municipal debt of today. Only a year ago, in tearing down an old building once used as a bank, a bundle of this scrip was found. Most of it was preserved as curiosities, but some notes found their way into circulation, and were passed upon suburban grocers. At Omaha scrip to the amount of \$50,000 was issued to build a capitol. The sum proved insufficient and another \$50,000 was printed. The capitol was completed, but was lost a few years later to Lincoln. Most of the scrip proved a dead loss to the holders, but its issue was complacently justified as a war measure in which the citizens who bore the loss gained by the temporary situation of the capitol at Omaha.

Only two of the banks issued bills of a denomination as high as \$10, and the intention was that they should wander so far away that they could not return to trouble the bank.  
—*Cor. N. Y. Sun, April, 1900.*



## ABOUT BANKS.

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Banks are created for public convenience and not for the benefit of capital. They minister to the wants of men in moderate circumstances, and by keeping up the price of labor and the price of produce, exercising a vigorous influence upon every industrial pursuit and every occupation of life. They make money plenty and furnish it to the borrower on fair and liberal terms. Any amount can be had at banks at from four to six per cent. But further, a well regulated system of banking would afford us a home currency at all times convertible into gold and silver at the will of the holder. It would drive from our borders much of the worthless bank paper from surrounding states, over which we have no control, and as to the soundness of which we have no guarantee. It would secure our citizens from frauds and losses against which they have no guards and for which they can secure no redress. It would call into the State a large amount of capital from abroad and give an impetus and energy to home business and home industry that would soon send poverty and want from our doors and make the waste places in our State "to blossom as the rose."

We might go on and multiply considerations, but these are surely enough for the present, and ought to enlist the voters of all parties, almost as a man, against the suicidal policy of that party which denies to the people the benefit of a home currency by interdicting the establishment of banks within the State. The interests of agriculture, manufactures and mechanics in Iowa all require the establishment of banks by legislative enactments. Why has this not been done? Simply because our State is ruled by a few men of narrow, contracted prejudices, whose interests might be seriously jeopardized by the incorporation of banks within the State. Money could not be loaned at from 20 to 50 per cent interest, and their unworthy occupation of wringing from the poor and the unfortunate their hard earned gains would be

gone forever. Shall this state of things continue by which *the rich are made richer, and the poor poorer*, or will not our people demand, in trumpet tones, a revision of this shabby Constitution—unworthy of a free, intelligent and enterprising people?

Now let every voter recollect that—if he desires a home currency managed by our own citizens, subject to our own laws, and open to the examination of our own people—let him be vigilant in his efforts to select the right kind of men to the next legislature. If, however, he is content with our present currency, made up as it is of bank paper from every State in the Union, all that he has to do is to continue in power the same men who have ruled our State as with a rod of iron ever since its organization.—*The Western American, Keosauqua, Iowa, May 29, 1852.*

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#### THE RACCOON RIVER AGENCY IN 1844.

BY REV. BENJ. A. SPAULDING (HARVARD, 1840; ANDOVER, 1843.)

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A few weeks ago I visited Raccoon River Agency, nearly 100 miles from this place (the Old Sac and Fox Agency in Wapello county), and 30 or 40 from the line which divides this from the country at present occupied by the Indians. Connected with the Agency is the Indian Agent, the Interpreter, two gunsmiths, two blacksmiths, with their families and servants. Nearly a mile from this, on the point between the Raccoon and the Des Moines, is a garrison consisting of about one hundred soldiers and five commissioned officers. Along the banks of the Des Moines, between it and the Agency, are several farms (carried on by the U. S. for the instruction and benefit of the Indians), and trading houses, so that the whole population (white) is not far from 200. On the Sabbath I preached to as many of these as could be crowded into a single room, officers, soldiers, merchants,

mechanics, farmers, gentlemen, ladies, children and servants, both black and white. There had been a good deal of sickness in the settlement during the summer, and more recently a few deaths, and there was considerable seriousness prevailing in some families. I should visit this place frequently, if other engagements would permit. It has been visited in one or two instances by a Methodist preacher.

On the Des Moines, in sight of the Agency, is a village containing 200 or 300 Indians. Their huge bark buildings present a fine appearance in the distance at twilight, but on a nearer approach by day they seem rather the haunts of beasts than the abodes of men. Not a tree or shrub, a garden or well, nor the slightest mark of beauty or comfort, was any where to be seen; even the wild grass had been beaten by continual tramping, till not a blade or root was left, and as the savages were away on a hunting expedition the stillness of death reigned over their desolate homes. There are several other villages on this and the neighboring rivers, containing in all about 2,200 persons, all that is left of the Sacs and Foxes, those warlike tribes who filled the whole frontier with terror during the Black Hawk war. These are to be removed to a region beyond the Missouri river. If by this removal they were placed forever beyond the reach of whisky smugglers and other vicious white men, it would be a blessing to them instead of a curse.—*The Home Missionary*, N. Y., Feb., 1845, p. 221.

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SHORT DRESSES.—The new costume for ladies is creating great excitement in the East; in fact, the rumpus is becoming general all over the country. Many approve—others find fault. But it's no use; the ladies will do as they please. The Bloomerites will carry the day, and French hats, Turkish trousers, and Grecian jackets, will mark a new era in female costume. This is a progressive age, and the short costume a radical reform. We submit.—*Keosauqua (Iowa) American*, July 12, 1851.

## CHARLES LARPENTEUR.

*Forty Years a Fur Trader on the Upper Missouri, the Personal Narrative of Charles Larpeuteur, 1833-1872. Edited by Elliot Cones. 2 vols., 1898, pp. 472. Francis P. Harper, New York: 1900.*

Matters of Iowa history appear only incidentally in this narrative, but the references thereto furnish an interesting contribution to the annals of Iowa.

The editing of this narrative is another monument of Dr. Cones' devotion to western history and of his marvelous industry. He was an enthusiastic believer in the superior value of contemporaneous documents for the elucidation of any portion of history. It was in this faith that he prepared new editions of Lewis and Clark's Journals up the Missouri (1804-6), and of Pike's Expedition up the Mississippi (1805-6). In the same spirit he edited this Narrative of a Fur Trader in the vast region where are now the States of South and North Dakota and Montana.

Larpeuteur was a native of France, who came with his parents to the United States in 1818, when he was twelve years old. In 1831 he made a trip from St. Louis up the Mississippi, intending to go to Prairie du Chien, but stopped at the Half Breed Tract, on the Lower Rapids. He says:

At this time there were two stores at Keokuk, then known as The Point, called also Foot of the Rapids and Puck-e-she-tuck. One belonged to Moses Stillwell, whose daughter Margaret was the first white child born at The Point, November 22, 1829; the other to Col. George Davenport, who was murdered at Rock Island, July 4, 1845. I came up to the place on a small steamer, the Red Rover, Capt. Throckmorton, as fine a gentleman as I ever knew. On the way up I became acquainted with Maurice Blondeau, interpreter for the Sac and Fox Indians. He took a fancy to me, and nothing would do but I must go with him to his farm, seven miles up the Rapids, and remain there until the boat got over the Rapids, which it was supposed would take a long time, as the river was very low. I consented, got a calash, a sort of one horse vehicle, and we started. The improvements consisted of a comfortable log cabin, and Blondeau was well fixed for the country at the time. He took me into the village and introduced me to the leading men, of whom many were drunk, and toward evening he got so drunk himself that he asked me if I did not want to "smell powder," but I declined, not knowing why he used the expression. After the spree

the old gentleman was very kind, took me all over the Half Breed Reservation—as fine country as I ever saw—and remarked that he would give me all the land I wanted if I should happen to make a match with his niece, Louise Dauphin; but, thinking myself too young, I declined all overtures, though I came very near accepting the offer, for Louise was one of the handsomest girls I ever saw; it cost me many long sighs to leave her, and more afterward. After two months' residence at the Rapids I returned to St. Louis, with full determination to see more of the wild Indians.

In 1833 Larpenteur accepted a situation with the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. Starting from Lexington, Missouri, he was nearly five months in the saddle making the trip over the Plains to the mouth of the Yellowstone. The Narrative affords an insight into the adventures and rough life of the Fur Traders, with accounts of Indian manners and customs. His squaw died of small pox, August 4, 1837. Later, he had an Indian family with an Assiniboine woman. In 1838, he descended the Missouri River in a canoe, leaving Fort Union March 22d. At that time there was no settlement on the river above Independence, Missouri. Just below that place he took a steamer to St. Louis. Great was his joy, after paddling for a month through all sorts of dangers, to be seated at a table, going down stream at the rate of twenty miles an hour.

In 1851, he settled upon a claim on the Little Sioux River in what is now Harrison county, near the line of Monona county, Iowa. That was the year of the great flood, of which a vivid account is given (pp. 292-5). It was the year of the highest water since known in the Missouri and Mississippi rivers. The same year another old Indian-trader, Theophile Bruguere, was the first settler at the mouth of the Big Sioux (Sioux City). Larpenteur had forty acres well broken and fenced, and good crops. As settlers came in fast, he rented his farm and kept a tavern. His buildings were all whitewashed and with trellises made a picturesque scene. Notwithstanding the increase of the settlements, the Omahaws frequently came to hunt in their old grounds, and he kept a few trinkets for their trade. The

following incident of that period belongs to the history of Western Iowa:

About midwinter (1853-4) a party of Sioux, who had gone to war on the Omahaws, had killed four of them, and stolen some ponies, passed my place on their return. The day being extremely cold, they concluded to camp on the river-bank near my house. While camped there, some of the young men went hunting and killed a deer in the timber below my field. They brought in a part of it, and one of them told my woman where he had hung the balance in a tree, a short distance from the house, saying that they did not want it, and if she chose to go after it, she was welcome to do so. Early next morning the party left; the weather moderated toward noon, and she remarked that she had a mind to go after that meat. I told her to do as she pleased, and she concluded to go. Wrapping up warm in her blanket, and taking her daughter along, she started in quest of the meat. As I was building a bridge at the time, I was alone at home, my men being all out getting out timber. She had been gone but a little while when a party of six Omahaws came in. From their daubed appearance I soon found that they were in pursuit of the Sioux, and became alarmed about my woman; for, although they knew her well, and that she was an Assiniboine, and therefore belonged among the deadly enemies of the Sioux, yet they looked upon her as a Sioux, as she spoke their language. I did the best I could to induce them to stay long enough to give my woman time to return, but they appeared in a great hurry, and soon started. Just as they were stepping off the entry I saw her coming, about three hundred yards from the house. When she saw them approaching she exclaimed to her daughter, "My daughter, we are lost!" She knew who they were, their customs, and rightly judged that her time had come. On meeting her they shook hands; but the next thing was the report of a gun, and she fell dead, shot through the heart. One among them wanted to shoot her daughter, but was told, "We have killed her mother—that is sufficient." This deed was done as quick as lightning; then they ran off as fast as their legs would carry them. The alarm was given, but to no purpose. My wife never said a word, having been instantly killed. She was also struck across the face with some blunt weapon. Her daughter was about eighteen years of age.

Larpenteur married again, April 12, 1855. The lady was the widow of Lucius Bingham, *nee* Rebecca White, of Chester, Vermont. In 1859, Larpenteur engaged again in the fur trade. In 1866, he served as interpreter to a Treaty Commission for the Assiniboines, of which Gen. S. R. Curtis, of Iowa, was a member. He afterwards returned to his home in Harrison county, which he had named Fontainebleau from the famous town in France near his birthplace,

forty-five miles from Paris. "Broken in health, broken in fortune, broken-hearted, the conclusion of Larpenieur's Autobiography is in sad terms, though set off with his usual show of stoicism." He died November 15, 1872.

The editor in note on page 4 confounds the name of Col. George Davenport with that of his son, George L. Davenport, who was born on Rock Island in 1817, died February 28, 1885. A sketch of the latter's life, with portrait, was given in Third Number of THE ANNALS, First Series.

W. S.

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### A SOUTHERN BIRD IN CENTRAL IOWA.

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BY CARL FRITZ HENNING.

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Last week a Brown Pelican (*Pelicanus fuscus*) was captured by the Fritcher brothers, on the Des Moines river, about nine miles northwest of Boone, Iowa. The young men, Veter and John Fritcher, were taking a ramble along the river that passes within a short distance of their father, S. V. Fritcher's home, when they were suddenly surprised at seeing a large and stately bird—a Brown Pelican—swimming in the bayou. Realizing that the bird was a stranger in these parts, the boys took a snap shot at the pelican with their No. 22 rifle. It flew into a large elm that had at one time been a monarch of the forest, but the elements had broken and splintered the tree and thrown it into the upper branches of another, the branches of the fallen one towering about fifteen feet beyond. This point of vantage gave the bird a good "lookout" position; but wisely concluding the place was untenable while the boys were around, it flew down the river, where it was shortly afterward shot by the young hunters.

The Brown Pelicans are Atlantic coast birds, a tropical and subtropical species, inhabiting exclusively the salt water seas, bays and estuaries, its occurrence inland being purely fortuitous. They occur plentifully in the Bahamas and the

West Indies. They rarely come north of North Carolina, and range southward along the Mexican and Central American coast lines. The "American Ornithologists' Union" check list for 1895 refers to the Brown Pelican as accidental in Illinois; but Dr. Robert Ridgway of the Smithsonian Institution in his excellent work, "The Ornithology of Illinois," says the Brown Pelican is barely entitled to a place in the list of Illinois birds, on account of a single specimen having been seen (not taken) by Mr. C. K. Worthen, near Warsaw.

The Brown Pelican has a dark plumage that is considerably variegated. Head mostly white, tinged with yellow on top, the white extending down the neck as a bordering of the pouch and somewhat beyond; rest of the neck dark chestnut. The wings are mostly blackish and the tail is gray. Above, the body is dusky, becoming gray on the wing-coverts, while below it is inclined to be more brown with lateral white stripes. A mixture of yellow, blackish and chestnut feathers are found on the fore part of the neck, low down towards the breast.

The distinguishing feature of the pelican is the great, skinny pouch attached to the entire borders of their very weak lower jaws. This pouch is best developed in the Brown Pelican, where it extends at least half way down the neck in front, is a foot deep when distended and will hold a gallon. The late Dr. Elliott Coues in his "Key to North American Birds," says: "The prevalent impression that the pouch serves to convey live fish, swimming in water, to the little pelicans in the nest, is untrue; the young are fed with partially macerated fish disgorged by the parents from the crop. As Audubon remarks, 'it is doubtful whether a pelican could fly at all with its burden so out of trim.'"

Readers seeking further information concerning the habits of this bird, errant in our region, will find a description in Baird, Brewer and Ridgway's "Water Birds of North America." There is also a reference to it in the "Illinois Ornithologist."—*Boone Standard*, July 14, 1900.



## A POLITICAL LETTER OF 1854.

MIDDLETOWN, DES MOINES Co., IOWA.

OCT. 28, 1854.

DEAR SIR: On my return from the State Fair at Fairfield I found a letter in the post office at this place from you, informing me of reported trespass upon government timber in Louisa county. I expect to go to Wapello in a day or two and see what is going on there relative to this matter.

The State Fair was perhaps a very good affair for a first effort in Iowa, a great variety of cattle, horses, mules, sheep, and hogs were exhibited, together with agricultural productions and fine specimens of mechanism, equal perhaps to anything of the kind to be found in the west.

Eleven ladies from different parts of the State entered the arena for the prize watch, worth \$150, all of whom rode well. After making a trial for the prize on a part of two days, the prize was awarded to Miss Turner of Lee county. Among them was a little girl by the name of Hodges from Iowa City, 18 years old, who made the best time and the greatest display of bold riding of any of the contestants, yet not so graceful. Public expression demanded for her the prize, but the committee decided otherwise, when immediately upon the ground one hundred and forty dollars was made up for Miss Hodges and six months' tuition and board at the Female Seminary at Fairfield.

Many of the leading men of the State were present, not excepting Gov. Grimes, whose bulls and heifers were about as far behind among the fine stock at Fairfield as he will be with the people at the end of his executive term.\*

General Dodge has been quite unwell with chills, but was so much better that on Thursday last he ventured to go to Fairfield. I left him there from whence he expects to go further west.

There appears to be some trouble with the straight-haired whigs and free soil whigs and sore-headed Democrats, in relation to who(m) they will unite upon for United States Senator. They seem to be afraid of each other. I am thinking they will have more trouble in getting together at Iowa City next winter than at the last election. I am inclined to the opinion that the chance of Henry Fitz Warren† will be the best for senator, if one is elected at all, and this cannot be unless Browning and his friends unite with the free-soil members of the legislature in senatorial election. My hope is strong that they may quarrel throughout the session, and that

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\*This prediction was not fulfilled, for Gov. Grimes was not only re-elected, but chosen by the State Legislature of 1858 to the United States Senate for his first term of six years.

†Hon. Fitz-Henry Warren, later on second assistant postmaster general, serving also for a time as first assistant. He edited *The Burlington Hawkeye* for a while, and was also an editorial writer on *The Tribune* and *Sun* of New York City. He was understood to have written the famous "On to Richmond" editorials in *The Tribune* which led to the disaster to the Union cause at the battle of Bull Run. During the Civil War he raised and commanded the 1st Iowa Cavalry. He rose to the grade of brigadier-general and became a major-general by brevet. He was a man of learning and many accomplishments, prominent as a politician, a brave soldier, an able incisive, sarcastic writer, but possessed of a somewhat irascible temper.

the Democrats may by some honest cunning elect General (A. C.) Dodge. But let this matter result as it may, I am still one of that kind who believes that the General will as certainly rise in the affections of the people as that he has been defeated in the last election. Indeed, I believe that if he could come directly before the people now for Senator he would be elected by a majority of thousands over any man of any other party in this State. His friends are not alarmed for any supposed danger his political adversaries may imagine him to be in. His fame is fixed in the hearts of the people not only in Iowa, but all over the Union, and I look with as much certainty (if his life is spared) for him to go back to the Senate in a proper time as I do for the coming of a new year.

Write to me whenever it will suit your convenience and post me in relation to what is going on in your part of the State. Receive my kindest regards for yourself and family and believe me,

Yours very obediently,

L. SUMMERS,

United States Marshall,

Le Claire, Iowa.

ROBT. ROBINSON.

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**THE DIVORCE BILL.**—A few days before the close of the late session of the legislature, a bill divorcing nineteen couples, having passed both branches of the legislature, was presented to the Governor [John Chambers] for his approval. On the 14th instant the Governor returned it to the house in which it originated, without his signature, and accompanied with his objections thereto. . . . It was afterwards passed by the requisite majority in both houses and became a law.—*Herald, Bloomington, Iowa, February 24, 1843.*

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**CHOLERA AND BUSINESS.**—The prevalence of this fearful scourge has operated to prostrate commercial business on the Mississippi. The St. Louis market is deserted almost, so that one of the city papers says the levee looks more like a churchyard than the mart of a great city. Very few boats are running, and they are doing little besides carrying the fugitives from the epidemic. This of course operates unfavorably upon the business of the entire Valley.—*Democratic Enquirer, (Muscatine) July 14, 1849.*

# ANNALS OF IOWA.

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## EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT.

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### WANTED—AN IOWA HALL OF ARCHIVES.

It is a most regrettable fact that so little care has been taken of the original copies of Iowa official papers after their use for the immediate purposes which called them into existence. This is an evil which seems to appertain to every administration since the old romantic days of Gen. Robert Lucas, our first Territorial Governor. The habit started in his time and has continued until now. In fact, these documents have been considered "dead papers" and almost worthless. In the majority of cases they have been doomed to immediate destruction. It is difficult for the public official, in the haste with which his duties are performed, to imagine for a moment that the paper which originates in his office can have any real permanent value. They are, therefore, quickly put out of sight, and after that time are generally out of mind. It is true that very limited receptacles exist in connection with our present State offices for the preservation of important papers, but these are wholly inadequate to any general and systematic care of these documents. A document may have become a "dead paper" for any present official use or value and still for historical purposes may possess the highest value. Not long ago some copies of official papers from the British Museum came into our possession, which illustrate the point we are seeking to set forth. They were simply household expenses of one of the Henrys; mere lists of articles with their prices; not much different from a bill of goods from an old-fashioned general variety store. There were several points, however, upon which they threw considerable light. They showed to some extent the habits

of their purchasers in the matters of food and clothing, the prices of many articles at that time, and the value of the money of that period as compared with our own. These papers had been used by one of the great English historians, and came into the possession of the writer for whatever value they might possess as out-of-the-way autographs.

Some months ago Prof. Shambaugh of the Iowa State University called at the Historical Rooms after he had been making researches in our Capitol building for original documents running back to Territorial times. His "finds" were quite interesting and valuable, though his opportunities for search had been quite limited. He said—"The time has come when we must have an 'Iowa Hall of Archives.' Is there room for it in this building?" He was informed that the space in the present Historical Building was wholly pre-empted, and that there could be no accommodations for a Hall of Archives until the building was completed in accordance with the original plans. He then went on to mention briefly some of his important "finds" in the document room adjoining the Governor's office. There are letters by Governor Lucas, with the original copies of a few of the Governors' messages from early times until now. But these papers are packed in such close quarters that they can only be found after a great deal of patient labor. The Professor was emphatic in his declaration that a "Hall of Archives" had become a public necessity, and that as a matter of course, it should be located at the capital. Since that date this project has been discussed by many leading men throughout the State and has everywhere met with great favor. In fact, we have not heard a single word of opposition. The realization of this idea can hardly come except through the completion of the Historical Building in which the requisite space can be provided. That department should be presided over by an expert, and as public State documents are brought into existence the original copies should be carefully preserved, filed and catalogued, so as to be available at a moment's no-

tice. It is a fact which will create surprise when we state it, that not one of the Iowa executive departments has a complete file of its own reports, nor do they possess the original copies. These reports are made to the Governor and, in accordance with the statute, are sent to the State printer. When the document is put into type and the proofs read and compared, the original copy goes into the waste basket and that is the end of it. In a few years the last printed copy is distributed, or borrowed and never returned, and so the continuity of the history of a department is interrupted and lost, often beyond recovery. When the old Capitol was burned a few years ago hundreds if not thousands of precious historical papers went up in the flames. We cannot recover what has been lost, but we may gather up what remains, make adequate provision for accruing archives, and preserve them with jealous care. To effect these high purposes an "Iowa Hall of Archives" is an absolute necessity.

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### REPRINTING THE OLD ANNALS OF IOWA.

On the 31st of March, 1900, Senator Penrose of Tama county introduced the following preamble and resolution looking to reprinting the First and Second Series of THE ANNALS OF IOWA, which were originally published at Iowa City. The purpose in view is to print a sufficient number of this periodical to supply the libraries of our State each with a copy, as well as for exchanges with other states. The resolution passed both branches of the General Assembly without a dissenting vote:

WHEREAS, The historical magazine known as "THE ANNALS OF IOWA," was commenced by the State Historical Society, at Iowa City, in January, 1868, and continued until October, 1874; and,

WHEREAS, Said publication has long been out of print and impossible to be obtained; and,

WHEREAS, It is deemed most desirable that the public libraries, schools and colleges of this State shall each possess a copy of said work, as em-

bodily more of our history than can at present be found in any other form; therefore,

*Resolved*, (by the Senate, the House concurring): That the Trustees of the Iowa State Library and the Historical Department be, and they are hereby requested to make inquiries and report at the next session of the Legislature upon what terms said work can be republished by the State, and the cost thereof, for an edition of 1,000 copies.

This action gives a strong evidence of the interest which is now rapidly developing in our State in favor of improving every facility for the study of Iowa and western history. It will be noticed that this movement is not directed to the narrow purpose of benefitting any one interest or locality, but to place this very scarce and now most precious historical work in libraries throughout the State. The history of Iowa is one of which every citizen may well be proud, but up to this time it only exists in the shape of scattered materials for such a work. We believe that the next two or three years will see books published which will vastly widen this department of our knowledge. In that time the public will doubtless be able to see and appreciate more fully the labors of Dr. Wm. Salter, Jesse Macy, B. F. Gue, B. F. Shambaugh, F. I. Herriott, and perhaps others, who are now striving to bring something like order out of the chaos of the past fifty years.

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## TWO INTERESTING PAPERS.

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Mr. J. T. Fields, of Omaha, Nebraska, has deposited in the Historical Department the original copies of two papers discharging William Bratton from the military service of the United States. He was first a member of the famous Lewis and Clark Expedition from St. Louis to the mouth of the Columbia River (1804-6). This expedition returned to St. Louis in September, 1806, and the discharge was dated a few days later. This paper seems to be in the handwriting of Capt. Meriwether Lewis, by whom it is signed in two places. It is more than usually interesting from the fact that it is all

in pen-writing, and not upon a blank form with spaces to be filled; and from the further fact that Capt. Lewis pays a hearty tribute to the zeal and fidelity of Private Bratton, a record of which a soldier might well be proud. This paper reads as follows:

St. Louis, October 10, 1806.

*To all whom it may concern:* Know ye, that the bearer hereof, William Bratton, private in a corps destined for the discovery of the interior of the continent of North America, having faithfully discharged his duty in said capacity so long as his services have been necessary to complete the objects of a voyage to the Pacific Ocean, is, in virtue of the authority invested in me by the President of the United States, hereby discharged from the military service of said States; and as a tribute justly due the merits of the said William Bratton, I with cheerfulness declare that the ample support which he gave me under every difficulty, the manly firmness which he evinced on every necessary occasion, and the fortitude with which he bore the fatigues and painful sufferings incident to that long voyage, entitles him to my highest confidence and sincere thanks; while it eminently recommends him to the consideration and respect of his fellow-citizens.

MERIWEATHER LEWIS, Capt.,  
1st U. S. Regt. Infy.

This endorsement is on the back of the discharge.

I certify that the within named William Bratton has received from me all arrears of pay, clothing and rations due him by the United States from the date of his enlistment to the present date.

MERIWEATHER LEWIS, Capt.,  
1st U. S. Regt. Infy.

OCTOBER 10TH, 1806.

The other paper discharges Private Bratton from the military service in the war of 1812. This is on a little, old-fashioned printed blank, the names having been filled in with a pen. It reads as follows—the last sentence being in writing:

I hereby certify that William Bratton, a private of Capt. Paschal Hutmans's company of the First Rifle Regiment of the Kentucky Volunteer Militia, detached under the act of Congress of the 10th day of April, 1812, has duly served the United States of America in his tour of six months; and is hereby, in pursuance of the General Order of the commanding General, WILLIAM H. HARRISON, honorably discharged. Given under my hand, at Frankfort, this 27th day of March, 1813.

M. D. HARDIN, Major,  
Commandant First Rifle Regiment, K. V. M.

William Bratton is a prisoner of war, having been taken at Frenchtown on the 22d Jan., 1813.

M. D. HARDIN.

## SUNDRY OLD LETTERS.

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The four letters given immediately below are copied from the correspondence of Gen. Joseph M. Street, the distinguished Indian agent, who died at Agency City, Wapello county, Iowa, May 5, 1840. An engraving of his decaying monument at that place is given at page 104, *ANNALS OF IOWA*, 3d Series, Vol. II. This correspondence has been deposited in the Historical Department of Iowa, by Miss Ida M. Street, his granddaughter. The letters are copied without corrections or changes from the originals:

FROM JAMES MONROE, AFTERWARDS PRESIDENT OF THE  
UNITED STATES.

LEXINGTON, OCTO. 27th, 1814.

DEAR SIR: For the Love of Goodness have the books forwarded—I am on the eve of setting out for the Eastward and cannot make my answer to White's Ex. Bill without them—send them if not done—without one day's delay—cost what it may—

My love to your spouse and for yourself. God bless you.

J. M. STREET, Esq.

JAMES MONROE.

FROM HENRY CLAY.

WASHINGTON, 11 FEB., 1827.

DEAR SIR: I rec'd your letter of the 11 ult communicating your wish to obtain some public employment. I assure you most sincerely that I have all the disposition to serve you which you could desire. With respect to past transactions\* to which you advert, I look upon them as matters long since gone by, and I have already given you evidence that they have left no unfriendly impression on my mind.

There is but little patronage in my Department, much less than in any other, and not I presume of a kind which you would expect or desire. With respect to the other departments, from obvious reasons of delicacy and propriety, I but seldom interfere. But if you will at any time indicate any particular mode in which you suppose I can be useful to you, I will give it the most friendly consideration, and do anything I can with propriety.

I am Y<sup>r</sup>s respectfy

GEN. STREET.

H. CLAY.

WHEELER 17th DEC. 1806.

SIR I forgot before I left Frankfort to request that you would forward

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\*The "transactions" referred to were the exposure of the Aaron Burr conspiracy in *The Western World*, by Mr. Street, and the action of Henry Clay in defending Burr at his trial.



to me at Washington your paper.\* Whatever relates to Kentucky will be peculiarly interesting to me; and you will be so obliging as to transmit to me your paper commencing with those of the two last weeks from this time.

I have thus far advanced on my journey, amidst bad weather and wretched roads, tho' I confess I have found them better than I expected. I still indulge the hope of dining on oysters at the — city on Xmas day.

Very respectfully,

HENRY CLAY.

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#### JOHN GRIMSLEY'S EFFORT TO SAVE THE LIFE OF A SQUAW.

MARCH 20 1839.

IOWA TERRITORY WASHINGTON COUNTY.

Sir, there is at this time a female of the Sioux nation of Indians, now a prisoner in the hands of the Sac and Fox Indians, lately taken by them, according to their own account.

I heard it two or three days ago, and that last friday she was to be put to death, but they have declined killing her. Yesterday myself and three or four others went to the camp of the chief of the indians that are on Skunk River. The name of the chief is Mac-cool-wa. He showed us some articles that they say they took from her, and that she was ten miles from his camp, and that he should start late in the evening to [go] after her. He told me they would not kill her; saying she was good to raise corn. I wished to know if they would sell her, he said he would take seven good horses for her.

They say they caught another female the same time, and cut her throate.

They say she cries much, which appears to be sport for them, and I have been informed that they say their females dance around her. I have not where with to purchase her. All I can do is to act in such a manner as will not be prejudicial to her, and to ascertain the least they will take for her. I hope these lines will reach you as soon as possible, that her nation by your assistance may redeem her from savage and unfeeling masters. If you or the indians should wish me to act in any other way for her benefit write to me on the subject, and I will do all in my power for the cause of humanity.

If you should write to me direct your letter to Mount Pleasant Henry County.

JOHN GRIMSLEY.

The Agent of the Sioux Indians.

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#### LETTERS OF OUR TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS.

Reasoning from analogous cases the writer had long been of the opinion that one or more of the Executive Departments at Washington contained many letters by our three Terri-

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\*The paper referred to was *The Western World* published at Frankfort, Ky., by Wood & Street.

torial Governors—Robert Lucas, John Chambers and James Clarke. That they must have written scores, if not hundreds of letters to the authorities at Washington, was to be presumed as a matter of course. But it was not their habit to keep letter-books or copies of their letters. If they ever varied from this course their records have either been lost or destroyed. The frequent removals of the capital had not been conducive to the preservation of documents possessing no immediate public interest. At all events, no one in Iowa seemed to have any knowledge of the existence of such letters. As those good governors were also ex-officio superintendents of Indian Affairs within the Territory, their correspondence must have referred to a large extent to the Indians. Upon all questions affecting the Territory there has been a demand for information which could best be obtained from official correspondence. Some little persistence was finally rewarded by locating eighty-six of these letters in the office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. They were no longer of any earthly value in the dust-heap where they had lain undisturbed for more than half a century, but how to get them was the important question. In some of the divisions of the departments there have been occasional house-cleanings, in which piles of letters and other papers have been burned or otherwise destroyed. (From one of these holocausts a gentleman of our acquaintance rescued valuable original letters by Commodores Perry, Decatur, Hull, Bainbridge, and other naval heroes of the war of 1812.) Destruction, therefore, might overtake them some day. It was soon learned, however, that these letters could only be secured for the State of Iowa by an act or resolution of Congress. The late Senator John H. Gear started an effort to obtain them, but this failed when he died. It was recommenced by his successor, Hon. J. P. Dolliver, through whose efforts the resolution easily went through the Senate. In the House it was looked after by Hon. John F. Lacey. It was also passed by that body and was at once approved by the President. It reads as follows:

## [PUBLIC RESOLUTION—NO. 9.]

Joint Resolution Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to remove from the files of the Department of the Interior certain letters to be donated to the State of Iowa.

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That the Secretary of the Interior be, and is hereby, authorized to remove from the files of the Department and donate to the State of Iowa such letters of Robert Lucas, John Chambers, and James Clarke, addressed to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, as may be designated by the Curator of the Historical Department of said State, copies being retained in the files of the Department of the Interior if the Secretary shall deem such letters or any of them of any value to the government.

Approved, February 28, 1901.

These letters which are now only important to the State of Iowa, on account of their historical value, and as mementos of our Territorial Governors, will doubtless reach the Historical Department at an early day. It is by no means improbable that other important letters and documents relating to early Iowa may be brought to light in the government offices at Washington, though it will be a work of time and patience to find them.

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EARLY IOWA BANKING.

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Our leading article is a most readable account of the beginning of banking operations in Iowa, by Maj. Hoyt Sherman of Des Moines. He was himself a pioneer in this department of business, a keen observer, and a man of affairs, who speaks with accurate knowledge of the situation at the beginning and of the progress of events as the State increased in population and wealth and the demands for a circulating medium constantly increased. This article is not only excellent reading at the present time, but it possesses great historical value. In the next ANNALS we shall publish a second paper from his pen on "The State Bank of Iowa." Our readers may look for a clear and succinct account of that institution, now almost forgotten, but which gave Iowa as proud a position financially as that of any State in the Union at any time. It is especially valuable as embodying the recollections of one of the most active of the founders of the old State Bank.

## NOTABLE DEATHS.

MAJOR EDWIN CARLTON BLACKMAR was born September 7, 1835, at North Woodstock, Connecticut; he died at Burlington, Iowa, October 7, 1900. Soon after his birth his parents removed to Washington county, Ohio, where he lived until 1853, when he came to Iowa. After leaving school he entered a machine shop and later became a steamboat engineer, plying his trade on the Ohio and Muskingum rivers. In November, 1852, he nearly lost his life in a steamboat explosion, only recovering after months of suffering. Upon regaining his health, he came with his father to Iowa and settled in Glenwood. For some time he was employed under the United States Indian agent at Bellevue, Nebraska. In the fall of 1861 he recruited a company of volunteers for service in the Union army and was commissioned captain of Co. F, 15th Iowa Infantry. At the battle of Shiloh he was disabled by the bursting of a shell and resigning from the service returned to Iowa. As soon as his health and strength permitted, he re-entered the service as adjutant of the 31st Iowa Infantry, serving until the surrender of Vicksburg, when again the condition of his health compelled him to resign. In 1864 he settled in Des Moines and became interested in the printing and publishing of blank books. This venture determined his future career. In 1867 he removed to Burlington, becoming a partner in the firm established by Mr. S. F. Acres. The firm was known as Acres, Blackmar & Co., a business house famous throughout Iowa. Mr. Blackmar's early experience in county offices in the western part of the State, and his experience as a practical printer in Des Moines, gave him valuable knowledge of forms and blank records required in our counties, and enabled him to advance rapidly the reputation of his firm in the matter of manufacturing and furnishing blank books. In 1879 the partnership was dissolved and the business was reorganized as a corporation, Mr. Blackmar becoming the secretary of the company. Later, on the death of Mr. Acres in 1890, he became president, which office he held until his death. For a few years he lived in St. Louis but retained his connection with the Burlington business. Major Blackmar was prominent in the Masonic order, holding a number of responsible positions, among them being that of Grand Master from 1887 to 1889. He was also a member of the Odd Fellows lodge of Burlington and a prominent member of the Matthies Post No. 5, Grand Army of the Republic.

DAVID N. DE TARR was born at Boonesboro, Boone county, Iowa, October 8, 1852; he died at Boone, January 31, 1901. He was the son of Dr. Theodore De Tarr, a widely known pioneer physician of that county, who served as captain of Co. D, 82d Iowa Infantry Volunteers, and lost a leg at the battle of Nashville, Tennessee. The son's education began in the public schools of Boone, where he was prepared for college. He was one year in Simpson College, Indianola, Iowa, going thence to the Michigan University, where he took a classical course preparatory to the study of medicine. While at Ann Arbor he married Miss Ella Hicks, who survives him. He spent some time as an instructor in the Union University at Albany, New York, returning to Boone in 1881, where he entered upon the practice of medicine. In his chosen profession Dr. De Tarr had already become eminent, especially in the department of surgery. While pursuing his classical and medical studies he had given much attention to natural history in which he became widely learned. In this field of knowledge he could discuss a multiplicity of topics with marked ability and intelligence. One friend thought he excelled in geology, another in ornithology, while still another believed him to be a specialist in conchology. He was a fine conversationalist as well as an excellent listener. His circle of friends in the city and county of his residence was a wide one. While most outspoken

and independent in his expressions, he yet possessed the highest faculty of making and retaining friends. He was the family physician and the best friend in hundreds of families in Boone county. His departure was widely mourned as a personal loss. It is a matter of doubt whether the death of any other resident of the county has ever been so generally deplored. He was as well-beloved by the rising young members of his profession as by any other class of people. At the time of his death he was president of The Central District Medical Association of Iowa, the largest organization of that character in the State. He was a book-lover all his life and had accumulated a large and well selected library—including many rare and expensive works—which he intended some day to present to the city of Boone.

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DANIEL ANDERSON was born in Monroe county, Indiana, April 3, 1821; he died at his home in Albia, Iowa, February 4, 1901. He remained on the farm with his parents until 1846, during which time, in addition to attending the common schools, he acquired something of a collegiate education at the Bloomfield, Indiana, College. Among his fellow-students and lifelong personal friends were James Harlan and George G. Wright, who afterwards settled in Iowa and made their names illustrious through their useful public services. Mr. Anderson commenced the study of law soon after leaving school. He was admitted to the bar in 1847, and the following year came to Keokuk, where he commenced practice. He settled permanently in Albia in the spring of 1849, continuing in the practice of his profession until 1892, when he retired on account of failing health. He was elected State Senator in 1854, and served the people in that capacity until he entered the army in 1861. He became captain of Co. H, 1st Iowa cavalry, under Col. Fitz Henry Warren. He was promoted through the various grades to colonel of the regiment, resigning in 1864 in consequence of impaired health. He was presidential elector on the Lincoln ticket in that year. Appointed Register in Bankruptcy in 1867, he filled the position until the bankrupt law was repealed. He was a delegate to the first Republican National Convention, held at Philadelphia in 1856. He had also held many other positions of honor and trust. His record in civil life and in the army was in every respect praiseworthy. He was personally popular, a man of many friends and few or no enemies. While in the Senate he was recognized as one of its leading members. Ask an old legislator of those days who were the prominent men in the State legislature, and among the first half-dozen names he mentions will be that of "Dan Anderson." He took a deep interest in the establishment of the Historical Department and contributed valuable books and documents to its treasures. The Monroe County Bar Association and the local post of the Grand Army of the Republic attended his funeral in a body, and paid tributes to his memory in resolutions of respect and sympathy.

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WALTER I. HAYES was born at Marshall, Michigan, December 9, 1841; he died there March 14, 1901. After receiving a common school education he entered the law department of the Michigan University from which he graduated in 1863. Soon afterwards he became city attorney for his native town and U. S. Commissioner for the eastern district of Michigan and also of Iowa. He came to Iowa in 1866 and settled in Clinton, where he entered into a law partnership with the late Adjutant General N. B. Baker, which ceased, however, when the latter removed to Des Moines. Mr. Hayes was three times elected city solicitor of Clinton. He was judge of that district from 1875 to 1887. On two occasions he was the Democratic candidate for Judge of the Supreme Court, but defeated with his party ticket. He was chosen as a representative to the Fiftieth, Fifty-first, Fifty-second and Fifty-third Congresses. Hon. N. A. Merrell, a representative in the State

Legislature from Clinton county having died during his term of office, Mr. Hayes was elected to fill the vacancy and took his seat at the extra session of 1897. (See Jour. H. R. extra session, 1897, p. 40.) This was one of the most important sessions of recent years, as it adopted the present Code and provided for its publication. While Mr. Hayes came into the House after the general course of legislation had been definitely settled, he was recognized as one of its leading members. He was greatly distinguished as a lawyer, judge and legislator. He pursued a liberal course toward the soldiers of the Civil War. Of 180 bills introduced by members from Iowa during the time he served in Congress nearly one-third were offered by Judge Hayes. He was also an able supporter of the Hennepin canal, which was carried through Congress while he was in that body. He was a man of large ability, greatly esteemed in his county and throughout the State, and prominently identified with questions of the highest importance wherever he served the people. It would seem probable that some more extended notice of his useful career will find a permanent place in the historical records of the State.

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EDWARD CAMPBELL, JR., was born in Washington county, Pennsylvania, January 1, 1820; he died at Fairfield, Iowa, March 10, 1901. Losing his father at an early age, he was largely self-educated. Growing up to manhood near Pittsburg, he became chief clerk in the offices of the prothonotary and sheriff of the county, and later was himself elected to both of those offices and held them for a number of years. He came to Iowa in 1865 and settled on a farm near Fairfield. A few years since he removed to the town where he resided until his death. All his life a Democrat, he became one of the leaders of his party in Iowa, serving as chairman of the State Central Committee for ten years, during which time it is stated that he bore nearly all its expenses. He was a prominent figure in many Democratic national conventions. He was elected to the Iowa House of Representatives for the session of 1872, and also served at the extra session. In his brief legislative career he became especially distinguished for his active work in behalf of the new code of 1873, and for his instrumentality in the repeal of the law for the publication of the Iowa laws in certain newspapers. President Cleveland in his first term appointed him United States Marshal for the southern district of Iowa, which position he held four years. Mr. Campbell became one of the most widely known men in the State and personally one of the most popular. A leader in his party, he ranked as one of the foremost, while he enjoyed the confidence and respect of the opposition. His death at the end of four score useful years called forth the highest expressions of appreciation from the press throughout the State.

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LAMPSON P. SHERMAN was born in Lancaster county, Ohio, October 13, 1821; he died in Des Moines, Iowa, November 21, 1900, aged seventy-nine years. He was the seventh of a family of eleven sons and daughters of Judge Charles R. Sherman, and a brother of Gen. W. T. and Hoyt Sherman. He learned the printer's trade in the office of the old *Cincinnati Gazette*, of which he was foreman for many years, emigrating to the then frontier town of "Fort Des Moines" in 1849, where he continuously resided for nearly fifty-two years. Soon after his arrival, he established the first Whig newspaper, *The Des Moines Gazette*, which under changing names and owners, has been in continuous existence until the present time, and is now known as *The Iowa State Register*. He remained with the original paper for many years, sharing its ownership with other parties, until he accepted a position with the local branch of the State Bank of Iowa in 1857. This connection continued until 1866, when he was appointed United States Revenue Collector for the District, holding the office until 1883. In 1854 he was

elected the third mayor of the city of Des Moines. In 1855 he was city recorder, and in 1858 city treasurer. He was a member of the city council for the Third Ward in 1869-70. He was long prominent in public affairs in Des Moines, and always discharged his public duties with credit to himself and honor to the public whom he served. Soon after his arrival in the then frontier town he married Susan B. Lawson. Seven children were born to them, and the mother and three children survive—John, Minnie and Lampson P., Jr., all of whom are residents of the capital city.

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ON THE MORNING of December 3, 1900, occurred the death of Franklin Wilcox, at Burlington, Iowa, at the ripe old age of ninety years. He was among the first settlers of the State of Iowa, coming to the territory as early as 1836 and settling in what was known as the half breed tract in Lee county. Mr. Wilcox was born at Addison, Vermont, June 24, 1810. His parents soon afterwards removed to Portage county, Ohio. On coming to Iowa Mr. Wilcox purchased 2,000 acres of land in the "Half Breed Tract." He soon afterwards removed to Commerce, Illinois, afterwards known as Nauvoo. He returned to Lee county in 1841 and in 1845 removed to Des Moines county, settling in Union township where he engaged in farming until 1863. His last settlement was in Burlington, where he lived until his death. On the breaking out of the war Mr. Wilcox was one of the first to offer his services to his country, enlisting in Co. K, 83d Illinois Infantry, in May, 1861. He served three years and enlisted again, remaining in the service until the close of the war. He participated in all the engagements in which his regiment took part. There served with him his second son, Pliny, who was killed. The confidence and respect of his fellow-citizens in his ability and integrity were shown Mr. Wilcox on numerous occasions. He held various important public positions, was sheriff of his county, which he also represented in the State Legislature in 1862, member of the board of county supervisors, and justice of the peace for fifteen years. In politics he was a Whig and later a Republican.

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HENRY EGBERT was born in New Castle, Delaware, September 22, 1826; he died at Davenport, Iowa, February 23, 1901. At the outbreak of the Civil War he enlisted in Co. C, 2d Iowa Cavalry, of which he was a few days later elected captain. He went at once to the front where he saw plenty of active service, taking part in the battles of Iuka and Corinth. He was in the charge at Farmington, in May, 1862, where he received a wound from which he never fully recovered. He left the service for a short time but re-enlisted in 1864, when he was commissioned lieutenant-colonel of the 44th Iowa Infantry. He served as provost marshal at Davenport after the regiment was discharged, and was not finally mustered out till January, 1866. He served four years as treasurer of Scott county, once as representative in the legislature, 1880-81, and four years as postmaster of that city. He was prominent in many business interests, and was for two terms a trustee of the Soldiers' Orphans' Home. During the period of his residence in Davenport he was one of the foremost citizens, both of the town and county, and well known throughout the State.

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HENRY G. CURTIS was born in Licking county, Ohio, November 3, 1839; he died at Atlantic, Iowa, March 2, 1901. He graduated from the Central University of Iowa at Pella in 1861, and was honored with the degree of A. M. from the same institution in 1866. He was the founder of his own fortunes, teaching in the common schools to pay his way through college. He enlisted as a private in Co. E, 8th Iowa Infantry, and was promoted to sergeant of the Mississippi River Marine Brigade. He was admitted to the bar in 1865, during which year he served as assistant secretary of the senate. He rose to a commanding position as a lawyer, and was exceedingly

fortunate in business enterprises. He became a member of the Board of Trustees of his Alma Mater, to which he gave \$25,000. He was widely distinguished as a Republican orator and writer. His last public service was as a member of the U. S. commission for the establishment of a new government in Porto Rico.

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**WILLIAM WESLEY BOAK** was born in Berkley county, Virginia, August 21, 1825; he died at Webster City, Iowa, March 5, 1901. His father came west in 1836, stopping first at Georgetown, Illinois, but the next year continuing his journey to Mt. Pleasant, Iowa, where he made a permanent settlement. In 1852 the subject of this notice crossed the plains with an ox team to California. He returned to Iowa in 1854, and settled on a farm two miles northwest of Webster City. He was, therefore, one of the pioneers of Hamilton county and went through all the privations and vicissitudes of frontier life. Always reliable in his business engagements, an industrious, prudent and successful farmer, he became well known in county affairs. He served long on the township school board, and was for eight years a county supervisor, beginning with the introduction of that system in January, 1861. He was several times chairman of the board.

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**LEWIS WHITMAN TURBS** was born in Binghampton, New York, January 24, 1826; he died at Emerson, Iowa, February 28, 1901. He was one of the Argonauts of '49, having crossed the plains to California with an ox train that year. He spent some time in mining, with but moderate success, and when the State was admitted in 1850, he was elected to the legislature from his district. After some time devoted to mercantile and mining pursuits, he returned to "the States" and took up his residence for a time in Michigan. In 1854 he came to Iowa and settled at Emerson, Mills county, where he afterwards resided. He held the office of county judge from 1858 to 1860. In 1861 he raised an infantry company which was retained at home as minute men to keep back the Missouri raiders. The company, however, was never called out. He was prominent in the Masonic order of which he had been a member for half a century.

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**JAMES A. POOR** was born at Pawlet, Vermont, November 11, 1836; he died at Independence, Iowa, January 10, 1901. When the war of the rebellion came on he enlisted in Co. C, 27th Iowa Infantry, and served during the war. At its close he returned to Independence, where he afterwards resided. He was elected treasurer of the county, which office he held twenty-seven years, an unprecedented record in this State. He managed the office with such rare ability, and his services were so satisfactory to the people that he was, with one accord, kept in that position. Hon. W. G. Donnan, who served with him in the 27th Infantry, paid a high tribute in *The Bulletin-Journal* of Independence to his efficiency as a soldier and an officer. That paper devoted three columns to a biographical sketch of Mr. Poor, which was accompanied by a fine portrait.

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**JOHN RAMSDELL** was born at Salem, Massachusetts, January 1, 1816; he died at Tama, Iowa, March 5, 1901. In his youth and early manhood he was a sailor. Settling in Tama county in 1863, he assisted in organizing the township where he resided, and was the second county superintendent of schools. During his term he issued a certificate to Hon. James Wilson, present Secretary of Agriculture, authorizing him to teach in the public schools. He has been prominent in business circles in that county—as a director in the First National Bank, one of the organizers and president of the Tama Paper Company, and one of the directors of the Tama Water Power Company. He also filled the office of mayor of Tama City. He was a scholarly and cultured gentleman with decidedly literary tastes.



**JOHN RUSSELL BARCROFT** was born in Cadiz, Ohio, May 13, 1824; he died in Des Moines, Iowa, January 20, 1901. He was admitted to the bar at the age of twenty-three, in his native place. He first settled in Millersburg, Ohio, where he engaged in the practice of law. While residing there he was for a time a law partner of Gen. Josiah Given, Chief Justice of Iowa. He came to Iowa in 1864, stopping awhile in Oskaloosa, but settled in Des Moines in 1865, where he entered into a law partnership with J. S. Polk and F. M. Hubbell. He was a man of much ability and occupied a commanding position in his profession, but had never been an office-holder, nor was he a member of any church or of any secret order.

**WILLIAM H. TURNER** was born in Sciota county, Ohio, September 10, 1834; he died at Keokuk, Iowa, October 29, 1900. He came with his parents to Lee county in 1852, where he afterwards resided. He received his education at Maryville College, Kentucky. After his college days he entered upon the study of medicine under the late Dr. John F. Sanford. He had practiced a few years before the outbreak of the war, at which time he was made assistant surgeon of the 2d Iowa Infantry, which place he held to the end of the war in 1865. He also held the position of medical examiner of the Pension Board during the administration of President Cleveland.

**SAMUEL S. WHITE** was born in Franklin county, Indiana, in 1811; he died at Portland, Oregon, January 6, 1901. He settled upon the site of Burlington in the fall of 1829, and was the founder of that town. He was an Indian war veteran, having fought in the Sac and Fox and Black Hawk wars. He removed to Oregon in 1845, where he became a farmer and steamboat man. He was the first probate judge in that State. Steps have been taken in Burlington to secure his portrait for the gallery of local history in the new library building.

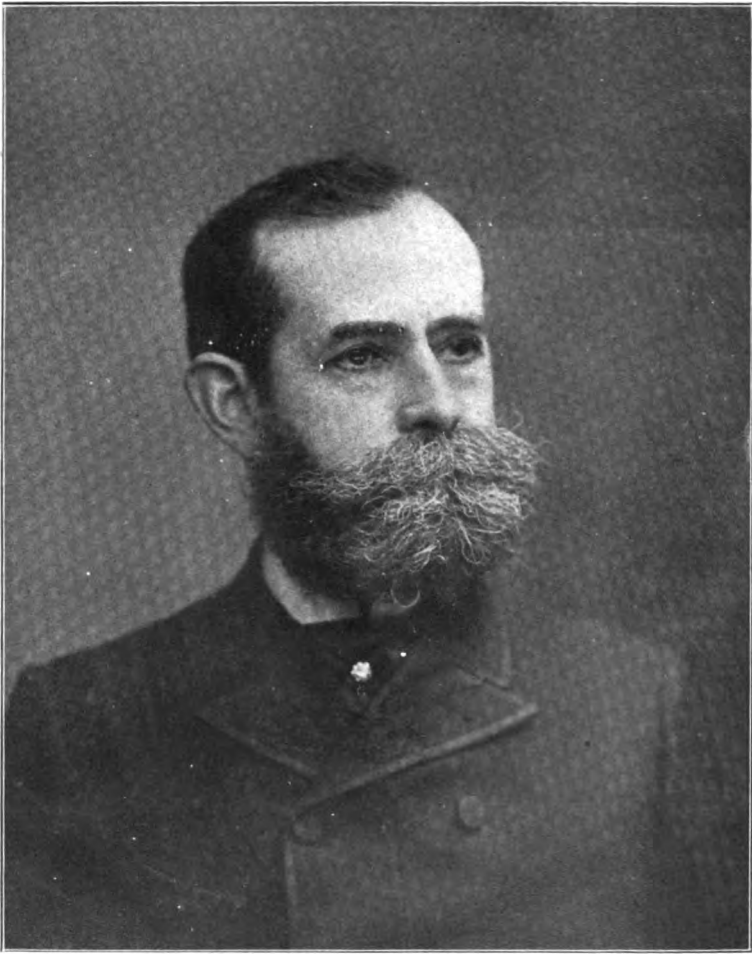
**CHARLES KLOCK SMITH** was born at Johnsonville, New York, February 12, 1835; he died at Sioux City, Iowa, February 24, 1901. He was one of the pioneers of Sioux City, having settled there in 1855. President Buchanan appointed him postmaster in 1857, in which position he served four years. He was elected mayor in 1867. In 1861 he became a member of the Iowa Frontier guards. Mr. John H. Charles narrated the principal events in the life of this early settler in *The Sioux City Tribune* of February 25, 1901.

**ALEXANDER LAURENCE** was born in New Deer Parish, Aberdeenshire, Scotland, September 11, 1807; he died at Cedar Rapids, Iowa, February 9, 1901. He held the office of city marshal of Cedar Rapids, coroner, township trustee, assessor and deputy U. S. marshal. He retired from public life in 1897. He was especially prominent in the Masonic order.

**HOWARD A. LANGLEY** was born January 16, 1827, at Northfield, Massachusetts; he died at Burlington, Iowa, January 15, 1901. He served three years and five months in Co. C, 16th Wisconsin Infantry. He settled in Burlington in 1867, where he afterwards resided. He was a member of the Matthies Post, G. A. R., Burlington.

**THE PRAIRIE SLOUGH.**—A note should have accompanied the article under this heading, giving the pronunciation of the word "slough," as used in this part of the Middle West. It is pronounced as if written "slew," "sloo," or "slue."





*Very truly yours,  
Cyrus Bussey*

HON. CYRUS BUSSEY.

State Senator, 1860; Colonel 3d Iowa cavalry, 1861; later, promoted to brigadier and  
brevet major-general; Assistant Secretary of the Interior, 1889-93.

# ANNALS OF IOWA.

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3d SERIES.

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## THE BATTLE OF ATHENS, MISSOURI.

BY GEN. CYRUS BUSSEY.

The repulse of our forces at Bull Run aroused the whole secession element in Missouri, which organized into military companies for service in the Confederate Army. These companies in northeastern Missouri were under the command of Gen. Martin Green. These forces overran the country, driving Union men from their homes and causing terror among all loyal people.

After the close of the extra session of the Iowa legislature (May 15-29, 1861), in which I was a senator, elected as a Democrat, I was on the 11th of June, 1861, appointed by Governor Kirkwood aide-de-camp on his staff, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel of Cavalry, and authorized by the Governor to assume control over the militia organization in Southeastern Iowa.

I resided at Bloomfield, in Davis county, about twelve miles from the Missouri line. I went to work at once to prepare for the defence of the towns in the border counties of Iowa, visited Keosauqua, in Van Buren county, and Keokuk, and arranged for the organization of one Company of Mounted Riflemen in Lee, Van Buren and Davis counties. I had information that rebel forces in large numbers occupied every county seat in northeastern Missouri, and had reason to expect they would make a raid into Iowa, to steal horses and other supplies before going south to join the army under Gen. Sterling Price.

I reported to Gov. Kirkwood these facts, and asked that

arms be sent me. The Governor replied that he had not been able to secure any. I then telegraphed to Gen. Fremont, who had just arrived at St. Louis to command the Department of the Missouri, that a large force threatened northeastern Missouri and southeastern Iowa, and that I wanted arms and ammunition to arm Home Guards. He replied promptly that it was impossible to supply them.

About three hundred loyal men, under Col. David Moore, organized as Home Guards and established a camp at Athens, on the Des Moines river, twenty miles west of Keokuk. These forces were without arms, except shot guns and rifles sufficient to arm about one-third of their men. Col. Moore barricaded the streets of the town and adopted other measures of defence.

In connection with other business at Bloomfield I owned a pork house which gave employment to several men. One of these, a foreigner, I was sure I could trust, as he was in every way discreet, and I had abundant evidence of his loyalty. I sent him to Missouri with instructions to visit the various camps of the enemy, and learn if possible if they intended a raid into Iowa. I told him not to return until he could bring me reliable information.

I left Bloomfield for Keokuk, and on the 30th of July arrived in St. Louis. I went to Gen. Fremont's headquarters and after some delay was admitted to the General's room. I found him alone, standing by a large table on which was the U. S. map. I represented to him the presence of Green's forces in northeastern Missouri, near the Iowa line, and expressed my belief that they would make a raid into Iowa before going South, and that to defend ourselves we must have arms. He expressed regret that it was impossible to spare one gun. He said he had organized regiments ready for service but without guns to arm them.

I asked him to give me fifty thousand rounds of ammunition. He asked me what I would do with it without any arms. I told him I would feel safer with the ammunition.

He gave me an order on Capt. Callender in charge of the arsenal, who shipped the ammunition that night to Keokuk, where it was put into storage.

I informed Gen. Fremont that the 5th Iowa Infantry, Col. Worthington, and the 6th Iowa, Col. McDowell, were in rendezvous at Burlington, waiting arms and equipments, and that if moved to Keokuk their presence there would render our position perfectly safe. He at once gave me the following:

HEADQUARTERS WESTERN DEPARTMENT, }  
ST. LOUIS, MO., JULY 30th, 1861. }

*Col. Cyrus Bussey.* SIR: You will order the 5th Iowa Regiment, Col. Worthington, and the 6th Iowa, Col. McDowell, to proceed immediately to Keokuk. Col. Worthington will take command, and immediately on his arrival at Keokuk will report to Brig. Gen. Pope, commanding North Missouri.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. C. FREMONT,

*Major General Commanding.*

I immediately telegraphed this order to Col. Worthington and left that night for Keokuk, much pleased with the result of my day's work.

Immediately on the arrival of these troops at Keokuk they were ordered to St. Louis owing to the invasion of Missouri by a large force under Gen. Stirling Price.

During my several visits to Keokuk, Col. Moore sent his officers to me for arms and ammunition. I had a lot of powder which belonged to the State, a part of which with some lead I gave him, and promised to supply him with arms if I succeeded in procuring any.

On my arrival at Bloomfield on the 1st day of August, I heard reports that the rebel forces in the northern border counties were very active, and fears were expressed that they would come into our State. My messenger had not returned, causing me to feel that there was no immediate danger. That night, however, about eleven o'clock I was called up, and upon opening the door found the man I had sent to Missouri, who informed me that Gen. Martin Green, with a force of 1500 rebels—then shoeing their horses—would

start within two or three days to make an attack at some place in Iowa. He heard Keokuk talked about and believed that was their objective point. I arranged for a conveyance that night, and left Bloomfield the next morning at four o'clock, and rode thirty miles to Summit, where, at nine o'clock, I took a train for Keokuk, arriving there at noon. After notifying the railroad officials that their road and depots were in danger, I went to the office of Samuel F. Miller, late Justice of the United States Supreme Court, then a prominent lawyer, to confer with him about the defence of the city, and had been there but a short time, when John Givin, late general superintendent of the Iowa Division of the Rock Island railway, then ticket agent at Keokuk, came to me with a bill of lading for one thousand stand of arms and equipments, which had just arrived on a train from Burlington. These guns were shipped by the War Department at Washington, D. C., consigned to Council Bluffs, Iowa, via Hannibal, Missouri, to arm the 4th Iowa Infantry, commanded by Col. G. M. Dodge.

I at once decided to seize these arms, and use them to arm the people for their own protection. I realized the great responsibility I was about to assume. I knew very well that no representations I or any one else could make would bring an order to take them. I gave the railroad company written instructions to deliver the guns to me, and to hold a train in readiness to take me and the arms out on the road as soon as I could arrange to leave. The fifty thousand rounds of ammunition which I had secured from Gen. Fremont were of the same calibre as the guns, so that now I had guns and ammunition, and felt that I could place the people on the border in position to defend themselves.

The legislature at the extra session in May had authorized the organization of a regiment of cavalry for home guard duty in the southern border counties of the State. I had called into the service a company in Lee county under Capt. Hugh J. Sample, one in Van Buren county under

Capt. E. Mayne, and one in Davis county under Capt. H. H. Trimble.

I delivered one hundred guns and ammunition to Capt. Sample, to arm his company, and one hundred to Capt. W. W. Belknap, late secretary of war, then a lawyer at Keokuk. Capt. Belknap had a fine company which he had organized two or three years before. These men offered their services should occasion require. I left Keokuk the same afternoon with eight hundred guns. About two hundred of these went to arm Col. Moore's men at Athens. The parties receiving them were Capt. James S. Best and Lieut. W. F. Harl of Memphis, Missouri, who had a company of one hundred and thirty-five men at Athens. D. K. Turk took forty guns and Joseph Bayless and A. Anderson sixty guns, with ammunition. All these were for use at Athens. At Farmington, four miles beyond Athens, I left one hundred guns with Capt. O. H. P. Scott, and at Summit two hundred guns for Capt. Mayne's company, and for Henry C. Caldwell (now Judge of the United States Circuit Court) who was then a prominent lawyer at Keosauqua, to arm another company.

I arrived at Ottumwa about seven o'clock that night, with the remaining guns; hired wagons with which to haul them to Bloomfield; traveled all night and arrived there at daylight.

Arms were furnished to Capt. Trimble's company, and other companies were organized for temporary service, one of them by Mr. George Duffield.

Feeling that these forces would be able to protect the town, I left Bloomfield the next morning, the 4th of August, at four o'clock, for Summit, to take the train for Keokuk. When about half way to that point I met a messenger riding as fast as his horse could go to bring me the information that the rebels in large force had appeared before Athens. Col. Moore had been notified of the approach of the enemy by refugees, and was prepared to receive them.



He telegraphed to Keokuk for reinforcements, and sent messengers to Farmington and other points for aid.

On my arrival opposite Athens, before ten o'clock, heavy firing between Green's forces and Col. Moore's Home Guards was then going on. The enemy had completely surrounded the town and no doubt expected to compel the surrender without the sacrifice of many of their men.

A few minutes before my arrival, a special train arrived from Keokuk bringing several hundred men, including the companies of Capts. Sample and Belknap, and companies of the 6th Iowa Infantry, who had not yet been able to get transportation to St. Louis.

These forces were forming in line when I made my appearance. Some of the men raised the question as to whether or not the Iowa militia had a right to cross the river into Missouri. Having the necessary authority from both the Governor of Iowa and Major General Fremont I ordered these forces and a detachment from Farmington to cross the river, then very low and fordable, and attack the enemy's right flank.

Without a moment's hesitation these companies moved forward, into the river and up the bank on the other side, sending a heavy fire into the ranks of the enemy. These reinforcements were evidently wholly unexpected. The effect was to completely demoralize the rebels, who rapidly retreated, leaving thirty-five or forty men killed and wounded.

Among those who came up from Keokuk to take part in the fight, was John W. Noble, a young lawyer of Keokuk, who shouldered a musket and was one of the first to cross the river, firing on the enemy as he went. He was slightly wounded in the engagement, but not disabled. He afterwards rendered distinguished service in my regiment, the 3d Iowa Cavalry, succeeding to the Colonelcy, and later became distinguished as Secretary of the Interior under the Harrison administration.

The rebels had artillery and fired several shots across the river, but none of their troops reached Iowa soil.

Colonel David Moore who commanded the Home Guards at Athens, proved himself a hero. With 300 men who had never been under fire, he held his position behind barricades in the streets of Athens, until reinforcements arrived.

I had spread the information at Keosauqua, Summit and other points, as I came through, that the enemy were at Athens, and in a few hours Captain Mayne with a large force from Keosauqua, Capt. O. H. P. Scott and others, with two or three hundred men from Farmington, arrived.

Colonel Moore was anxious to follow the enemy and proposed that if the Iowa companies would join his forces he would start next morning. I called our Iowa men together and found them willing and anxious to go. About 600 Iowa men with Colonel Moore's 300, left Athens early the next morning and drove the enemy under General Green across the Missouri river.

But for my action in providing ammunition, and seizing government arms, two-thirds of Colonel Moore's men would have been without arms. The 6th Iowa Infantry would not have been at Keokuk but for the fact that I had it sent there. The Keokuk companies would not have been armed, and there would have been no forces to go to Moore's relief. Under these circumstances Moore would have been compelled to retreat into Iowa or surrender. The enemy would have crossed the river, destroyed the railroad, and marched to Keokuk, where they could have robbed the banks, pillaged the town, and made their escape to Alexandria, five miles distant, where they would have been among friends.

I think I have shown that without my active co-operation as above stated there would have been no victory at Athens.

I had taken Colonel Dodge's guns and must make that fact known to the war department. Governor Kirkwood learned I had taken them before he learned the cause. He wrote me a letter disapproving of my action and directing me to send the guns forward to Council Bluffs. Judge Caleb Baldwin, aide-de-camp to the Governor, also heard of my theft

of the guns, and wrote me a sharp letter, in which he said that after the Governor and our Senators and Representatives in Congress had failed to get arms, he had advanced the money to pay Colonel Dodge's expenses to Washington, believing he would succeed in getting arms, which he did, and could not understand why I should seize them. Before I had time to answer this letter, I received another from Judge Baldwin, saying he had just seen Joseph Shepard, Supt. of the U. S. Express, who had informed him of the circumstances under which I had taken the guns, and that they had secured a Union victory at Athens, and that I had done what was right in the matter. Governor Kirkwood also wrote me approving my action.

I visited St. Louis on the 9th of August to report to General Fremont. On reaching his headquarters I was immediately admitted. I gave the General a full report of my movements and action since I had seen him ten days before, and my action in taking the arms, and the use made of them in the battle of Athens. I explained that the guns were widely scattered, and that it would be impossible to get them together until the country was more peaceful. I asked him to request the war department to duplicate Col. Dodge's requisition. General Fremont expressed himself greatly pleased with my action in everything I had done. He said he did not believe one man in a million, not in United States service, would have assumed the responsibility of taking government arms in transit on a railway train.

He said I ought to be in the United States service, that I had shown my fitness to command. He stated that he would communicate with the war department and requested me to return the next day, which I did, when he handed me an appointment as colonel, with authority to raise a regiment of cavalry.

On Colonel Moore's return to Athens, after his march after General Green's forces, he brought in about thirty prisoners, some of whom were prominent citizens of Alexan-

dria. Few, if any, of them were captured in arms. Some of these men appealed to General Fremont who referred the appeal to Brigadier General Pope, commanding North Missouri, who telegraphed me to go to Athens, investigate the charges against the prisoners, and send to St. Louis under guard any I might find against whom charges of treason could be sustained. I performed this duty, sending four of the prisoners to St. Louis in charge of Captain Charles C. Smith, 13th U. S. Infantry, who had just completed the muster in of my regiment, the 3d Iowa Cavalry. The other prisoners I discharged.

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The following letters are a portion of those referred to by Gen. Bussey, in the foregoing article. One by Gov. Kirkwood has been lost. These, however, abundantly confirm the statements of Gen. Bussey in regard to what he calls "the theft" of Gen. Dodge's muskets, and his own action in the series of events which culminated in the battle of Athens.—EDITOR OF THE ANNALS.

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FROM ADJUTANT GENERAL N. B. BAKER.

ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE, DAVENPORT, Aug. 19, 1861.

*Col. Cyrus Bussey, Keokuk:*

SIR: Your report of — inst. is received and I am obliged to you for so detailed a statement of events that have transpired in your vicinity. Your condition has been more critical than I supposed, and evidently required prompt and organized efforts to sustain the Union cause among your neighbors across the river.

I wish you would write to Col. Edwards and make everything satisfactory with him.

Truly yours,

N. B. BAKER, *Adj't. General.*

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FROM GOVERNOR S. J. KIRKWOOD.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, IOWA, July 18, 1861.

*Colonel Cyrus Bussey:*

DEAR SIR: I have thus far failed to get money with which to purchase arms to arm the regiment of mounted riflemen authorized to be raised in the southern border counties of the State. Efforts are being made to procure arms which will be sent you for the regiment as soon as it is possible to get them, when the companies in your district will be ordered into camp for a short time for service or drill, unless the condition of affairs in your portion of the State is such as to obviate the necessity of incurring that

expense. Until arms can be had let your companies preserve their organization and hold themselves ready for service as soon as arms can be had.

Respectfully,

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

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EXECUTIVE OFFICE, IOWA, July 27, 1861.

*Col. Cyrus Bussey, Keokuk, Iowa:*

SIR: I have just received and considered your communication of this date, setting forth the condition of affairs in the north-eastern counties of Missouri bordering on this State. You are authorized, for the protection of our citizens, and of loyal citizens of Missouri, to call into the service of the State three companies of the regiment of mounted men provided for by the laws of the extra session of the current year. You will arm them with such arms as you have and furnish them with ammunition. You will post them at such places as in your judgment are best adapted to secure the objects above indicated, and make such provision as you can for their subsistence. You will use these companies, or any of them, at your discretion to secure the above objects, not crossing the Missouri line unless absolutely necessary, but doing so without hesitation should such necessity exist. Report to me your action weekly and as much oftener as matters of importance occur.

Very respectfully,

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

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EXECUTIVE OFFICE, IOWA, Aug. 2, 1861.

*Col. Cyrus Bussey, Keokuk, Iowa:*

DEAR SIR: I am compelled to be absent some two weeks at Washington City, looking after the clothing and equipment of the new regiments raised and being raised in this State for U. S. service, and also to procure, if possible, a further supply of arms for the use of the State. In the meantime you must exercise your discretion as to the means necessary for the safety of the frontier under your care. The first object, and one that *must* be attained at all hazards, and at every sacrifice, is to secure the lives and property of our people. You have my full authority to adopt such measures as you may deem essential to that end. Report promptly to the Adjutant General what you may find it necessary to do. If I succeed in procuring arms and ammunition I hope to place the border in a more efficient state of defense.

Very respectfully,

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

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EXECUTIVE OFFICE, IOWA, IOWA CITY, August 3d, 1861.

*Col. Cyrus Bussey, Keokuk, Iowa:*

DEAR SIR: Dr. Bowen\* has just returned and to my surprise I learn that you understood me as giving over to you the 1000 stand of arms in Keokuk for Council Bluffs, to arm the three mounted companies you are authorized to call out, and to distribute otherwise as in your judgment

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\*Dr. Jesse Bowen, of Johnson county, Adjutant General of Iowa, from January 18, 1861, to July 25, 1861, when he was succeeded by Nathaniel B. Baker.

might be proper. This is an entire misapprehension. I have not any control over these muskets. They were and are needed at Council Bluffs. Col. Dodge is, as I learn, on the border with 200 men and needs more arms. I supposed you would arm the three companies with the arms before given you and had no expectation you would interfere with the 1000. There must be enough arms sent to Council Bluffs to arm Dodge's regiment. He has 200 now and 800 more will do, and these must be sent, as I cannot answer to the General Government for taking the arms ordered by them for their own troops and using them for the State troops. Send on to Eddyville and thence by Western Stage Co. to Council Bluffs, 800 guns and accoutrements. Since above was written I find the expense across the State enormous. Send by Hannibal and St. Jo. R. R.

Respectfully yours,

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

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FROM HON. CALEB BALDWIN,\* AIDE TO GOV. KIRKWOOD.

COUNCIL BLUFFS, IOWA, Aug. 10th, 1861.

*Col. C. Bussey:*

DEAR SIR: Colonel Dodge left today with eight companies of his command for St. Louis under orders from General Fremont. He requested me to answer his letters.

The arms shipped to Col. Dodge were obtained by him from the War Department with the express understanding that his regiment should have 1000 for drill purposes, and after he was ordered away to be distributed on the western border of the State. This was also the understanding of Governor Kirkwood, and of the Adj. General of the State as signified by the letters to me. During the session of the Legislature I felt the necessity for arms for this side of the State, and Senator Grimes and Col. Curtis both having failed to obtain any, I knew that Col. Dodge would never give it up until he got them. I therefore obtained the order of the Governor to send him to Washington for this purpose. I had, however, to send him there upon means advanced by me for this purpose. I think the arms were needed here. Our own citizens are almost daily being shot down while at work in their fields by the Indians in the northwest, and the troubles are daily increasing, so much so that by fall all the northwest settlements will be abandoned. If the people were well armed they could defend themselves. All of the troops from the forts are being called away and our whole frontier left exposed. South of Fremont, Taylor and Page counties, the rebels are in numbers, assembling in as large bodies as you speak of south of you, and not only driving out union men from Mo., but intimidating the people of Iowa. All these counties are destitute of arms, and these arms you have detained for the protection of the loyal people of Missouri were designed for the protection of the loyal people of Iowa, and

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\*Judge of the Supreme Court of Iowa, Jan., 1860, to Jan. 1, 1864.

should have come through as directed. These arms were obtained for the State, and I do not suppose that General Fremont would have interfered with them had he known the facts as they exist.

Respectfully,

C. BALDWIN.

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COUNCIL BLUFFS, IOWA, Aug. 12, 1861.

*Col. C. Bussey:*

DEAR SIR: I have today through Mr. Shepard, the Express agent, learned the circumstances under which the guns to Colonel Dodge were taken.

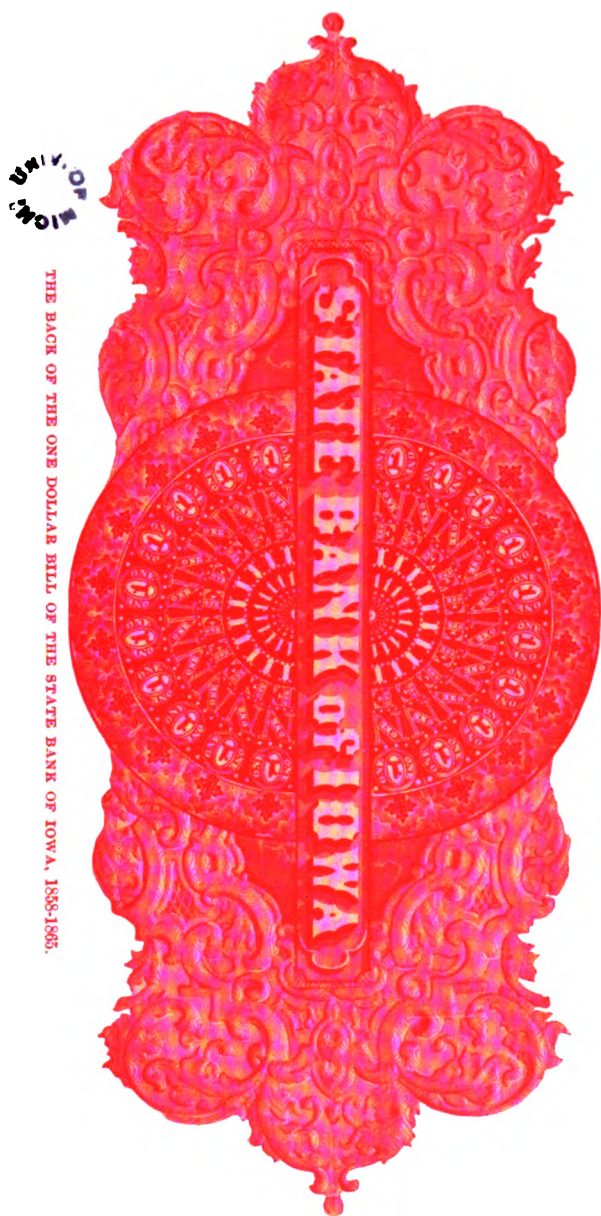
This fully explains your course and under the circumstances I think you did just what you should have done. We have just such troubles both north and south of us and you certainly must know my anxiety to see our people have some arms. Not being acquainted with all the circumstances under which you acted caused me to write as I did. We need arms very much and if you can be instrumental in having those replaced that were intended for us we will feel very grateful for such a favor.

Respectfully,

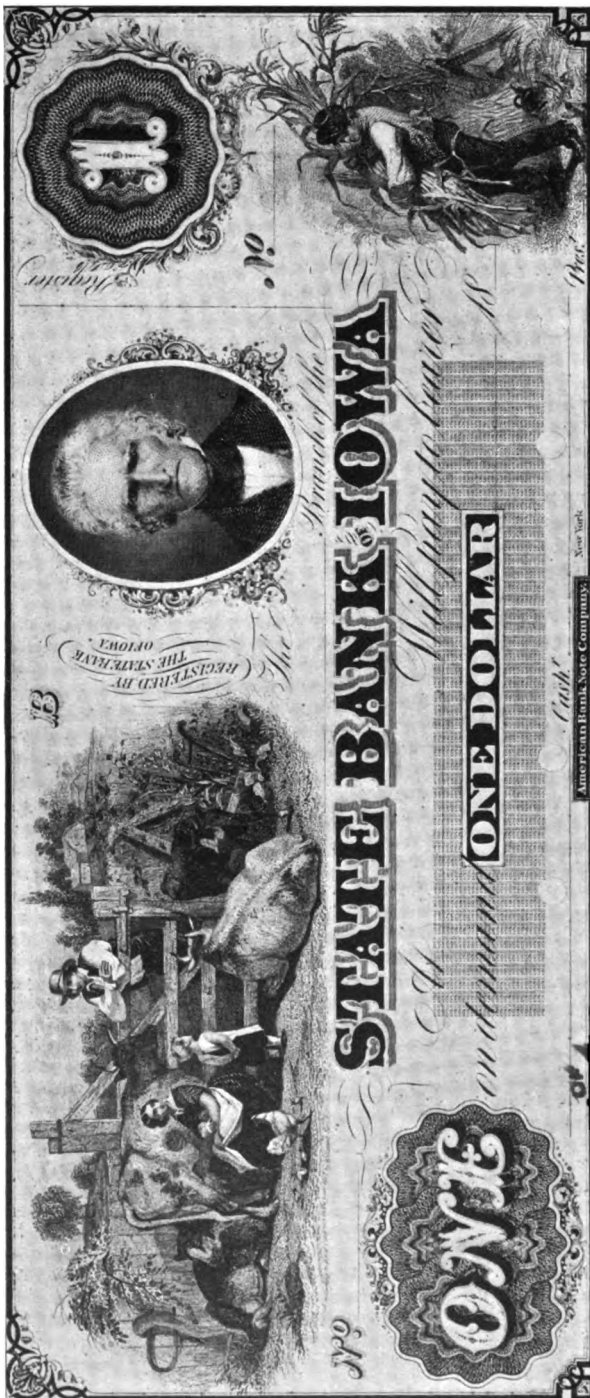
C. BALDWIN.

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THE GOVERNOR.—His Excellency, Governor Lucas, arrived in this place on Saturday evening last, accompanied by two respectable and intelligent young gentlemen from Cincinnati. His Excellency was on his way from Du Buque to the lower part of the Territory. While here, he received the polite attention of the citizens generally, and during his stay, made a visit to Stephenson and Rock Island. We are not aware that his Excellency made any remarks, indicating his intention, as to the place at which the legislature would be convened, nor do we know that he was pestered with any vexatious enquiries on that subject. For our own part we still believe he will assemble the representatives of the people at this place, and this belief is founded on the manifest justice and propriety of the measure itself. His Excellency departed on Tuesday morning, taking in his route, Rockingham, Buffalo, Bloomington, &c.—*The Iowa (Davenport) Sun, Sept. 1, 1838.*







ONE DOLLAR BILL OF THE STATE BANK OF IOWA, 1858-59.  
 The above is a facsimile reproduction of an unsigned note. The portrait is an excellent likeness of GEN. ROBERT LUCAS, our first territorial governor. The other cuts represent rural scenes characteristic of Iowa and the West at that date.  
 (OVER)

## THE STATE BANK OF IOWA.

BY MAJ. HOYT SHERMAN.

In a paper published in a preceding number of THE ANNALS was a short sketch of early banking in Iowa. Now it is proposed to give some details of the history of the State Bank. That there may be an intelligent understanding of financial conditions existing just before the creation of that bank, a slight repetition of the former article is given.

But few now living realize what the State of Iowa was in the spring of 1846, fifty-six years ago, with a total of less than 95,000 population, when it assumed the honors of Statehood. There were then thirty-three organized counties—just one-third of its present number—straggling along the west bank of the Mississippi river from Lee to Clayton—the northeast corner county, Allamakee, not then organized—and westward along the Missouri state line four counties, including Appanoose. From Clayton southwesterly to Polk, and from Polk southeasterly to Appanoose, at the Missouri state line, included all of the State of Iowa then settled or organized; all north and west of that line marked the portion of the great Indian Territory belonging to Iowa, unsettled, unmarked, unnamed.

The statesmen of that day did not look with kindly interest on the banker. In their eyes he was an outlaw—a maker of “wild-cat” currency, a usurer, a man who robbed the settler of his claim to a portion of Uncle Sam’s domain, a usurper generally. The pioneers who formed our first constitution, inserted in it a stringent provision “That the general assembly shall provide for the organization of all other corporations, except with banking privileges, the creation of which is prohibited.” And also, “The general assembly shall prohibit by law any person or persons, association, company or corporation *from exercising the privileges of banking, or creating paper to circulate as money.*”

In order to give force and effect to those provisions of the constitution, the general assembly enacted statutes under the heading of "Offenses Against Public Policy," which included punishment for sale of lottery tickets, selling liquor to Indians, bringing paupers in the State and transacting any business without license; that also provided penalties of one year in the county jail, and a fine of \$1,000, for any company or any person who subscribed to, or became a member of, or in any way interested in, any association or company formed for the purpose of putting in circulation any bill, check, ticket, certificate, promissory note or other paper to circulate as money, etc., etc.; and other sections were added, in which the words were repeated, reversed, and others of similar meaning substituted, in the manner familiar to all who are acquainted with the proper legal way of stating things.

These were about the only provisions of law relating to banking that were to be found on the statute book in that early day, and as they were supposed to reflect the public opinion of the different communities on that subject, it is natural to suppose that the profession was not at that period a very popular one.

Of course "wild-cat," "red-dog," "stump-tail," and all other of those species of bank notes flourished then. The mere fact that the State had prohibited by constitution, as well as by statute law, the organization within its limits, and by our own citizens, of banks of issue, with substantial capital and under strict official supervision, opened wide the doors for the circulation of the "wild-cat" mills of neighboring states, and their proprietors reaped a rich harvest of profit in the way of providing our business men with a circulating medium, worthless in itself, and only redeemable at some point that had no place on the map of the world.

Then, in a greater degree than now, real estate formed the basis and foundation of all wealth throughout the State. From 1846 up to 1855 the United States government was

surveying, preparing and putting on the market, as rapidly as possible, in broad belts running north and south through the State, the rich lands of the Cedar, the Iowa, the Skunk and the Des Moines valleys, and their numerous tributaries; and the fame of the fertility, the beauty, the healthfulness and the ease of culture of these lands had spread all over the north and east, and from every mountain and valley, every town and rural neighborhood, came immigrants singly and in great groups, eager to secure their portion of this, God's richest heritage to man. This was the opportunity for the much abused real estate agent of that early date—the pioneer of the banker of today. He it was who met the eager immigrant at the outer portals—he warned the innocent stranger to beware of the speculator “across the street”—he was ready to cash “for a consideration” the draft on a far distant bank, for Uncle Sam's officials would receive only the golden coin of the realm in payment for land—he always had some Mexican or other land warrants to sell at a discount when the intending purchaser wished to save a few dollars; he always had a fund to draw from when the stranger had no money to pay the government price, \$1.25 per acre, and sell at once on a year's credit at \$1.75 per acre—40 per cent. is what envious people called it; he always could furnish to newcomers who were ignorant of the methods of hunting government lands, a few choice, well-selected forties or quarter sections, for which a reasonable fee was charged; in fact, he was the important personage who, for a consideration, aided the immigrant in securing his slice of the public domain upon which so many made their permanent homes, carved out comfortable fortunes for old age, and raised up and educated children, who were an honor to themselves and to the State of their birth.

This description of these early land agents is given here at some length, because they are at the very beginning and foundation of the banking profession in this State today. Away back in the early forties there were no polished oak

and plate glass counters, no cylinder desks or leather cushioned chairs, no mysterious and complicated typewriter (I refer to the machine) with a pretty girl attachment, to write letters; no immense steel-lined vaults with time locks—only in many cases an old-fashioned hair trunk in which to keep valuables; an empty nail keg or box to sit on—and other features of the most primitive character. Under circumstances and surroundings not only of great personal discomfort, but at times of physical danger, they performed their duties to customers, whether at home or thousands of miles distant, with equal fidelity and promptness, and laid foundations of business probity and confidence that have lasted through the great changes of nearly a half century, in which the State has advanced to a front rank in the roll of agricultural states.

Whenever any of the old families back in New York or New England wish to confirm their claims, par excellence, to eminent respectability, they trace their ancestry up to some old chap who landed from the Mayflower, or at least to a somebody who signed the Declaration of Independence. So too, when any of the bankers of the present day can trace their beginning, or that of their house, back to one of the land agents whose operations have been described here, they can complacently settle back in their easy chairs, with an unquestioned right to eminent respectability in the past.

The transition from acting as agent for others in the purchase of government lands, to legitimate banking, was slow and gradual, covering many years of time. Of course their operations were largely shaped by the course of mercantile business in the several settlements, and that depended upon the highways over which merchandise was transported, and produce sought a market outside the State. There were then none of the great railways, now existing, which fix the arteries of commerce and transportation—then only the great rivers of the West, which formed the highways of trade, and away from their banks the homely two-horse

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A FACSIMILE OF THE BACK OF THE TWO DOLLAR BILL ISSUED BY THE STATE BANK OF IOWA, 1853-65.





wagon, or the still slower or more lumbering ox-team, crawling over broad prairies and fording unbridged streams. All these means of transportation for goods, slow and unsatisfactory as they were, and sometimes very risky, had at times to be used by the country bankers, in transmitting their remittances from inland locations to their correspondents at St. Louis, or other Mississippi river points; and it often happened in the course of business, that the same ox-team driver who carried a draft from the country merchant to his wholesale dealer on the river, also carried a package from the country banker to his town or city correspondent, the contents of which package were to be used to pay the merchant's draft. And one well authenticated case is quoted, where the teamster presented the draft at the bank for payment, at the same time he delivered the package from the country banker, and was asked to wait a moment, that the contents of the package be counted and used to pay the draft.

The new Constitution of Iowa was framed by a convention, which met in Iowa City and completed its work March 5, 1857: it was submitted to the electors of the State at the August election of that year and approved, and went into effect by proclamation of the Governor, September 3, 1857. It provided, among other things, that the legislature might create corporations with banking powers, which before becoming valid, should be approved by a majority of the electors at a general or special election, and that subject to above, they might provide for the establishment of a State bank with branches founded on an actual specie basis; that the branches should be mutually responsible for each other's liabilities on all notes intended to circulate as money; that each stockholder should be individually liable to its creditors for all of its liabilities, to an amount equal to the shares held by him; that in case of insolvency the bill holders should have preference over other creditors, and that the suspension of specie payments should never be permitted or sanctioned.

Under that constitutional provision, the legislature passed



a law March 20, 1858, which took effect July 29, 1858, after submission to a vote of the people, to incorporate the State Bank of Iowa. It was prepared with great care, and entered into minute detail of the duties, powers, and responsibilities of the parent bank and its branches. The system adopted followed closely the provisions of the statutes under which the State Banks of both Ohio and Indiana were organized, retaining the leading features of both systems, as to the relations which the branches bore to each other and to the parent bank, the safe-guards enacted for the security of the public in handling their circulating notes, and other prominent features which distinguished the State Bank system from that of other states, with independent charters and local security for circulating notes.

The statute limited the number of branches to thirty, provided that no branch should be established in a town of less than 500 population, and but one branch in any city or town; and created a board of ten commissioners, named from among leading citizens of the State, to supervise the first organization of the bank and branches; and whenever, upon careful examination, they ascertained that five or more such branches were formed, and that their stockholders, directors and officers were men of responsibility and integrity, the commissioners certified the facts to the Governor, who, by public proclamation, announced that the three directors named for the State, in the statute, with one director selected by each branch, constituted the State Bank of Iowa, with full authority to exercise all the duties and privileges conferred upon it by the Constitution and laws of the State.

The panic of 1857 wiped out very many banks in the South and West, and their circulating notes, the value of which was based only on the individual credit of the owners of the bank, or on turnpike and canal bonds, or similar security. Yet it still left in existence banks of circulation in nearly every state but our own, and their notes were to be

found circulating in all of our commercial and agricultural centers. The banks of New England, New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey had their circulating notes based on the security of State or Federal stocks, deposited with their respective bank comptrollers, and they were always rated at par. The notes of the State Banks of Ohio and Indiana, and of the Bank of the State of Missouri, were issued under a system which provided stringent legal provisions, were subject to close official supervision, and also to a constant inspection by other branches, liable to a certain extent each for the issues of the other, were founded strongly in the confidence of the public, and were, of course, received everywhere throughout the West at par. The issues of the free banks of Illinois and Wisconsin, forming a large bulk of every day circulation, were secured by a deposit of bonds of states, principally of the South and Southwest, of rapidly changing value, and the notes were received with distrust, and subject at times to heavy discounts. A few years later, under the terrible test of civil war, these bonds with the bank-notes based on their value, became utterly worthless and dropped out of sight. Kentucky, Tennessee and other southern states had banks chartered by special acts of their respective legislatures, and the value of their notes, away from points of issue, was based largely upon the individual credit and standing of their respective officers and owners, and while their notes were mainly counted as good, yet local bankers and others were careful to avoid large accumulations of them at any time. Such, in brief, was the condition of financial affairs in this State, as relating to its circulating medium, at the time of the organization of the State Bank of Iowa; and acting on the belief entertained by business men generally, that one effect of the creation of banks of issue in our own State, would be to drive out of its borders all this miscellaneous hodge-podge called money, it can well be imagined how closely, and with what interest, every step in the formation of this new bank system was watched. It can also

be understood that, while Iowa had been, for all these years of the past, the free untaxed field for the circulation of bank-notes of all kinds and values, issued in every portion of the Union, how careful and conservative the promoters of this new system would be, in each step taken towards its perfect organization.

Pursuant to an order issued by the then Governor of Iowa, Ralph P. Lowe, the Board of Commissioners named in the statute to inaugurate the State Bank System, viz.: E. H. Harrison, Ezekiel Clark, W. J. Gatling, C. W. Slagle, Elihu Baker, W. S. Dart, E. T. Edgington, C. H. Booth and J. W. Dutton, met at Iowa City, July 30, 1858, and after organization, adjourned to meet again on September 15 following, to receive and act upon applications for branches. Meeting again at the latter date, they found applications from persons to establish branches at Muscatine, two; Dubuque, two; Washington, Iowa City, Davenport, two; Clinton, Sioux City, Des Moines, Grinnell, Council Bluffs, Wapello, Comanche and Pacific City. These applications were referred to committees from their own number, for personal examination, and after nearly a month's time devoted to the work of investigation, they certified to the Governor that the following named branches were legally organized, the stockholders and officers found to be men of responsibility and integrity, and that such branches had fifty per cent. of their capital stock paid up, and were lawfully entitled to commence the business of banking under the provision of that law:

Branch at Muscatine.

Branch at Iowa City.

Branch at Des Moines.

Branch at Dubuque.

Branch at Oskaloosa.

Branch at Mount Pleasant.

Branch at Keokuk.

Merchant's Branch at Davenport.

UNIVERSITY

THE BACK OF THE THREE DOLLAR BILL OF THE STATE BANK OF IOWA, 1838-1885.



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This action completed the legal duties of the Board of Commissioners, and thereafter the affairs of the State Bank were placed under the control of a Board of Directors, consisting of one member from each branch, and three members named by the Legislature of the State.

That Board held its first meeting at Iowa City, October 27, 1858, and as its action had, in some respects, an important bearing on the future of the Bank, a full list of the directors is given here, and in some detail the action taken at this meeting.

The membership was:

W. T. Smith, representing Oskaloosa Branch.

Samuel F. Miller, representing Keokuk Branch.

P. M. Casady, representing Des Moines Branch.

S. J. Kirkwood, representing Iowa City Branch.

Chester Weed, representing Muscatine Branch.

R. Bronson, representing Dubuque Branch.

T. Whiting, representing Mount Pleasant Branch.

Hiram Price, representing Davenport Branch.

And Benjamin Lake and Hoyt Sherman, State Directors.

The permanent officers of the Board were Chester Weed, President; W. T. Smith, Vice-President; Elihu Baker, Secretary and S. J. Kirkwood and Hiram Price, with the Vice-President, formed the Executive Committee. A well framed set of by-laws was adopted, defining powers and duties of officers, among other things that the President should personally examine all branches as often as he deemed necessary, or on the request of any three directors, and that he should retain custody of bonds of all cashiers of the branches. That the Executive Committee should hold monthly meetings, to examine statements made by branches, order personal examinations when deemed necessary, call special meetings of directors, look after blank circulating notes in hands of the secretary, and have general supervision of the affairs of the bank, as well as all branches. Another committee was named to receive and consider applications for new branches,

and examine into legality of organization, character, standing and residence of stockholders and officers, and if the report of that committee was favorable, a two-thirds vote of the whole Board was requisite to the admission of any new branch. It is well to state here that the State Bank proper was not a bank of issue or deposit. It transacted no business except with the branches, (only that made necessary in the purchase of blank circulating notes for use of branches, from the engravers.)

It was composed of one representative from each branch, and three other directors, representing the public at large, and its proper functions were, to supply the branches with their circulating notes, and to exercise a close supervision over the business of each branch, so that the public, as well as every other branch, should suffer no loss or damage by reason of the act of any branch. At that first meeting of the Board, the whole subject of procuring circulating notes from the engravers, selecting appropriate vignettes and designs, and making contracts for printing, was referred to a committee, consisting of Messrs. Price and Sherman; and it then provided that circulation should be furnished to the different branches as fast as prepared for use, in the proportion of one and one-half dollars of circulating notes to each dollar of paid up stock. During the existence of the State Bank, besides the eight branches formed at its organization, seven more were admitted from time to time, as follows:

Lyons City Branch, admitted February 17, 1859.

Burlington Branch, admitted March 18, 1859.

Washington Branch, admitted March 18, 1859.

Ft. Madison Branch, admitted August 11, 1859.

McGregor Branch, admitted February 15, 1860.

Council Bluffs Branch, admitted November, 1860.

Maquoketa Branch, admitted February 10, 1864.

Making the whole number of branches fifteen. The Board also adopted an order, at this first meeting, requiring that the by-laws of the branches should show affirmatively that

the security for loans must be endorsements on bills discounted—no collaterals. As indicating the drift of public sentiment at that time with reference to the institution, its President at the May meeting, 1859, calls attention to the fact that brokers and private bankers had combined to make a run on the branches, by gathering in from all sources and returning their notes for redemption, and recommends that they agree on a uniform rule of redemption in exchange at cost; but as the law had fixed definitely the manner of redeeming their notes, the Board took no action on that recommendation. The President at the same time called attention to the fact that certain persons were trying to force the notes of Minnesota banks into circulation in this State, and that as the law under which they were issued was very defective, recommended that the branches refuse to receive them, which was adopted. At the August meeting of the Board, the branches were authorized to receive the full amount of circulation to which they were entitled by statute—that is, two for one of paid up capital stock. February 15, 1860, the Board elected Hiram Price as its President and Elihu Baker as Secretary, and these gentlemen were retained in their respective offices during the entire life-time of the bank, and at its last regular meeting in August, 1865, were voted unanimously the thanks of the Board for continuous and faithful discharge of their official duties. At this meeting occurred, for the first time in the history of the bank, the need to apply the methods established by law and regulation for the strong to help the weak branches, and the wisdom of such course was well illustrated in this case.

It was found that the Muscatine branch had made unsafe investments, and weakened its standing financially. The Executive Committee promptly took charge of its affairs, brought about reorganization in ownership and officers, called upon other branches for such aid as was required, which was favorably responded to, and that branch was, with little or no delay, and without the loss of a cent to its customers and note



holders, or suspension of its regular business, again put on a firm and solvent basis. The test was severe but successful, and well illustrated the advantage that banks joined together under a common system and regulation, and in a certain degree responsible each for the action of the others, had over banks under individual and independent charters.

From the very beginning of the organization of the bank, throughout the whole period of its history. the greatest care was taken to ascertain the financial standing and responsibility of the individuals interested in establishing branches, or in subscribing to increased capital of those already established, and that they should be residents of the places where branches were located. Several applications for branches, and also for increased stock, were rejected or suspended, because they failed to come up to the high standard fixed by the Board.

To indicate the community of interest which the parent bank desired to create between the different branches, the following resolution, passed at an early session, is given here:

*Resolved*, That good policy would dictate to the several branches the necessity of treating the notes of each other with the same care they would their own, and in no case to use them at such places, or through such parties, as will cause their return for coin or exchange, and this bank would earnestly recommend such a course of action upon the part of all branches.

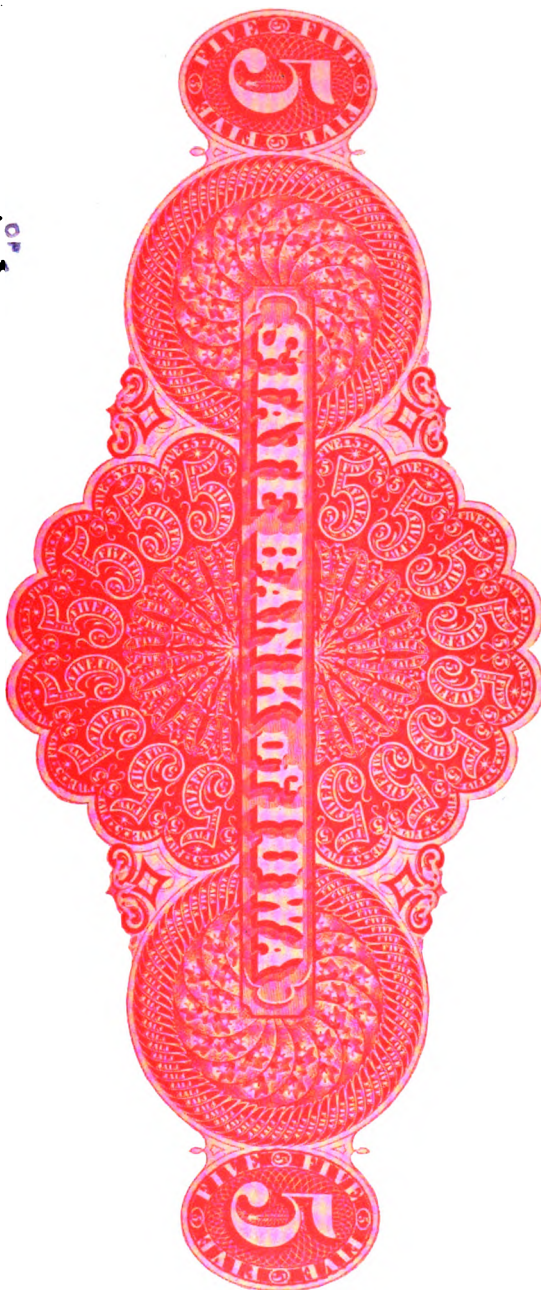
The unsettled condition of the country was recognized by the Board, in its action at the May, 1861, meeting, by the following:

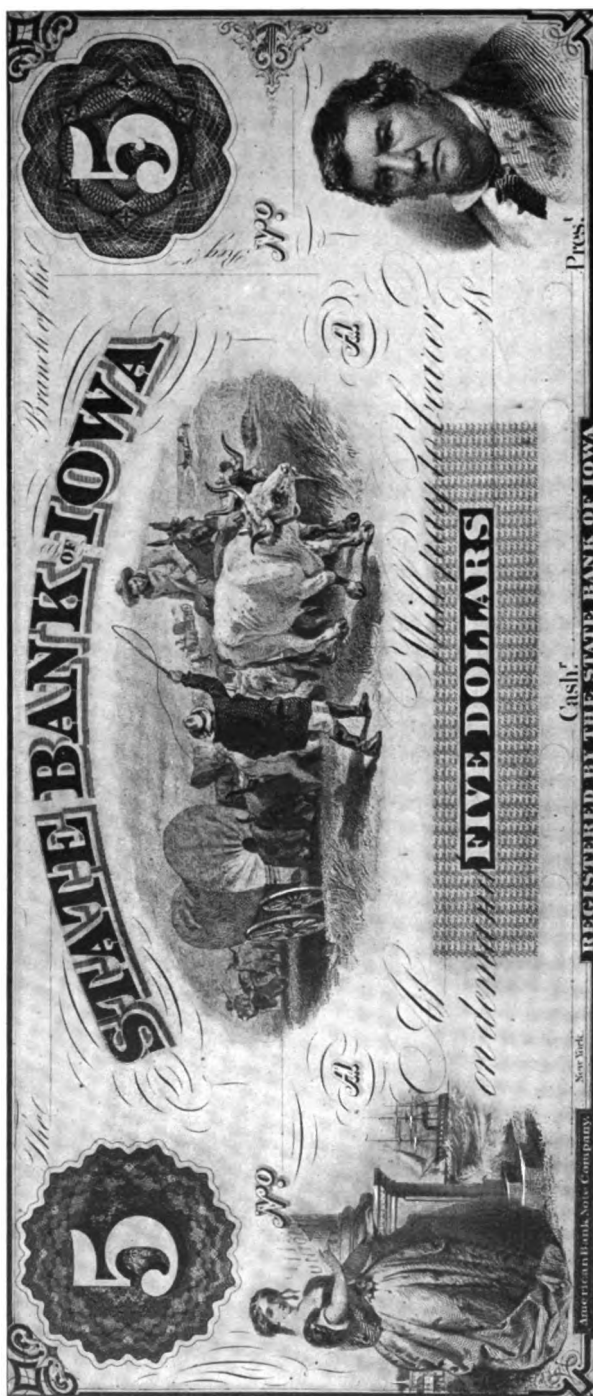
*Resolved*, That the President be instructed to receive no bonds of Southern States on account of Safety Fund, and to invest no funds of branches in his hands in other than United States or Northern States stocks.

It will be remembered that in the winter of 1861-2, the general government, then bending all its energies, and bringing into use all its tremendous power, for the suppression of the rebellion, suspended the payment of specie in its disbursements, using instead the legal tender notes, made by acts of Congress receivable for all debts, public and private. This action was followed at once by a very heavy premium

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THE BACK OF THE FIVE DOLLAR BILL OF THE STATE BANK OF IOWA, 1858-1863.





FACSIMILE OF AN UNSIGNED FIVE DOLLAR BILL.

The portrait on this bill is that of the illustrious ANTOINE LE CLAIRE—a pioneer and one of the original proprietors of the town of Davenport. He was also one of the strong pillars of the old State Bank of Iowa. The cut in the center represents a team of four yokes of oxen drawing a "prairie schooner" (OVER)

on gold coin, beginning at ten per cent, and advancing rapidly to a much higher rate. As the notes of the State Bank, then over a million dollars, were all payable in coin, and the constitution of this State prohibited the suspension of specie payments, it became a very grave matter with the Board what action to take, to prevent the immediate return for redemption of this large sum, to the great injury of the banks, and also to the inconvenience of the business public, by the withdrawal at that critical period of so large an amount of first class circulation, to be replaced, of course, by the notes of banks of distant states, not redeemable and of questionable value. The following resolutions outline the Board's action, and that of the branches:

*Resolved, By the Board of Directors of the State Bank of Iowa:*

1. That the present condition of the branches now organized, as shown by the regular monthly reports made up to the 3d instant, (which have received the careful examination of this Board,) exhibiting a specie reserve of \$754,412.23 in possession of the branches against \$1,111,908 of circulation, (\$140,000 of which is held by themselves) is satisfactory evidence of the strength of this institution, and entitles it—as we think—to the fullest confidence of the public. In view, however, of the fact of the actual suspension of specie payments by nearly all the banks of the country outside of this State, and of the probability of the early passage of an act of Congress authorizing the issue of \$150,000,000 of United States demand treasury notes to be used as a circulating medium, and to be made a “legal tender” in the payment of all debts, public and private, thereby rendering it obligatory on all the branches to receive such demand notes in payment of any and all debts due them. And, in view of the fact that a continuance of the indiscriminate redemption in coin of the circulating notes of the branches will inevitably result in depleting their vaults of the specie now on hand, to the benefit mainly of non-residents of this State, and of brokers and others engaged in collecting the present outstanding circulation for speculative purposes, without conferring any substantial advantage or profit to the people of this State; it is the deliberate opinion of this Board that the highest consideration of duty to themselves and the people of this State require—

2. That whenever the bill now pending in Congress authorizing the issue of United States demand treasury notes and making such notes a legal tender in the payment of all public and private debts shall become a law and be in force, it shall not—in the opinion of this Board—be deemed a forfeiture of the charter of any branch for such branch to offer in redemption of their bills any such United States notes aforesaid.

3. That while this Board leaves it entirely to the discretion of the branches to exercise their own choice in the matter, whether they will redeem their circulation in coin or United States notes (in the event of their being made legal tender) when presented by any banks, brokers, non-residents, or any agent or agents of such banks, brokers or non-residents; it nevertheless enjoins it upon each and every branch as a solemn and unquestioned duty devolving upon them, to continue as now and heretofore to redeem, under any and all circumstances and contingencies, *in coin*, all their notes in the hands of bona fide holders of such notes amongst the people of our own State, whenever presented for that purpose.

Which was on motion adopted.

It will be noted that, while they provide a method to prevent brokers and others from returning their notes for coin for mere speculative purposes, at the same time they urge the branches to continue the redemption in coin, of all notes in the hands of the people of our own State, who are bona fide holders of same. This action was followed by another resolution, that in the event suit was brought against any other branch, for offering to redeem its notes in United States legal tender bills, the State Board would assume the charge and expense of such suit, employ counsel to defend the branch involved, and assess the cost of litigation among all the branches.

At that period in the progress of the civil war, and following it for many months, the State and local authorities were using every energy and effort, in response to the calls of the general government, to raise, organize, clothe and equip volunteers for military service, and were forced from lack of funds, to fall back upon state credit, to pay bills incurred in that work. In that emergency, a new burden was placed upon the branches—that of aiding the State government in protecting its credit, and securing a market for the warrants on the treasury, in advance of revenue to be collected. This was a great undertaking for the branches, in the troublous times caused by the bitter civil war then pending, in addition to caring for their own circulating notes, looking after the interests of their customers, and in other ways protecting their own credit; yet that duty was performed, fully and

faithfully, and with a cheerfulness that indicated the highest order of patriotism on the part of the branches and their respective managers. As a matter of economy, the State Board adopted the rule at the start, to print the circulating notes of all branches from one plate, leaving each branch to write its own name in a blank space on the face of every note issued by it. The practical effect of this rule was, that the written title of the branch became indistinct and defaced before the printed part, and to avoid as much as possible the difficulty of apportioning to each branch its own issue alone, it was ordered that the bank notes be returned for redemption and replacement by new ones before they became defaced or much worn. At one of the Board meetings in May, 1862, mutilated currency to the amount of \$33,300 was destroyed for reasons above stated, and every meeting following a greater or less amount was burned. Following this it was reported to the Board that branches at Burlington, Keokuk, Oskaloosa and Muscatine had committed acts of insolvency, refusing to redeem their circulating notes on presentation. Early investigation showed that they offered in all cases United States legal tender notes in redemption, and their action was promptly ratified. A queer order entered by the State Board, illustrating its parental care towards branches, was that those keeping their Chicago accounts with Solomon Sturges & Sons, then a very prominent house, should close them within sixty days, "because of legal disabilities of the head of the house by reason of his insanity." They were also ordered at the same time to retain within their vaults the full twenty-five per cent. of their circulation, the need for that order being suggested by the great temptations on the part of the branches to sell and realize the heavy premium then current on gold coin. During the fall of 1863 and winter of 1864, while the whole country was absorbed in the progress of the great war then being waged over the southern half of the Union, the affairs of the bank and its branches moved on with little or no friction. It had adjusted its movements to meet

the wants of the public, and of the communities in which branches were located, and demonstrated that the system was so well conceived, and brought into use, that it would adapt itself to any condition of society or business need. In that time several branches were found to have adopted some dangerous practices, tending to injure their credit and bring them into disfavor, but prompt action on the part of the officers of the State Board brought them into line again, without injury or loss to stockholders or customers, and without knowledge at the time by the public. It is only fair to the branches whose credit was not unfavorably affected that these should be named, viz: Muscatine, Oskaloosa, Council Bluffs, Fort Madison and McGregor. About that date all branches were requested to redeem their circulation in Chicago, and and at the same time were recommended to reduce their circulation within the next ninety days, to an amount equal to their capital stock—that meant a reduction of nearly one-half of the former circulation.

In the winter of 1864-5 Congress passed a law establishing a National Bank, and creating a system of National currency, under the direct supervision of government officers, and uniform throughout the United States. That law contained, among other stringent provisions, a very heavy tax against the circulating notes of banks doing business under state laws. The purpose of the tax was to drive out local bank circulation, to make room for that of the national banks, and as experience had already demonstrated to the State Bank of Iowa that its circulation was of but little profit to the branches, it took decided steps towards its withdrawal. The meeting of the Board, held in February, 1865, was attended by a representative of every branch, and by two State directors, all prepared to transact the important business that might come before it, and then began the initial steps towards closing up its affairs. The Merchants' Branch at Davenport was granted permission to increase its capital stock \$40,000, so that it might change to a National bank;

and here it may be said that nearly if not quite every branch merged into that system. It was then ordered that all the blank circulation on hand, as well as the mutilated notes returned by the branches, be burned, and that no branch be relieved from any legal obligation to the State Bank until *all* the circulation of *all* the branches be redeemed, or its redemption be provided for beyond a doubt. The branches were forbidden, after March 15th, to pay out circulating notes of their own or any other branch, and instructed to send to the parent bank at least once every thirty days thereafter, all notes of other branches in their possession. A failure or refusal of any branch to comply with those orders, authorized the president to take possession of its assets and administer on them. Other very stringent provisions were adopted by the parent bank, from time to time, and enjoined on the branches, for the redemption of circulating notes, which withdrew them very rapidly from general circulation, and reduced their liabilities not only for their own issues, but for the issues of all other branches. As far as the public was concerned, in its relation to the circulation of the branches, there was not one cent of loss and but little inconvenience caused by the gradual withdrawal of its notes. At the August meeting, 1865, of the Board, formal action was taken looking to the complete closing of the bank—notice given that on the first of November following its safes and other furniture would be sold, its office formally closed at Iowa City, and the redemption of circulation would be discontinued at that office. The last meeting was a special one, held at Davenport, November 22, 1865, at which no business of any moment was transacted, except the burning of the circulation returned amounting to \$35,460.

Space can be given here for but a brief reference to the officers and stockholders of the different branches. As intimated elsewhere, the standing, financial and otherwise, of the persons making up each organization was closely scrutinized before its admission as a member of the State Bank, and the



officers and directors of the branches represented some of the highest and strongest financial and business ability in the communities where located, and as a consequence, these branches at once commanded the entire confidence of the public. With this general statement of the character and standing of the individuals composing the branch banks, there is also added a list of names of presidents and cashiers of the eight branches that made the first start in business:

Oskaloosa Branch—James Rhinehart, president; Wm. T. Smith, cashier.

Keokuk Branch—E. H. Harrison, president; O. C. Hale, cashier.

Iowa City Branch—E. Clark, president; C. W. Fracker, cashier.

Muscatine Branch—Q. A. Patterson, president; I. W. Dutton, cashier.

Dubuque Branch—R. E. Graves, cashier.

Mount Pleasant Branch—T. Whiting, president.

Merchants' Branch, Davenport—Hiram Price, president; W. W. Woodward, cashier.

Des Moines Branch—B. F. Allen, president; Hoyt Sherman, cashier.

The limited space here available prevents a review at great length of the operations of the different branches, and reference can be made to them only in a general way. Beginning business as they did, early in 1859, when the whole field of Iowa was occupied with a very miscellaneous kind of circulation, a large part of which found its most profitable place within our limits, and its promoters were prepared to throw every obstacle in the way of anything that would force it from the State, and when the whole country was in the first throes of a political revolution, the end of which might be the destruction of the government, and of all property values, it was natural that their beginning would be slow and labored. Yet from the start, these few branches secured the complete confidence of the communities where located, and

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THE BACK OF THE TEN DOLLAR BILL OF THE OLD STATE BANK, 1838-65.





FACSIMILE OF THE UNSIGNED TEN DOLLAR BILL.

This bill possesses much historical interest. The map shows the State of Iowa before the county of Hamilton was separated from Webster county, at the last (1856) session of the legislature in Iowa City, and before the name of Buncombe county in the northwest corner, was changed (1862) to Lyon. A steamboat, an ancient "side wheeler," is plowing the Mississippi in the back ground. The small cut on the lower side represents the old capital in Des Moines. A train of cars is headed by an old-time locomotive. The portrait is an excellent likeness of Gov. RALPH P. LOWE.

their circulation was welcomed and sought after by all classes, as a decided improvement over the paper it drove out of the State, and as an equivalent to gold. As new branches were formed from time to time, and new capital added, the same high confidence was manifested in the branches and their circulation. During the course of their business history, a few of the branches at different times made mistakes in their investments, or temporarily mismanaged funds in their hands. These events worked no injury to their customers or the public, and in fact were not known outside of the bank circles, until long after they were passed, and the dangers overcome. They became a strong illustration of the principle of fellowship in business, underlying the State Bank system. A local officer or board may become tempted to overload a bank with paper of doubtful value, to extend disproportionate aid to a single person or firm, or commit other acts of doubtful prudence, and be unaware of the danger until too late. The cool, dispassioned, unprejudiced judgment of the other Branches, enables them to see the danger at once, and apply the remedy in time to protect their crippled brother, as well as to avoid on their part a contingent liability. Notwithstanding the terrible war pending, the effects of which reached all communities, great and small alike, and crippled so many financial institutions throughout the country, the business conducted by the branches was fairly profitable to their stockholders. Every dividend declared, by the terms of the statute, had to be approved by the State Board before payment, and by that means a reference to the records of the State Bank discloses all dividends paid. Those declared by the different branches for the year 1860, as approved by the State Board, were as follows:

Name of Bank	May dividend	November dividend
Burlington.....	5 per cent	5 per cent
Des Moines.....	7 "	7 "
Mt. Pleasant.....	5 "	5 "
Dubuque.....	5 "	5 "
Keokuk.....	5 "	10 "
Washington.....	5 "	7½ "
Davenport.....	4 "	12 "
Iowa City.....	5 "	9 "
Oakaloosa.....	10 "	9 "
Fort Madison.....	None	10 "

The other branches belonging to the system declared no dividends in 1860, but divided largesums the following years.

It would be an interesting task at this time, to trace out the growth and development of each branch, from its official monthly returns, but the space already occupied prevents that. Reference only in a general way can be made to that division of the subject. Appended to this article are full copies of the first monthly statements of the eight original branches, made under date of February 7, 1859; and full copies of official statements of the fifteen branches in existence January 2, 1865, that particular date representing the "high water mark" of the State Bank of Iowa, the date that it attained its highest sum in assets and liabilities. Following this are the totals of both these reports. Persons wishing information as to any particular branch or branches can find it in the following tables:

FROM STATEMENT OF EIGHT BRANCHES, FEB. 7, 1859.

ASSETS.	
Safety fund.....	\$ 31,680.40
Specie .....	171,248.64
Notes of other banks.....	82,258.00
Due from other banks.....	95,365.59
Loans and discounts .....	155,414.49
Other items .....	27,698.81
	<hr/>
	\$ 568,665.93
LIABILITIES.	
Capital .....	\$ 215,550.00
Circulation .....	106,798.00
Due depositors and other banks.....	235,383.31
Other items .....	5,938.62
	<hr/>
	\$ 568,665.93

FROM STATEMENT OF FIFTEEN BRANCHES, JAN. 2, 1865.

ASSETS.	
Safety fund.....	\$ 308,905.54
Specie .....	389,802.11
Notes of other banks.....	1,300,482.76
Due from other banks.....	668,511.81
Loans and discounts .....	2,468,362.53
U. S. and State bonds and other items.....	484,027.66
	<hr/>
	\$5,620,091.41
LIABILITIES.	
Capital.....	\$ 1,048,200.00
Circulation .....	1,439,764.00
Due depositors and other banks .....	2,886,391.67
Other items .....	245,735.74
	<hr/>
	\$5,620,091.41

## STATEMENT FEBRUARY 7, 1869.

## ASSETS.

NAME OF BRANCHES	Safety fund	Specie	Notes of other specie paying banks	Due from specie paying banks	Loans and Discounts	Other items
Muscatine Branch.....	\$ 4,943.75	\$ 17,560.24	\$ 26,326.00	\$ 11,904.76	\$ 18,390.00	\$ 6,776.78
Dubuque Branch.....	8,760.00	15,659.25	16,721.00	20,836.65	17,727.42	6,456.11
Keokuk Branch.....	3,490.00	17,620.48	3,289.00	19,798.14	26,885.53	2,576.44
Mount Pleasant Branch.....	2,940.00	14,467.54	6,886.00	10,452.62	18,718.44	8,186.72
Merchants Branch, Davenport.....	6,000.00	84,024.89	18,608.00	8,482.89	20,888.99	8,784.41
Oskaloosa Branch.....	3,126.00	16,596.16	4,817.00	18,169.14	18,681.87	1,818.19
Branch at Iowa City .....	3,875.00	32,628.00	6,811.00	8,697.09	12,899.00	1,260.09
Branch at Des Moines.....	3,666.65	23,798.68	4,201.00	5,294.80	24,433.64	1,850.07
Total .....	\$ 31,680.40	\$ 171,248.64	\$ 82,268.00	\$ 96,866.69	\$ 153,414.49	\$ 27,698.81

## LIABILITIES.

NAME OF BRANCHES	Capital	Circulation	Due other banks	Depositors	Other items
Muscatine Branch.....	\$ 34,000.00	\$ 15,995.00	\$ 165.42	\$ 38,945.04	\$ 686.07
Dubuque Branch.....	80,000.00	11,577.00	.....	88,374.25	699.18
Keokuk Branch .....	26,260.00	17,121.00	448.60	28,674.06	1,110.94
Mount Pleasant Branch.....	25,000.00	10,686.00	.....	20,060.68	913.64
Merchants Branch, Davenport .....	26,300.00	10,189.00	887.34	50,810.83	601.51
Oskaloosa Branch.....	25,000.00	12,380.00	.....	14,840.40	325.66
Branch at Iowa City.....	25,000.00	17,096.00	145.69	28,096.64	617.86
Branch at Des Moines .....	26,000.00	11,760.00	.....	26,440.87	983.77
Total .....	\$ 215,560.00	\$ 106,794.00	\$ 1,142.08	\$ 284,241.26	\$ 5,988.62

## STATEMENT JANUARY 2, 1866.

## ASSETS.

NAME OF BRANCHES	Safety Fund	Specie	Notes of other banks	Due from other banks	Loans and Discounts	U. S. and State bonds	Other Items	Total Resources
Burlington Br....	\$ 85,500.00	\$ 77,526.80	\$ 243,654.63	\$ 139,525.95	\$ 470,432.68	\$ 19,100.00	\$ 3,454.03	\$ 989,138.89
Council Bluffs Br.	68,000.00	6,333.80	26,520.23	64,149.94	59,364.27	1,324.53	11,192.03	786,688.83
Davenport Br....	25,000.00	3,284.20	217,401.00	58,147.02	166,490.64	54,600.00	11,376.36	536,299.22
Des Moines Br....	19,500.00	86,731.00	66,646.37	4,735.34	173,894.19	10,000.00	1,986.16	313,493.05
Dubuque Branch	86,305.54	71,806.11	102,817.00	84,345.19	437,526.96	115,956.09	20,408.89	869,466.28
Fort Madison Br.	19,000.00	16,674.00	88,433.12	7,577.24	60,272.00	3,588.70	20,021.90	165,566.96
Iowa City Branch	13,000.00	8,775.45	112,415.82	37,153.12	128,828.96	27,888.61	2,818.52	380,375.78
Keokuk Branch...	20,000.00	38,288.30	71,885.79	41,353.11	169,090.43	40,378.16	2,871.98	388,717.75
Lyons City Br...	12,500.00	33,678.70	47,487.00	68,223.37	86,037.60	8,200.00	5,227.99	261,355.16
Maquoketa Br...	7,700.00	15,543.82	46,747.85	27,200.91	30,603.74	1,687.48	4,221.65	133,705.45
McGregor Branch	7,000.00	4,934.59	8,007.55	.....	58,981.79	1,060.00	84.51	80,088.44
Mt Pleasant Br..	12,000.00	23,526.31	123,446.67	13,383.30	175,377.63	31,287.14	10,993.28	390,314.83
Muscatoine Branch	11,000.00	19,754.65	73,372.99	55,000.26	158,955.43	7,022.00	16,094.20	341,199.58
Oskaloosa Branch	12,000.00	22,270.28	81,006.94	21,029.37	108,734.19	.....	6,833.95	201,876.33
Washington Br...	10,400.00	10,674.30	91,688.80	46,686.79	192,377.02	38,700.00	5,260.00	396,286.91
Total .....	\$ 808,906.54	\$ 889,302.11	1,300,491.76	\$ 688,511.31	2,468,362.53	\$ 361,182.71	\$ 122,844.95	5,620,091.41

STATEMENT JANUARY 2, 1865.  
LIABILITIES.

NAME OF BRANCHES	Capital	Circulation	Due Other Banks	Depositors	Other Items	Total Liabilities
Burlington Branch.....	\$ 150,000.00	\$ 266,940.00	\$ 1,265.93	\$ 552,177.06	\$ 13,310.88	\$ 989,193.89
Council Bluffs Branch.....	50,000.00	97,904.00	113.64	57,185.40	31,530.79	286,683.83
Davenport Branch.....	60,000.00	1,785.00	5,454.88	452,751.13	16,808.21	636,799.22
Des Moines Branch.....	78,000.00	140,085.00	1,404.19	83,369.55	10,684.31	313,493.05
Dubuque Branch.....	150,000.00	283,837.00	9,148.04	861,474.90	55,005.34	859,465.28
Fort Madison Branch.....	77,000.00	68,886.00	187.41	19,498.55	.....	165,566.96
Iowa City Branch.....	70,000.00	32,276.00	479.41	214,772.12	13,348.25	330,875.78
Keokuk Branch.....	80,000.00	132,477.00	1,233.03	156,232.89	13,778.03	333,717.75
Lyons City Branch.....	50,000.00	86,586.00	1,501.70	111,758.22	11,509.24	261,855.16
Maquoketa Branch.....	25,000.00	30,640.00	46.10	78,339.98	4,679.37	133,705.45
McGregor Branch.....	50,000.00	13,484.00	298.59	4,009.50	6,268.35	80,059.44
Mount Pleasant Branch.....	50,000.00	30,390.00	1,616.39	212,738.70	36,569.74	390,814.83
Muscatine Branch.....	58,200.00	64,390.00	12,069.99	198,816.66	6,722.88	341,199.53
Oskaloosa Branch.....	50,000.00	81,131.00	.....	64,355.49	6,388.84	201,875.33
Washington Branch.....	50,000.00	43,003.00	110.27	288,037.13	15,136.51	396,586.91
Total.....	\$ 1,048,200.00	\$ 1,439,764.00	\$ 84,929.57	\$ 2,851,462.10	\$ 245,735.74	\$ 5,630,091.41



A few weeks after the last report was made, the total capital stock reached the sum of \$1,170,200, but it was a temporary increase made to enable certain branches to transfer their business to the National banking system.

Though the State Bank of Iowa was in operation but a few years, it passed through and survived one of the most trying periods in the existence of this government; a period of civil war and wide-spread disaster, that disturbed all values and revolutionized the whole monetary system. It left behind it, as part of its history, a reputation for safety, prudence, reliability, and other business virtues, not excelled by any other institution of its kind in the whole Union.

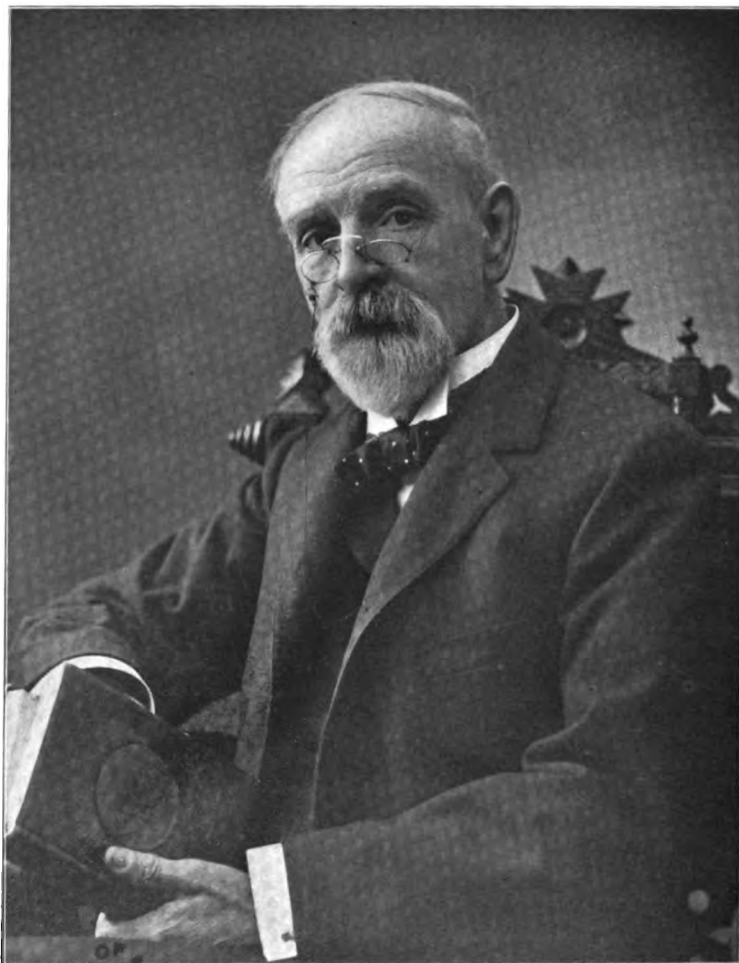
If, at any time in the future, the present system of National Banks should be abandoned, for financial or political reasons, no mistake will be made in adopting in place of it, the principles of mutual liability and mutual supervision, which lay at the foundation of the State Bank system, and which will insure in the future, as it commanded in the past, perfect confidence and safety for all.

DES MOINES, IOWA, June 1, 1901.

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OUR enterprising fellow citizen, John H. Sullivan, Esq., proprietor of the steam mill at Rockingham, is about to add another run of burrs, and two other bolts for flouring, and another run of stones exclusively for corn. With this addition to his establishment, he will be enabled to meet the increasing demand for bread stuffs. Mr. S. sells flour for \$3 per 100 pounds, whilst the flour brought from St. Louis has been selling at \$5 and \$6 per 100 pounds, and in Stephenson, Ill., immediately opposite this place, it is retailing at \$4 per 100, although in the neighborhood of several steam and water mills. Mr. S. certainly deserves much credit for his patriotic endeavors to furnish his fellow citizens with bread stuffs, on better terms than can be procured elsewhere.—*Iowa Sun*, Jan. 1, 1840.





Yours in haste  
A. K. Bailey.

HON. A. K. BAILEY.  
Editor *Decorah Republican*; State Senator, 1890-1892.

## PIONEER EDITORS OF NORTHEASTERN IOWA.

BY HON. A. K. BAILEY.\*

Who were they? No one can fully answer that question—not perfectly, at least. As contemporary with many of them for more than forty years, I will undertake to mention a few, and state the claims they have to as much of kindly remembrance as our rustling, hustling period has time to bestow. Omitting all references to the editor-printers of Du-buque, because they deserve a chapter by themselves, I essay the task assigned me by the editor of *ANNALS OF IOWA*, himself one of the pioneer journalists of central-northern Iowa.

The first place is due to Hon. A. B. F. Hildreth, still a resident of Charles City, to which place he came in 1856. He is entitled to pre-eminence because out of the meager earnings of a country newspaper he was shrewd enough to lay the foundations of an ample fortune. But there were other reasons: For nearly a score of years before coming to Iowa Mr. Hildreth had been in training as a printer, business man and editor, in the New England states, for the task he under-

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\*Mr. Bailey is himself one of the longest in continuous service, and one of the foremost of the pioneer editors of Northeastern Iowa. He was born in the town of Wales, Erie county, New York, November 18, 1836, the son of Wesley Bailey, who had also edited and published anti-slavery and temperance papers in the city of Utica and elsewhere in the Empire State. He attended the public schools until he reached his thirteenth year, when he entered his father's office to learn the trade of a printer. In due time he became foreman of the office, and later its proprietor. This was *The Utica Teetotaler*. He was also associated in the publishing business with George W. Bungay, a man who attained a national reputation as a temperance lecturer and poet. In 1860 Mr. Bailey came to Iowa, and with his father founded *The Decorah Republic*, the first number of which appeared April 13th of that year. The name was subsequently changed to *Republican*. It is still published under that name, with Mr. Bailey as its senior editor. During these forty years he has held the offices of treasurer and recorder of Winneshiek county, postmaster (for 16 years) of Decorah, and State Senator (1890-94). While recognized as one of the foremost and most useful members of the Senate, his distinguishing work was in behalf of the Australian ballot law, of which he was an earnest advocate. No one, however, gave more zealous support to the bill establishing the State Historical Department. *The Republican* has from the beginning been recognized as one of the leading local journals of Iowa. Having outlived most of his early contemporaries, it is fitting that Mr. Bailey should place on record his recollections of those who were most prominent in that quarter of our State. It will be seen that while this record is a brief one, the spirit which actuates him is one of genuine kindness and appreciation.

took in Iowa. It required a combination of all these qualities to make a first-class pioneer journalist such as Mr. Hildreth proved himself to be. When he came to Iowa, Charles City was one hundred and twenty-five miles away back in the interior, i. e., from Dubuque, which was then the river trading town for all that section known as the Cedar Valley. It was a week distant; for the chief motor of those days was the ox-team, and by that means Mr. Hildreth carried to the very frontier a printing outfit that enabled him for many years to issue a model of good printing as well as of editorial ability. *The Charles City Intelligencer*, after its first year, became a blanket sheet of nine columns to the page. Mr. Hildreth's editorial pen had unusual facility, and he possessed a pair of scissors that could be, at times, very brilliant, and supply its share of reading matter with celerity and dispatch. Then, too, the amount of advertising *The Intelligencer* carried was the wonder and envy of those less gifted in financiering. His columns teemed with cards and display advertisements of Chicago and Milwaukee houses. How he secured them no one but he knew, but it was a job well done. From the very start this displayed his genius as a money maker; and therefore it is not a matter of great surprise that after fourteen years of service, at the age of 54 years, he permanently retired from editorial life and has since enjoyed a serene old age in the care of fortunate investments which keen foresight had enabled him to make. He is the only journalist known in Iowa able to build a first-class hotel, with a handsome up-to-date opera house attached, without impoverishing himself or permitting the wolf to get within sight of his rear door.

In passing let me note that during the first two years of Mr. Hildreth's experience in Iowa, he had for a partner D. D. W. Carver, so long associated with Hon. M. M. Ham, in the firm of Ham & Carver of *The Dubuque Herald*. Much of the mechanical excellence of *The Intelligencer* was due, beyond doubt, to Mr. Carver, for Mr. Hildreth pays him a high tribute as a superior workman. He says, "No

printer in Iowa could excel him in the execution of fine work." Mr. Carver's history, however, properly belongs to the record of Dubuque newspaperdom.

The next most prominent name memory recalls is that of Col. A. P. Richardson, of *The North Iowa Times* at North McGregor. I cannot say that he was an Irishman, but he was better known as "Pat" Richardson than by his more formal title; and he had the proverbial Irishman's wit in large measure. As a paragraphist he almost stands without a peer, as he is now remembered. He was not an essayist; and he had no time for able "leaders," even in those days when every first class paper was considered not ready for the press until it had at least one editorial article of a half column or more in length. And how these paragraphs did fairly bubble with wit that was witty indeed and humor of the most rollicking sort! Sometimes they verged on the broad, but they always had that saving grace which genuine wit possesses. Memory recalls at this time the story Col. R. used to tell with brilliant vivacity of the first issue in his editorial career. The type had been set; the press had groaned; and the first number of *The Times* was born. With the most profound satisfaction the editor lighted his pipe, sat down, and began its examination. (Col. R. was not a printer, but entered the editorial ranks by a side door.) Over and over its columns went his eye with a glad and glowing pride! Once and again it was reperused! Every important question in politics and religion had been treated and settled! While his pride was at a white heat, the sanctum door opened and the foreman yelled, "copy!" As he told it, Col. Richardson looked at the man in amazement; and when he comprehended the full purport of that awful word, there was an overflow of wit and profanity that only one born and bred in an old-time print-shop can fully comprehend. If there is any one who at this time at all compares with Col. Richardson in epigrammatic force and keen wit, it is J. S. Trigg, editor of *The Rockford Register*, who is rapidly winning a national reputation as a writer on farm, orchard and garden topics.

There were two other pioneer editors deserving mention who were like Col. R. in their ability to put into terse sentences a thought that others of us could not make clear in less than a quarter column. These were John W. Shannon and Andrew J. Felt. Both were remarkable men. Shannon shone in publications at Fayette, West Union and Elkader. During the later years of his Iowa life, he was looked up to as the Nestor of our press associations. To this he added richer and fuller experience in Huron, S. D., in the pioneer days of Dakota's territorial life, and his *Huronite* was unexcelled in ability. He passed to his reward a little more than a year ago.

Andrew Felt was a little giant; erratic, witty, caustic, but a gladiator in a fight. He wandered from place to place until he found a task at Nashua, Chickasaw county, that just suited him. There he built up a newspaper and a fame that followed him down to Kansas, where he won honors and was at one time lieutenant-governor. He still lives at Salina, in the "Sunflower State," but whether in the newspaper ranks or in banking I cannot say.

A contemporary of Col. Richardson in Clayton county, was Col. Eiboeck, whose fame as the editor of *The Iowa State Anzeiger* has since become more than State wide. At Elkader, as editor of *The Journal*, he acquired a fine reputation and a nice competence.

Still another contemporary was Robert Tompkins, for many years the editor of *The McGregor News*. Tompkins was sturdily honest, a man of deep and strong convictions, who believed intensely in whatever cause he espoused. He was the very opposite of Col. Richardson in these respects: wit he had none; he was too serious for jesting; his blows were always with a sledge-hammer; and mighty were the contests he had for years with his Irish rival. But long ago he was gathered to his fathers, and few there be that remember him.

The oldest editor in service in the section of Iowa now

passing under review is William R. Mead of *The Cresco Plaindealer*—a veteran indeed. It was in October, 1859, that he—not a printer—began the publication of a Democratic paper at New Oregon, then the county seat of one of the smallest and most sparsely settled counties in the State. Other editors have come and gone, but Mr. Mead, always representing the minority party—or “the under dog” in the political fights of over forty years—still remains at the helm of *The Plaindealer*—hale, vigorous, hearty and just as able as ever to put up a robust political fight in defense of his political faith. His editorial vigor is in no manner abated after forty-one years of severe labor.

The next eldest in the ranks is A. K. Bailey of *The Decorah Republican*. He was the junior member of the firm of W. Bailey & Son, who, in the spring of 1860, acquired possession of the village printing-office at the county seat of Winnesheik. The senior was not a practical printer; but he possessed an experience of more than twenty years as an “abolition” and temperance editor in New York, that well fitted him for the editorial management of a Republican paper in prohibition Iowa. In 1868, he retired from active editorial life, and twenty-three years later, after a serene old age, passed into rest at the age of 83 years. In his prime, he was a man of earnest convictions, a vigorous writer, and therefore one whose editorial utterances on important questions carried much weight.

The pioneer editor in Fayette county was probably John Gharky, a strong man and most industrious printer; but so intense was his Democracy that during the War of the Rebellion he sold out hastily and left, hoping to find a more congenial political clime in Missouri. It was afterwards said he admitted his removal was a mistake, because while there was too much Republicanism for him in Iowa, too many of the Missouri Democrats were unable to read!

The senior member of the profession now in service in Fayette county is Charles H. Talmadge of *The West Union*



*Gazette*. For more than thirty-three years—the life-time of a generation—he has maintained a high reputation as an editor and kept *The Gazette* at the front in influence and worth. Although comparatively young (in appearance), Mr. Talmadge was a typo before the war, in the offices of *The Mitchell Republican*, published by Parker & Talcott; *The North Iowan* (Stilson Hutchins' paper) at Osage; *The Mason City Democrat* by Datus E. Coon; and *The Clear Lake Independent* by Brainard & Noyes. I venture the guess, without having data to verify it, that all four of these were pioneer newspapers in Mitchell and Cerro Gordo counties.

Research discloses that *The Lansing Mirror* is the oldest paper in the Fourth congressional district. Its publication began in 1851. The office was brought thither from Galena, Ill., by a gentleman named Houghton. Its editor was a man named Sumner; but not long thereafter, editorial control passed into the hands of one Chatterton whose pedigree as a printer cannot be given. This record makes *The Mirror* some four years older than any of the papers herein mentioned. Among the successors of Chatterton were two deserving of mention. The first of these is Thomas C. Medary. Though somewhat erratic at times, "Tom," as his friends always called him, had "the nose for news" highly cultivated. To this he added fine ability in expression, no little humor and much mental strength. In paragraphing, he was the best disciple of Col. Richardson. Without being an imitator, he was trained to brevity, and in him it was always "the soul of wit." After various excursions in the newspaper field in Northern Iowa and elsewhere, Mr. Medary died in the harness as editor of *The Waukon Democrat*. The other ex-editor of *The Mirror* to whom I refer is the Hon. James D. Metcalf, of Washington, D. C. He was not possessed of brilliant talent but had much common sense and those careful, painstaking, thorough-going business habits that generally accomplish more than erratic genius. The same

qualities employed in Uncle Sam's service, have carried him up step by step to the head of the money order business of the Post Office Department—a place in which there is no politics, and wherein merit and capacity are the sole tests. It includes both domestic and international business, and unitedly covers the details of money transactions yearly counted by millions of dollars.

The editor in Allamakee county who has rendered one parish the longest continuous service is A. M. May of *The Waukon Standard*. Only a few months ago he retired from active labor after over thirty years of high class editorial work, that ought to be remembered for its sturdy support of all things good, honorable and true.

In the annals of Mitchell county there are two names that shine out conspicuously. One of these served in that county for only a brief season; but the work he did at Osage was an apprenticeship to the larger field he found at Independence as the editor of *The Buchanan County Bulletin*. I refer, of course, to the late William Toman. As a vigorous writer he has had few equals; no superiors. He was born with an intense love of right, and an equally fierce hatred of wrong, as he met these elements in public questions. To these qualities was added an independence so sturdy that when it was questioned his friends often said it leaned over backwards. Take him all in all few editors anywhere excelled him in those prime qualities—ability and integrity. The other name is that of Thomas G. Atherton, for almost a generation the presiding genius of *The Press*. His career was so long, honorable and influential as to entitle him to the front rank for his county in the class under review in this hasty sketch.

Reference has been made above to D. E. Coon as the pioneer editor at Mason City. He was probably the first at Osage also. If I am correctly informed, he printed a Buchanan organ at that place in 1856. The land office was removed from Decorah to Osage in the spring of that year, and the officials all being strong Democrats they, no doubt,

encouraged and assisted Coon in his enterprise. In June, 1858, Coon removed the material he had used in Osage over to Mason City and started *The Cerro Gordo Press*; but he did not remain there long, for he enlisted in the War of the Rebellion and became General Datus E. Coon. One of his employes, one who had worked for Coon at Osage and with him had moved over by ox-team to Mason City, was Will Ed. Tucker. Mr. T. set the first "stickful" of type on *The Press*, and has been engaged in editorial work in Cerro Gordo county almost constantly ever since. In 1860 he, with a partner named Tobin, moved over into Hancock county and started *The Hancock Sentinel* at Ellington. That was then the county seat, but now it is only a hamlet and postoffice in one corner of Hancock county. That office secured to these enterprising proprietors, in that year, no less than five tax-lists for neighboring counties wherein no newspapers existed. The experiences of Mr. Tucker in his pioneer enterprises would make a sizeable volume of most interesting venture and experience.

"Of all good things Iowa affords the best!" And that reminds us that Sidney Foster, the author of this epigram, was one of the early editors of little Worth. He was not the pioneer editor. That distinction belongs to P. D. Swick, who started *The Northwood Pioneer*, issuing the first number October 24, 1869, and continued it until March, 1874. Foster's editorial career lasted from 1878 to 1884, when he migrated to Des Moines and engaged in the more lucrative business of insurance. All previous papers "came to stay," but the real stayer proved to be Frank Scammon, who established *The Northwood Index* in November, 1881, and has remained with it, a genuine and continually growing force in the affairs of Worth county ever since.

These facts cover the capital cities of all the counties in the Fourth congressional district, except Chickasaw. *The Courier* was the first paper, and it has had a career of forty-one years duration. Of it and other papers I am not sufficiently informed to venture upon a record.

The information herewith submitted is subject to revision and correction. Where errors have been made, as errors will be, in such histories, local corrections can be furnished in brief notes, which no doubt THE ANNALS OF IOWA will gladly publish, in future numbers, for the sake of "the truth of history."

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Since the foregoing was sent to the printer researched by Auditor J. G. Hempel, of Clayton county, in course of publication in *The Elkader Argus*, disclose that the first paper in Clayton county was *The Herald*. It was published at Garnaville, the first county seat of that county. A relocation of the shire town took place at an early date: Elkader went up and Garnaville down; hence *The Herald* expired.

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NAVIGATION OF CEDAR RIVER.—From an advertisement in another column, it will be seen that the Maid of Iowa, will ascend the Cedar river as far up as Washington Ferry, leaving Burlington on the 15th inst., which will afford our farmers convenient to that stream, an excellent opportunity for shipping whatever of surplus produce they may have on hand. Within the last few days, she has made one trip between that point and Nauvoo, laden with produce, and we learn that she passed Overman's a day or two since, on her second trip. She has, so far, we understand, met with no serious obstacles to the successful navigation of that river. Should the stage of that river, in subsequent seasons prove as favorable as the past and present, it will be of incalculable advantage to a large district of as fine farming country as is to be found in any part of the west.—*Bloomington Herald*, Aug. 2, 1844.

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SPECIE, in proportion to the amount of money in circulation, was never more plenty in our little community than at present. We have heard repeated inquiries for good paper in exchange for specie, and understand it is hard to obtain.—*Herald*, *Bloomington (Muscatine)*, Iowa, Jan. 20, 1842.

## REGULATION OF TRADE AND MORALS BY IOWA TOWN COUNCILS PRIOR TO 1858.

BY FRANK I. HERBIOTT.

Recently in examining the territorial laws of Iowa, I came upon the following interesting provision in the act incorporating the town of Fort Madison in Lee county, passed by the legislature in 1842 and approved by Gov. John Chambers on February 17, relative to the powers of the town council—contained in the laws of 1841-42, chapter 89, section 8:

The said mayor and aldermen shall have full power to pass all by-laws and ordinances . . . *to license bakers and regulate the price and weight of bread, and to prohibit the baking of the same for sale, except by those licensed;* and also to pass all such by-laws and ordinances, not inconsistent with the constitution and laws of the United States or of Iowa, as they shall deem necessary and proper for the health, safety, cleanliness, and convenience of said town and the citizens thereof.

The supervision and control of the business of making bread and the regulation of the selling price of the product by an Iowa community, and the same so empowered to do by an Iowa legislature, was rather socialistic. In the middle ages the cities of Europe under the influence of the church fathers and the doctrine of "just price," regulated, or attempted to regulate, the price of bread and, indeed, all commodities, activities and relations. And in the early history of our own country colonial authorities, particularly in Canada under the *ancien regime*, made strenuous efforts to control industry and regulate prices by decree and fiat. But to find a survival of the mediæval practice duly installed in the statutes of Iowa in the middle of the nineteenth century was scarcely to be anticipated.

Since first coming upon the provisions in the Fort Madison charter noted above, I have examined the charters or articles of incorporation of a number of Iowa towns granted by the territorial legislatures of Wisconsin and Iowa, both before and subsequent to the time Fort Madison obtained its amended charter in 1842, and also charters granted by the

general assembly prior to 1858, and I have been unable to discover similar provisions except in one instance, viz: in the charters given the town of Davenport. The provision does not occur in other articles of incorporation enacted at the same sessions, and the particular reason for its inclusion in those two charters is not apparent, at least, to the writer.

A comparison of the various territorial and early state charters with respect to the powers of boards of trustees or aldermen in the matter of the supervision, regulation and control of the industries and commercial activities within a community, shows that ample powers were given the local bodies, if not by specific grants of power, then by the terms of the "general welfare" clauses, under which they could regulate not only trade and commerce but morals as well.

In the charter of the city of Detroit, Michigan, as amended in 1824, the mayor, recorder and aldermen are empowered to "make by-laws and ordinances relative to the public markets within said city," but they are expressly prohibited "regulating or fixing the price of any article or commodity which may be brought for sale." The council could, however, pass ordinances "relative to the assize of bread [and] as to the weight of the loaf." They are further empowered to license and regulate taverns, and also "all keepers of victualling houses, ordinaries, groceries," and all "shop keepers and retailers of goods of foreign growth or manufacture." It was also competent for that body to "establish, keep and maintain one or more markets" according to convenience; and the mayor, by and with advice of the council, could under regulations "license one or more porters, cabmen, and watchmen."<sup>1</sup>

On March 28, 1836, charters were granted to three towns of Michigan—Marshall, Adrian, and New Buffalo—by the Michigan legislature. In each case the president and trustees are given "power to ordain and establish by-laws, rules and regulations for the government" of their respective com-

<sup>1</sup> Laws of Michigan, Vol. II, p. 223-224, Secs. 11, 15 and 18.

munities, and power to "alter, repeal or re-ordain at pleasure" as "may be thought necessary for the good government and well being" of their villages.<sup>1</sup>

The language of those charters was followed more or less closely later in the charters of several Iowa towns.

At the first session of the Wisconsin territorial legislature in 1836—at which time Iowa was a part of Wisconsin—a general act regulating the method of the incorporation of towns and specifying the powers and jurisdictional limits of the local authorities was passed, approved December 6, 1836.<sup>2</sup> The president and trustees of towns incorporating under the act are given authority "to make, ordain and establish and execute such ordinances, in writing not inconsistent with the constitution and laws of the United States and of this Territory, as they shall deem necessary, to prevent and remove nuisances, to restrain and prohibit gambling or other disorderly conduct, and to prevent the running of and indecent exhibition of horses within the bounds of such town; to provide for the licensing of public shows, to regulate and establish markets, to open ditches and to provide for the drawing off of water, to sink and keep in repair public wells," etc., etc. (Sec. 5.)

The city of Burlington, however, was not incorporated under the general act by the Wisconsin legislature, but was given a special charter, approved January 19, 1838. The town council was given the same general powers as just listed above. There was added authority to erect market houses and to regulate the markets as well as to license peddlers, merchants, grocers, draymen and exhibitions or shows.<sup>3</sup> In 1845 Burlington was given a new and more extensive charter. Among its duties the council was required "to preserve the health, promote the prosperity and *improve the morals*, order, comfort and convenience of said city and the inhabitants thereof." It was also given the power to regulate the

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<sup>1</sup> Laws of Michigan, 1835-36, p. 176.

<sup>2</sup> Laws of Wisconsin, 1836, No. 17, p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> Laws of Wisconsin, 1837-38, No. 84, p. 263, Sec. 3.

keeping and sale of gunpowder within the city, and the going and coming of steamboats and water craft and the dockage and the rates of landing of goods.<sup>1</sup>

The town of Fort Madison was likewise given a special charter by the Wisconsin legislature in an act approved January 19, 1838. The section providing for the duties of the mayor and council is almost the same as that quoted from the Michigan acts.<sup>2</sup> The first charter granted by the Iowa legislature, viz: that given the town of Bloomington, afterwards Muscatine, follows the language of the Fort Madison charter.<sup>3</sup> The same is true of the provisions of the charters granted the towns of Salem in Henry county,<sup>4</sup> of Farmington in Van Buren county,<sup>5</sup> of Iowa City,<sup>6</sup> and of Mount Pleasant.<sup>7</sup> We find no reference whatever to the regulation of the bread-making industry in the first charter of Fort Madison nor in any of the others just mentioned.

The city of Davenport was first incorporated in 1839. The corporate powers of the local authorities were comprehensive. The mayor, recorder and trustees were authorized to "make, ordain and publish" by-laws and ordinances such as "they may deem *necessary and proper for the promotion of morality* as well as for the good regulation, interest, safety, health, cleanliness and conveniences" of the town and citizens thereof.<sup>8</sup> They were also directed "to sink and keep in order public wells, remove nuisances, and regulate markets."<sup>9</sup> Two years later the legislature incorporated the same provisions, in nearly the same language, in the charter for the town of Nashville in Lee county. The clause respecting the maintenance of public wells, however, was omitted.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Laws of Iowa, 1844, Ch. 54, pp. 79-80.

<sup>2</sup> Laws of Wisconsin, 1837-38, No. 86, p. 220.

<sup>3</sup> Laws of Iowa, 1838-39, p. 248.

<sup>4</sup> Laws of Iowa, 1839-40, Ch. 52, Secs. 7 and 10.

<sup>5</sup> Laws of Iowa, 1840-41, Ch. 44, Secs. 7 and 10.

<sup>6</sup> Laws of Iowa, 1840-41, Ch. 89, Secs. 7 and 10.

<sup>7</sup> Laws of Iowa, 1841-42, Ch. 9, Secs. 7 and 10.

<sup>8</sup> Laws of Iowa, 1838-39, p. 266.

<sup>9</sup> Laws of Iowa, 1838-39, p. 267.

<sup>10</sup> Laws of Iowa, 1840-41, Ch. 80, Secs. 6 and 7.



At the session of 1841-42 the legislature passed four incorporating acts for the towns of Mount Pleasant, Davenport, Fort Madison and Keosauqua. Notwithstanding they were passed within a few days of each other, those of Fort Madison and Keosauqua on the same day, February 17, 1842, the provisions of the acts differ more or less as regards the express provisions respecting the regulation of trade. The charter of Mount Pleasant follows the wording of the first Fort Madison charter. The Keosauqua charter, although for a river town with considerable river traffic, was patterned generally after the Mount Pleasant act. The town council could establish and regulate markets, and license peddlers and merchants, and establish a ferry. But they were not empowered to regulate or promote the morals of their community except to the extent of prohibiting indecent shows. The two charters granted the towns of Davenport and Fort Madison, however, agree in all essential particulars. The sections containing the provisions defining the duties and powers of the mayor and aldermen are identical. With respect to traffic those authorities were authorized to regulate "the stationing, anchorage, landing, mooring or unloading of boats, vessels, rafts, and all other water craft;" to "license and regulate drays, carts, and other vehicles kept for public hire;" "to provide for licensing and regulating shows, theatricals and other amusements;" "to regulate and establish markets, and to rent out the stalls in the same;" and to "prohibit the selling of meats, poultry, fish and game, except at the public market;" "to sink and keep in repair public wells;" and to "license bakers and regulate the price and weight of bread, and to prohibit the baking of the same for sale except by those licensed."<sup>1</sup>

We find the same dissimilarity as to the powers of the city councils, after the admission of Iowa to statehood, in the

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<sup>1</sup> For charter of Fort Madison see Laws of 1841-42, Chap. 89, Sec. 8, and for charter of Davenport see Chap. 57, Sec. 8; for charter of Mt. Pleasant see Chap. 9, and of Keosauqua see Chap. 122.

wording of city charters, that characterized the charters authorized prior to 1846. Thus in the Dubuque charter, approved February 24, 1847, the city council can pass ordinances "to promote the prosperity, improve the morals, order, comfort and convenience of the citizens," as well as regulate ferries, rates of drayage, dockage, &c.<sup>1</sup> By the charter of Keokuk (approved December 13, 1848,) the council may take measures to "improve the morals" of the city;<sup>2</sup> and the council of Cedar Rapids by its charter (approved January 15, 1849,) may "promote morality."<sup>3</sup> The new articles of incorporation given Fort Madison on January 25, 1848, continue to be more elaborate than the articles given other cities. The same provision regarding bread making appears.<sup>4</sup> But while the city may establish and regulate markets, the council is prohibited passing any ordinance that will restrict farmers selling any quantity of the produce of their farms at any price they may see fit.<sup>5</sup>

In 1851 a new and elaborate charter was bestowed upon Davenport. Nearly all lines of business were made subject to regulation and license by the council. In addition to all those previously mentioned, there appears the following among others: "To provide for the inspection and measuring of lumber and other building materials, and for the measurement of all kinds of mechanical work; to provide for the inspection and weighing of hay and stonecoal, the measuring of charcoal, firewood and other fuel to be sold or used in the city, to provide for and regulate the inspection of tobacco, beef, pork, flour, meal, and whisky in barrels;" to regulate "the weight, quality and price of bread to be sold and used in the city."<sup>6</sup>

The code of 1851 contains a chapter under which towns

<sup>1</sup> Laws First G. A., Chap. 82, Sec. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Laws Second G. A., Chap. 3, Sec. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Laws Second G. A., Chap. 87, Sec. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Laws First G. A., Extra Session, Chap. 64, Sec. 8.

<sup>5</sup> Laws First G. A., Extra Session, Chap. 64, Sec. 8.

<sup>6</sup> Laws Third G. A., Chap. 55, Art. 5, Sec. 2. In 1855 the legislature passed a general law, applicable throughout the entire State, for the inspection by public inspect-

could organize but there are no such extended powers granted to town councils.<sup>1</sup> Special charters continued to be enacted by the legislature. Thus, on January 23, 1857, the city of Council Bluffs obtained a charter which resembles, to some extent, the Davenport charter in the enumeration of the powers of the city council, but it does not include the business of bread-making among the businesses to be regulated and controlled.<sup>2</sup>

Our brief examination of the charters first granted Iowa towns by the territorial and early State legislatures discloses a number of interesting matters. First, there was no systematic supervision of the acts passed by the territorial or State legislatures incorporating towns prior to the adoption of the constitution of 1857. There was no uniformity in the grants of power, each community following its own bent in drafting its charter. This evil was done away with by the constitution of 1857 (Art. 3, Sec. 30). Second, large discretion was accorded local authorities in the regulation of morals and in the promotion of morality. Third, there was a disposition, at least in the minds of the legislators, to regulate and determine the conditions of manufacture and of sale of many of the commodities or services considered necessary or more or less essential in early communities. The restriction as to use by private persons, and in most cases the complete supervision and management by the communal authorities of markets, docks and wharves, and the establishment of public wells, was general, at least were powers reserved to the communal authorities. The monopoly of sites essential to trade or health by private individuals was not granted except by

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ors of shingles. The inspectors, however, were county officials appointed by the courts. See Laws Fifth G. A., Chap. 28. The provision was continued in the Revision of 1860 (Chap. 82) and in the Code of 1873 (Sections 2069-2074). By the latter the inspectors were appointed by the County Boards of Supervisors. While the Code of 1897 makes provision for the inspection of shingles and lumber (Sections 3080-3083) the subject was evidently considered of little importance as the provisions were compressed considerably and the appointment of such inspectors left to the discretion of the County Boards.

<sup>1</sup> See Code of 1861, Sec. 665.

<sup>2</sup> Laws Sixth G. A., Chap. 102, Sec. 13.

communal consent. Certain monopolies were given private persons, as in the case of draymen. The provision in the charters of Fort Madison and Davenport, restricting the sale of meats to the public markets, was probably for a two-fold object—first, to enable the town to obtain a small tax from dealers in the way of stall rentals, and second, to enable the authorities to inspect the meats offered for sale with the minimum of trouble.

The business of bread-making evidently was a business of some concern to the people of certain communities in the territorial days. The Michigan legislature authorized the authorities of Detroit, in 1824, to determine the size and weight of loaves, but not the price. In Davenport and Fort Madison the business must have been so conducted as to arouse public antagonism, for on no other grounds would that clause, already quoted, have been drafted and included in the charters, when no other towns in Iowa had similar enactments, so far as the statute books indicate. It is an interesting survival of a practice very common in England and Europe between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>1</sup>

A study of the laws of Iowa prior to 1857 shows that there was a marked tendency on the part of the people to subject many of the products of industry and commodities offered for sale to governmental supervision that nowadays would be left to the natural adjustment which ordinary supply and demand tends to secure. We do not now inspect hay, coal, flour, lumber, or shingles, or examine through official inspectors each and every transaction in the sale or transfer of these commodities in the market. It is assumed that the buyer will protect himself from imposition, and that the "higgling and haggling" of the market will secure natural equity between buyer and seller. This assumption is

<sup>1</sup> At the writer's request the editor of *THE ANNALS* wrote to one of the first settlers of Fort Madison, Mr. Washington Galland, of Montrose, to ascertain the extent to which the early authorities actually regulated the manufacture and sale of bread. In his letter in reply Mr. Galland says: "On inquiry of some of the oldest resident bakers, and diligent search among the ordinances, I do not find that this power was ever exercised by the city authorities as authorized in its charter."

not always true, as the increasing tendency towards a government inspection of foodstuffs indicates. And while we may feel surprise at the minute inspection of nearly every article of trade which seemed to be favored in the Davenport charter the principal of supervision of industry and trade with a view to securing and maintaining sanitary conditions or purity or durability of goods, full and honest measurement, is unquestionably coming into more popular favor. As to the regulation of the price of many of the staple articles of trade, like bread, while it is not now done, there is no more objection to doing so than there is to the regulation of cab and street car fares, which is invariably done.

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THERE are now twenty newspapers published in Iowa, which is an increase of seven since *The Statesman* was started a little more than a year ago. Of the twenty, nine are democratic, eight whig, one liberty, one agricultural and one religious. The press is rapidly finding its way into the great west, as the vast increase in this State in the last year indicates. There are twice as many now as there were in April 1847, which is doubling in seventeen months. Can any other state in the Union boast of as rapid an increase?—*Iowa Statesman, Fort Madison, September 23, 1848.*

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THE great beauty of location and surrounding scenery at Iowa City, are not the only favors bestowed upon it by nature, as it is every day becoming more evident. When we read the account of the arrival of the first steamer at that city, we thought some mysterious spirit had been hovering over that city, and inspired the pen of him whose good fortune it was to first proclaim to the world the navigation of Iowa river, and we are now confirmed in the opinion that there is a mysterious something thereabouts, which inspires those whom it pleases with thoughts beautifully sublime beyond conception.—*Bloomington Herald, Aug. 2, 1844.*

## HARDSHIPS OF PIONEERS IN NORTHWESTERN IOWA.

BY W. H. INGHAM.

The first settlements on the upper waters of the Des Moines river were made in Humboldt and Kossuth counties in 1854. These grew and spread out considerably in 1855. In 1856 there was a general tendency to strike out again and many new settlements were made all along the border of Iowa and Minnesota. It was during the summer of this year that the first cabins were built and settlements made at Okoboji and Spirit lakes, that were destroyed by a party of Sioux Indians the following March, the history of which is so well remembered as the Spirit Lake massacre. It was in this year that the first little pioneer cabins made their appearance in Palo Alto county, on the west branch of the Des Moines river; and also at the head waters of the east branch, where the first cabin was built early in July by Calvin Tuttle at the grove and lake now bearing his name. He was soon followed by a family of Johnsons, and later by two other families which made up the settlement for the year. I have been rather more explicit as to this settlement than with the others mentioned, as I purpose showing in the following sketch some of the mishaps and experiences of several of its members during the cold and stormy winter of 1857, as seen and known in great part by myself.

When Mr. Tuttle had completed his buildings in the fore part of November he and his son George went below on the Des Moines river and procured two loads of supplies for the winter. On their way back they reached the farms of Horace Schenck and Robert R. Moore, a few miles above Algona, from which they expected to drive home in two days. In order to get started early the next morning they teamed their loads out across the Black Cat creek, some three miles on their way, and left them in an arm of the creek bottom, lit-

tle thinking at the time that their wagons would not be moved again until late in April. When morning came, it being December 1st, they found one of the most violent snow storms ever known in the history of this section of the country sweeping down from the northwest. It held on for some three days with a heavy fall of snow, filling up the ravines and creek bottoms, so that for the time all travel was stopped.

From now on storm followed storm with short intervals until their wagons were buried in fifteen feet of snow and were not found again until January 18th, after a long search by running poles down into the snow. Soon after they were found Mr. Tuttle came to our cabin, where I was stopping at the time with Charles E. Putnam, A. L. Seeley and Thos. C. Covell, and wanted to borrow or buy a pair of snow shoes, thinking he might be able to reach home in this way. We did not see how we could let him have a pair as we had no other means of getting about, although we did have four horses and a pair of mules snowed under in a stable near by, and then, further, we considered it very unsafe for him to undertake the trip alone.

After listening to his story, in which he told us he had heard nothing from his family since he left them in November, and that he was feeling very uneasy about their safety and must in some way try and get home, I asked him if he thought he could walk through from John James' cabin in one day, it being thirty-five miles, and if so, told him I would meet him there early the next morning with an extra pair of snow shoes and see him home. This he was confident he could do, so at the appointed time I found him ready for the start and then we were soon off. The morning was cold with quite a breeze from the northwest, which gradually gained in force till noon, making it quite impossible for Mr. Tuttle, who was an elderly man and inexperienced on snow shoes, to take a thirty-five mile gait. We now planned to abandon the through trip in one day and camp over night

at the river timber. This we reached near Armstrong Grove in time to get a fire started before dark and prepare our camp as well as we could for the night.

Without blankets or any extra clothing, with the mercury from 20 to 30 degrees below zero, we needed no place for sleep. Our time was pretty well occupied in cutting and gathering wood and keeping up a good fire. The night finally wore away and the morning opened up much colder, with the air so filled with snow that we could easily see we were to stay in camp and make the most of it until another day. Our only supply of eatables on hand was a small piece of fresh pork, some unground burnt coffee, tea and sugar, that Mr. Tuttle had planned to take home. These without salt or any kind of cooking utensil, not even a cup, proved to be a real aggravation, especially so, when we were using ice to quench our thirst. The day passed by and then another tedious night. Fortunately the storm slackened down during the night making it possible for us to travel again. I now told Mr. Tuttle we would go out on the prairie at the break of day when he must choose to either go on home or return with me regardless of the weather.

When the time came it only took one thought of home and family on his part to determine our course, which quickly brought us facing the wind from the northwest once more. After a tedious day's tramp we found ourselves at night still some four miles away from the home. Mr. Tuttle, who was now very tired, almost despaired of ever seeing his family again. It was not long afterward, however, before we caught sight of the light in the home window which proved to be a great stimulant for Mr. Tuttle as well as myself, and brought out our very best efforts. With several stops to rest we finally reached the cabin and then, when free of our snow shoes Mr. Tuttle stepped up and opened the door, I felt relieved from all further obligation on my part, as I had fully met my engagement with him to see him home. I followed him closely as he went in, and for a moment Mrs. Tuttle and the children seated



about a table seemed almost dazed by the abrupt and uncere-  
monious way we had entered their home. The change that  
instantly took place, when they fully realized who it was and  
learned from him that George was still alive and well, must  
be left to the imagination alone for its full and complete pic-  
ture. With the best in the house for supper and a good  
night's sleep we came out in the morning in fine shape. I  
stopped over one day to rest, and returned to our cabin well  
pleased with the outcome and the lessons learned about win-  
ter traveling on the prairies.

As the provisions in the settlement became very scarce,  
owing to the failure of Mr. Tuttle in getting through with his  
two loads, the Johnson family decided to leave and go back  
to their home in Iowa. Mr. Johnson fitted up a sleigh for  
winter traveling and then with his family and household  
goods started out the latter part of February for the Algona  
settlement, forty miles away, expecting to get through in two  
or three days. This he could have done had the crust on  
the snow been as firm all the way as it was at the lake when  
he started. In many places where the snow was deep his  
team and load would break through and then he was obliged  
not only to shovel them out, but dig out a roadway for some  
distance ahead. In this manner he worked his way on for  
six days when he found the supplies for his family and team  
were about used up, with more than half the distance yet to  
go. Hopefully he worked on for another day and reached a  
high and slightly bluff on the river a short distance from  
Armstrong Grove, where he decided to leave his family and  
try and reach the settlement on foot for help.

Early in the morning he parted from them and started  
out on the prairie, still hoping they might in some way be  
saved. He was so worn out that at his best he could only  
make very slow headway, so that when night came on he was  
still a wanderer. Fortunately for him, as well as for his  
family, he heard the barking of a dog. This he followed up  
until about nine o'clock when John James, of Black Cat

creek settlement, heard him calling for help and went out with his lantern and found him and took him to his cabin. He told Mr. James about his family, their condition and where they could be found. Mr. James at once hurried down the creek, some one and a half miles, to Mr. Reibhoff's, and informed them. The news was quickly carried to the others in the settlement—William B. Moore, Robert R. Moore and Horace Schenck—who hastened to meet together at Mr. Reibhoff's for the purpose of sending out a relief party with as little delay as possible.

When Peter Reibhoff, George Tuttle, John James and John Cullinder offered their services all hands went to work so that they might be off at an early hour. While the men folks were busy making sleds to carry their supplies, the women were equally busy in cooking and gathering the articles needed for the trip. Everything seemed to be well arranged for this party, when Mr. Schenck thought it would be best for another party to go out lightly loaded, so as to reach the family as quickly as possible. With this in view he came to our cabin, three miles away, about four o'clock in the morning, and told us about the family and what had been done, and then with great earnestness and much feeling told us what he still thought should be done, and asked us to make up a party to reach the sleigh with as little loss of time as might be. Our sympathies were all enlisted from the start, so that when he had finished I turned to William S. Campbell, who was stopping with us at the time, and said, "What do you say?" His quick reply was, "If you go, I shall be with you."

While breakfast was being prepared, the sleds were brought in, tent cover and blankets were rolled up and bound to them, also an axe to each. As the other party had a great supply of provisions we did not wait to prepare any and only took what we could gather from the table for our lunch. At the first signs of day we were off and soon found out that the morning was cold, and as usual we had a strong

northwest wind to face. About eleven o'clock the sky clouded over and soon after we were in one of those blustering snow storms so common at that day. At times it seemed as if we should have to turn back, or go to the timber for protection, and yet when we thought of the family that had been waiting so long for help, we nerved up all the stronger and pushed on. About one o'clock we discovered a break in the clouds at the horizon, and by three o'clock the storm had passed by. We now saw the sleigh some two miles away directly in front of us. This distance was quickly covered and when we walked up to it, so uncertain as to what we should find, and gave one of the bows of the cover a vigorous shake and asked, "How are you getting along?" we for once, at least, listened to a quick response, and such expressions of thankfulness as we had never heard before and probably never will again. This was followed by earnest appeals from Mrs. Johnson to her little girl, Mary, not to die, as help had come, repeating it over and over again, evidently in hopes of getting some expression from her showing that she was still alive. During this time Campbell, who was standing at my side, spoke the feelings of both when he said, "I am glad we came."

We now told Mrs. Johnson to be quiet as possible, and when we got a fire started and camp ready we would come and get them. When she heard the word "fire," it seemed to have the desired effect, as she had seen none for some time. We went down to the river bottom near at hand, where Campbell began cutting wood, while I cleared away a site for a camp in some four feet of snow with one of my snow shoes. When this was done and the support poles were in place we spread the heavy canvas for a cover and fastened it down close to the ground on all sides but the open front. A fire was soon started and then with the rubber blanket spread out on the ground, with the Mackinaws and buffalo robe covering it, we had a really comfortable appearing camp, although the mercury was some thirty degrees below zero.

A big fire was now in order, and when the camp was thoroughly warmed we hastened to the sleigh just above us on the bluff and found the family all unconscious but Mrs. Johnson, and all helpless and unable to move. We took the little boy of some twelve years of age, and Mary, about ten, out from between the heavy feather ticks and carried them to camp, apparently beyond the need of help, and then Mrs. Johnson with her infant child was placed beside them.

From now on we had plenty to do in keeping up the fire. Up to this time we had been so occupied that we had entirely forgotten the other party, as they had not put in their appearance. Hoping to aid them in finding our camp, we began firing guns at frequent intervals, and kept it up until quite late, when we gave up seeing them for the night.

By this time the young folks had warmed up and regained consciousness, and much to our relief we heard no complaining from the camp. The night soon passed and then at break of day we began firing guns again. This was kept up until about eight o'clock, when we had our first response from down the river. Another gun was fired, and then another response from nearer by was soon followed by the appearance of John James on the bluff overlooking our camp. He told us the rest of the party were down the river about five miles in a well hole in the snow where they had stayed over night without a fire. I now told him we had the family all safe, and we wanted something to eat, and to try and hurry up the provision party in quick time. A short time before noon they reached our camp, when we enjoyed their provisions while they appeared to enjoy our fire fully as well. The cattle were fed, and when dinner was over the sleigh was loaded up again, cattle hitched on, and with two long ropes fastened to the sleigh and passing by on either side, with a couple of men to each, we were ready for a start. As I remember the picture just at that time it would not have been taken for a rapid transit outfit.

We reached a fine ash grove on an island in the river a

short distance above the mouth of Mud creek before night, where we stopped to camp. The weather during the day had become more moderate, and the wind had quieted down. With plenty of help we made good preparations for the night. During the evening about the camp fire we listened to the experiences of the relief party while hauling their heavy loads during the storm the day before, also about the night spent in the snow well without a fire, that no one of that party is liable ever to forget.

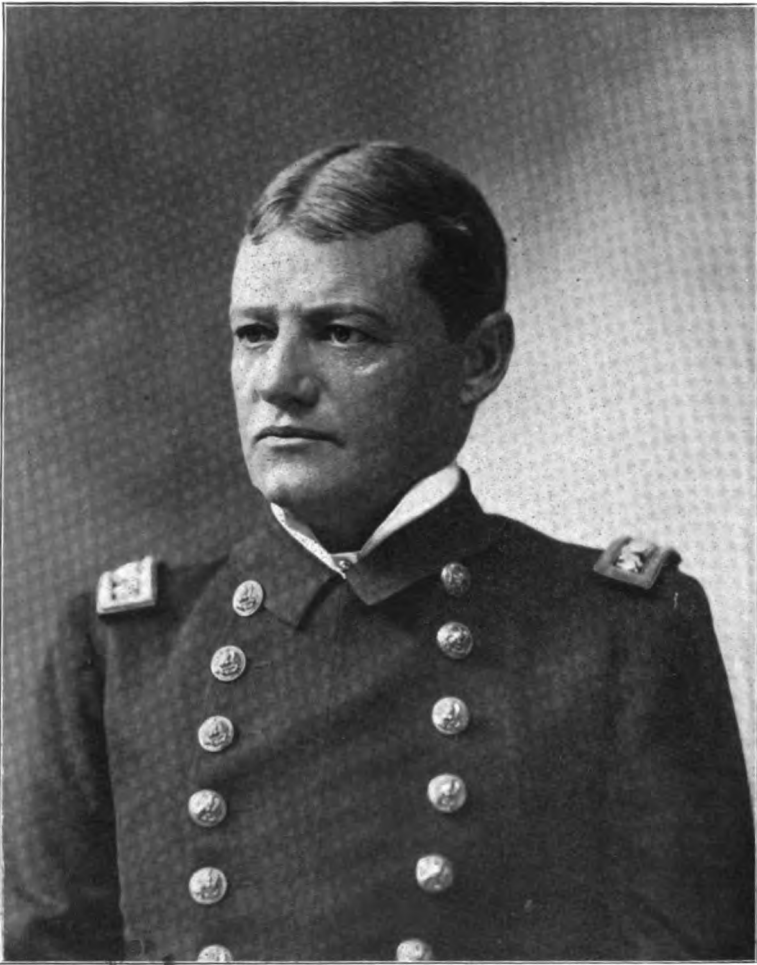
In comparing notes we found that all of us were more or less frozen about the hands and face while beating up against the storm. Bright and early we were up, and when breakfast was over we packed up again and were off, with everybody feeling well satisfied with the work so far accomplished.

Before noon Campbell and I left the party some two miles out from Mr. Riebhoff's and went to our cabin. Soon after the whole settlement was gladdened by the safe arrival of the family, and vied with each other in offering them the hospitality of their homes. They finally accepted of Mr. and Mrs. Schenck's invitation, as they had more spare room to offer, where they stayed until warm weather, when they went on their way with the best wishes of all who knew them and with memories that are not liable ever to be forgotten.

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MR. LE CLAIRE has laid out from 80 to 100 lots, for which he can give a good warrantee deed. These lots are situated in the most beautiful part of the village. He proposes to sell on favorable terms to persons wishing to build and take up their residence amongst us. He is also laying out and will shortly offer for sale, a number of 4-acre lots. Want of room forbids us saying more at this time. We shall say more on this subject hereafter.—*Davenport (Iowa) Sun, May 15, 1839.*





Very Sincerely Yours  
 Robley D. Evans  
 Rear Admiral U. S. N.

REAR-ADMIRAL ROBLEY D. EVANS,  
 Who commanded THE IOWA in the great naval battle off Santiago, in which the Spanish  
 fleet was completely destroyed, July 3, 1898. He was born in Floyd County, Vir-  
 ginia, August 18, 1847, appointed to the U. S. Naval Academy in 1860, and  
 went into active service in 1863. He participated in both attacks  
 upon Fort Fisher in 1865, and in that from the land received  
 four rifle-shot wounds from which he was for a time  
 disabled. His whole life has been one of  
 very "active service."

## THE BATTLESHIP IOWA.

BY REAR-ADMIRAL ROBLEY D. EVANS.

The battleship Iowa was the first *sea-going* battleship built by the United States—those that preceded her were known as *coast defense* battleships. The only real difference between them was that the Iowa had one more deck forward and was thus higher out of the water than the others. On account of the additional space due to the extra deck she was very much more comfortable for the crew than her sister ships. She was built by the Wm. Cramp & Sons Shipbuilding Company of Philadelphia. The contract for her construction was signed February 11, 1893; price \$3,010,000, with a bonus of \$50,000 for each quarter knot she made above sixteen knots on her trial trip. The sum thus realized was about \$200,000, as she maintained seventeen knots and a fraction over during her trial run of sixty-six miles.

Her hull is of steel of domestic manufacture and she has twin screws. Her length is 362 feet 6 inches, her beam is 72 feet 2 inches, and her draft, when fully loaded with coal, ammunition and stores, is 26 feet 10 inches. In ordinary cruising trim she draws 24 feet, and in this condition she displaces 11,340 tons of water. When all her bunkers are full she carries 1,700 tons of coal. The hull is protected over a greater portion of its surface by 14 inches of Harveyized nickel steel armor, and the ends, where not so protected, have a cofferdam filled with compressed cellulose. The main part of the ship amidships which contains the machinery and guns may be called a steel box or citadel formed by the 14-inch steel armor on the sides, and the 12-inch thickness of armor which at the ends connect the two sides of the box. She carries 17 boats, two of them being steam picket boats or launches, and in all, has 86 engines and 152 steam cylinders. She has four 25,000 candle power searchlights and 500 electric lights. She is ventilated by



fans driven by electric motors, and all her ammunition hoists, coal whips, etc., are worked by the same means. She has an ice machine which can make one ton of ice per day, and at the same time keep her cold storage rooms at a temperature near zero, and cool all the water her crew of 600 men and officers can drink.

The battery of the Iowa is as follows:

Four 12-inch breech loading rifles mounted in pairs in two turrets, one forward and one aft. These turrets are made of nickel steel 15 inches thick, are of the balanced type and controlled by hydraulic power.

Eight 8-inch breech loading rifles mounted in pairs in turrets on the corners of the superstructure and protected by six inches of nickel steel. The turrets are steam-controlled. It may be of interest to note the power of these heavy guns. The muzzle energy of one of the 12-inch projectiles if converted into lifting power would raise the entire ship fully loaded with coal and stores several feet clear of the water. The power of the 8-inch guns is in proportion. When it is stated that these guns could be fired on an average once in seventy seconds one gets an idea of the enormous power of the main battery.

Six 4-inch rapid fire guns, in broadside, protected by five inches of nickel steel. These guns could be fired from seven to ten times per minute.

The guns mentioned above constitute the main battery of the ship. The secondary battery is as follows:

Twenty 6-pounder rapid fire guns capable of firing 20 to 25 shots each per minute.

Four 1-pounder rapid fire guns.

Four Colt automatic guns.

The secondary battery is for protection against torpedo boats and for use at close quarters. The 6-pounders, 1-pounders and Colts can be landed in the boats for service on shore.

Four torpedo tubes for using Howell torpedoes complete the armament.





**THE IOWA.**

**This beautiful cut represents the great battleship as she appeared when commanded by Captain (now Rear-Admiral) ROBLEY D. EVANS.**

The Iowa has double bottoms throughout her length—one ship inside another, as it were, and is divided into 284 water-tight compartments, all of which are connected by proper pipes and valves with powerful steam pumps, so that if any compartment should become filled with water it could be quickly pumped out. All these compartments have automatic alarms which register in the captain's cabin. The coal bunkers, also, have each an automatic alarm so arranged as to ring off whenever the temperature reaches a dangerous point.

The U. S. S. Iowa was placed in commission on June 16, 1897, under the command of Captain William T. Sampson, at the Philadelphia navy yard. After a month spent at that yard, she proceeded to Newport, Rhode Island, and reported to Rear Admiral Montgomery Sicard, commanding the North Atlantic station, as one of the vessels of his squadron. Later in the summer she proceeded on a cruise with the squadron to Portsmouth, Portland, Bar Harbor and Boston, thence to New York in the fall. Several months were spent at Tompkinsville and at the navy yard, and the vessel then proceeded with Admiral Sicard's squadron to the Gulf of Mexico, where drills and manoeuvres took place in the Bay of Florida, at Dry Tortugas and off Key West. The vessel was occupied in this duty when the Maine was blown up, soon after which Captain Sampson was appointed president of the board which proceeded to Havana to investigate the causes of that disaster, leaving the executive officer, Lieutenant Commander Raymond P. Rodgers, in temporary command. Rear Admiral Sicard's failing health having rendered necessary his detachment from the command of the squadron, Captain Sampson was, April 1, 1898, ordered by the navy department to relieve him in that command, and was himself relieved of the command of the Iowa by Captain Robley D. Evans.

When war was declared by Spain against the United States, the Iowa proceeded, with the squadron under com-

mand of Admiral Sampson, to the blockade of Havana, Cuba. The commander-in-chief being called away before the blockade was formally established, the Iowa had the position of honor, and it was from her deck that the signals were made which closed the principal port of Spain in the West Indies. She was never absent from the blockade an hour, except to take coal, until the fleet was sent east to look for the Spanish fleet under Admiral Cervera, who was supposed to be on his way to San Juan, Porto Rico. When this expedition started she towed the monitor Amphitrite and performed the same service on the return to Key West.

At the battle of San Juan, Admiral Sampson transferred his flag to the Iowa and she had the honor of leading the fleet in that spirited engagement. After sustaining the fire of the batteries at close range for nearly three hours she, with the rest of the fleet, withdrew from action as it was plain that Admiral Cervera was not there and his was the force the admiral was looking for. She had been considerably damaged about the upper works and boats, and had three men wounded by fragments of a Spanish shell.

On her return to Key West, May 19, 1898, the Iowa was ordered to join the flying squadron under command of Commodore Schley off Cienfuegos, with all possible dispatch, in order that he might be so strong that there could be no doubt of his sinking the Spanish squadron should he be fortunate enough to fall in with them. This duty was performed and the Iowa remained with the flying squadron until Admiral Cervera was located at Santiago on May 29, 1898. On June 1, 1898, Admiral Sampson arrived off Santiago and she once more became a part of his command. She had the center of the blockading line during the trying days off Santiago and was the first to sight the Spanish ships and fire a gun at them as they came out of the harbor on July 3, 1898. During the battle that followed she did her fair share in the destruction of the Spanish fleet. When the Vizcaya, the third of the enemy's cruisers to take the

beach, was in flames, the Iowa stood in close to her and succeeded in rescuing her captain and such officers and men as were still alive. The conduct of her crew in their efforts to succor the unfortunate Spaniards was beyond praise. It was as splendid and beautiful as their bravery in action had been conspicuous. On her return to the entrance at Santiago, during the afternoon of the 3d of July, she received on board Admiral Cervera and several of his officers who had surrendered to the gallant Wainwright after his splendid fight with the Spanish torpedo boats.

After Sampson's brilliant victory over the Spanish fleet the Iowa was held in readiness to go to the Mediterranean or Manila as circumstances might demand. During all this time since leaving Key West her engines were never stopped for one minute on account of repairs, and though her bottom was as foul as a half-tide rock, her gallant crew was always equal to any demand that was made upon them. When the Spanish war was over she returned to New York with the victorious fleet and received her share of the applause showered upon them by a grateful people. She was then thoroughly overhauled and proceeded, in company with the celebrated battleship Oregon, to the Pacific coast where she is now stationed. Good luck to the dear old ship; she is an honor to the great commonwealth after which she was named.

NAVY DEP'T, WASHINGTON, D. C., JUNE 8, 1901.

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SEVERAL large rafts of pine lumber have already arrived at this place and Stephenson, from the pine region in Wisconsin. It was sold in the water at \$30 per 1000 feet. We are told that a more beautiful lot of lumber never descended the Allegheny than was purchased yesterday by Mr. Le Claire, of this village. If in the absence of building materials improvements progress, what will be the result when lumber is plenty?—*Davenport (Iowa) Sun, May 3, 1839.*

# ANNALS OF IOWA.

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## EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT.

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### DEDICATION OF THE FLOYD MONUMENT.

This important historical event took place at Sioux City on the 30th day of May last. The weather was most propitious and the ceremonies were in every way successful. Sioux City has the high honor of having erected one of the most beautiful and appropriate historical monuments in the United States. This result was more largely due to the persistent and well-directed efforts of Mr. John H. Charles than to any other instrumentality. His dream for a quarter of a century has come to the fullest realization, for which he is receiving plaudits on every hand without stint—the crowning event of a useful and noble life of 76 years. True, he has constantly had the aid and hearty sympathy of men high in influence, but without his constant watchfulness and unremitting efforts the late brilliant success could not have been realized. Among his helpers should first be named Hon. George D. Perkins, editor of *The Sioux City Journal*, who, both in his influential paper and while in Congress, gave to Mr. Charles the heartiest support. Through his efforts Congress was induced to appropriate \$5,000 for this work. Hon. E. H. Hubbard, State Senator, secured a like appropriation by the Iowa legislature. Following these appropriations came liberal aid from Sioux City and Woodbury county, as well as from private individuals. Among the most active supporters of this work were Hon. Constant R. Marks and Judge George W. Wakefield. The lamented Dr. Elliott Coues, the profound and versatile scholar, who has been fitly characterized as “the historian of the Lewis and Clark Expedition,” rendered most efficient aid when the project first

began to assume tangible shape in 1895. Mitchell Vincent, Esq., the widely-known civil engineer of Onawa, has been from the first a most practical supporter of Mr. Charles. Then, the War Department placed the projection and construction of the work under the supervision of Capt. H. M. Chittenden, one of the ablest engineers of the U. S. army. And so, from its inception until it came to full fruition, the project has been well seconded and supported.

At the dedication of the monument on the 30th of May, Hon. John A. Kasson, the distinguished Iowa diplomat and statesman, made the principal address, which was fittingly characterized by Hon. George D. Perkins as "a distinct contribution to the history of the Louisiana territory and purchase." Rev. Dr. William Salter, of Burlington, made the invocation. It will be remembered that these eminent Iowans officiated in like manner at the laying of the corner-stone of the Iowa Historical Building, May 17, 1899.

"The monument," says Capt. Chittenden, "is a solid masonry obelisk, built in the most substantial manner, in careful conformity with the proportions of the ancient Egyptian models." The material is Kettle River (Minn.) sandstone. The shaft is a trifle over 100 feet above the base, which is 125 feet above low water mark in the Missouri river. There are two massive tablets of the finest bronze bearing appropriate historical inscriptions.

Our space will not admit of farther details at this time, but we hope to present in a future number, a full history of the monument, with Mr. Kasson's great address.

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#### THE OLD STATE BANK OF IOWA.

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The article, by Maj. Hoyt Sherman, which we publish in the present number of *THE ANNALS*, will not only interest the readers of to-day, but it presents in compact and clear form the salient points in the history of a most creditable institution. It possesses permanent historical value. We can-



not, however, expect that it will appeal to the generation now in active business life, which has grown up since the war for the Union, as it does to the comparatively few who still live as survivors of the times when most of the money in circulation was of doubtful value. But if there is one matter, aside from the record of our soldiers in the civil war, in which those Iowans who are up in the sixties and seventies feel an exalted pride it is in the good Iowa money which in 1858 succeeded a flood of trash.

The record which Maj. Sherman makes for the directors of the State Bank is an enviable one. They entered upon their new and, for the greater part, untried duties with a firm determination that their work should be in all respects substantial and honorable. From the iron rules which they laid down for the guidance of the central organization and the individual branches there was never a shadow of turning. The action of each local bank was closely watched, and whenever anything unlike good banking was detected, an investigation was immediately ordered, and whatever was amiss was at once corrected. This story will be new to most readers, but none the less will it long be read with deep interest by the people of Iowa. While none of the worthless currency of the preceding period originated in our State, it had become a favorite field in which to circulate all sorts of doubtful stuff from other sections. But the first step taken by our legislature, and so wisely carried out by the old State Bank, gave Iowa a proud financial standing which has existed ever since.

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### GRAVES OF REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIERS IN IOWA.

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At least five soldiers who fought in the Revolutionary War died and were buried in this State. Possibly there may have been others, but our knowledge only extends to the five. Their names were Timothy Brown, Charles Shepherd, William Blair, George Perkins and John Osborn.

Timothy Brown enlisted in April, 1780, and served three years as a private, a portion of the time under Capt. Richard Cox, in a regiment com-

manded by Col. Charles Dayton. His next company commander was Capt. Alex. Mitchell, and his next colonel was Matthias Ogden. He participated in the battles of Monmouth, Springfield and Yorktown, witnessing the surrender of Lord Cornwallis. He was discharged at Little Britain, N. Y. While residing in Franklin county, Ind., he was granted a pension June 2, 1818. He had previously received a badge of merit for three years of faithful service. It was stated in *The Western American*, of Keosauqua, Iowa, June 17, 1852, that Timothy Brown, a revolutionary soldier, had died on the 30th of the previous month, in Washington county, Iowa, at the advanced age of ninety-one years. But investigations kindly undertaken by Mr. H. A. Burrell, of *The Washington Press*, have failed to identify the place where Timothy Brown was buried. Of the facts that he ended his days in that county, and was buried somewhere within its borders, there would seem to be no doubt. The place of his interment may some day be identified.

George Perkins was born in Liberty county, South Carolina, March 22, 1754. He enlisted no less than nine times from 1776 to 1780, for short periods of service, varying from one month to five. He served as a private under Captains Gregg, LeBash, Evans, Cade, Robinson, Pearson and Whittington, and one other whose name is not given. He served in eight different regimental commands, but did not participate in any battle. He enlisted somewhere in South Carolina. His application for a pension was dated March 11, 1843, and was granted. He died November 15, 1840, and according to information secured by the "Daughters of the American Revolution," was buried near Primrose, Lee county, on the farm of the late John McGreer. His age was 88 years and 8 months. The desultory character of his service probably arose from the fact that he served under Gen. Francis Marion.

William Blair was born in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, in 1760. He resided in Cumberland county, Pennsylvania, at the date of his first enlistment. He is credited with service as a private under three different enlistments, which were for two, five and seven months, from May, 1778, to June, 1780. His captains under these three enlistments were George Ball, Henry Dougherty and Gilbert McCoy. He was once in the command of Gen. John Sullivan, who so successfully fought the Indians, and also served under a Col. Clark. Before he had attained his majority he served two months (in 1778) as his father's substitute, and was in several campaigns against the Tories, British and Indians. He was disabled at the battle of Chemung, leaving the service for a time, but later rejoined and was mustered out with his regiment. After many experiences in pioneer life, he came to Round Prairie, Kossuth county, Iowa, in 1837, where three years later, he died. Two of his sons, Thomas and David Evans Blair, settled in Iowa when this was a part of Michigan territory and were prominent in the public life of our early days. Thomas was one of the seven representatives from Des Moines county in the first session of the Wisconsin territorial legislature, which convened at Belmont, October 25, 1836. He also served in the second session of this body which met at Burlington, November 6, 1837, and in the special session which was begun at Burlington June 11,

1838. He was also a member of the first Iowa territorial assembly which convened at Burlington, November 12, 1838. David E. Blair was elected to the Fourth Iowa territorial legislature, which met at Burlington, December 6, 1841, and to the Fifth, which convened at Iowa City, December 5, 1842. He was also chosen to the first State legislature, which convened at Iowa City, November 30, 1846. The old soldier did not ask for a pension until he had reached his seventy-second year, when his application was granted. His grandson, Mr. M. W. Blair, is at present a resident of Kossuth, Iowa. There has been some agitation of the project to place a tablet to his memory in the Iowa Historical Building, but no action has yet been taken. During the past few months his family representatives at Sioux City and Kossuth have erected a monument over his grave in the little cemetery three miles from Kossuth, Iowa. The following is the inscription on the stone, which is shortly to be dedicated:

William Blair,  
Born Lancaster, Pa., 1760.  
Died Des Moines county, Iowa, 1840.  
A soldier of the American Revolution.  
An elder in the Presbyterian church.  
A pioneer in Pa., Ky., Ohio, Ind., Ill., Iowa.

Charles Shepherd served in the Fourth regiment of artillery three years and nine months. His rank was that of "matross," or gunner's assistant. The date and place of his birth are unknown. He enlisted in 1777, at York, Pennsylvania. His captain was Patrick Duffy and his colonel Thomas Proctor. He was discharged at Trenton, New Jersey, but the date is not given. While residing at Duaneville, New York, in 1818, he applied for a pension, which was granted. His age at that time was 58 years. He participated in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown. He died in 1848, and was buried on his farm about seven miles from Rome, Iowa.

John Osborn was born April 16, 1763, in Shenandoah county, Virginia, but during the greater portion of his military service resided in Montgomery county in the same state. He enlisted in May, 1780, and served four months under his uncle, Captain Enoch Osborn, who commanded a company in the regiment of Colonel Preston of that state. This command went to Tennessee to hold in check the Shawnee and Cherokee Indians and Tories. In 1781 he served six months under the same officers at Blackmore Station, near the Tennessee mountains, for the protection of the frontier settlements. Later, he served six months as a light-horseman under Colonel William Campbell, patrolling certain portions of the state of North Carolina for the purpose of watching the Tories. He was discharged in September, 1782, but was afterward ordered out to serve in the militia of that state. His last service was for a period of twelve months in garrison at Whitton's Station, Tennessee, in the command of Colonel Preston. After the war he resided for a time in North Carolina, thence removing to Kentucky and later to Indiana. In May, 1852, he settled in McDonough county, Illinois, where he resided but a short time until he came to Center Point, Linn county, Iowa, where he died in 1854. He was buried in the cemetery at that place. In 1894 Denison Post No. 244, G. A. R., assisted by the

citizens of Center Point, erected a fine granite monument to his memory.

For the information contained in the above notes we are indebted to the records of the U. S. Pension Bureau and the researches of the Iowa Daughters of the American Revolution.

In addition to the above, a soldier who had fought on the side of the British, died and was buried at Burlington in the autumn of 1833. His name was Ross, but his given name or names are no longer known with certainty. Neither can the spot where he was buried be identified. "His grave," writes the Rev. Dr. William Salter, "is believed to have been in the old cemetery, (on ground given for that purpose by Major Jeremiah Smith, the first merchant here,) now occupied by the Burlington Institute and High School and many dwellings." Dr. William R. Ross, the first postmaster of Burlington, and one of its earliest merchants, was his son. The aged man had previously lived in Lexington, Kentucky. He passed away a few months after reaching Burlington, and "was the first white person buried in that section of the New Purchase."

### THE BATTLE OF ATHENS, MO.

Athens is a post village of Clarke county, Mo., on the west side of the Des Moines river, some twenty miles northwest of Keokuk. Croton station, Iowa, on the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific railway, is on the east side of the Des Moines river, about half a mile from Athens. "The battle of Athens" was an affair which occurred at that place August 4, 1861. Considered by itself alone, the event was altogether unimportant, but when it is remembered that it occurred so near the outbreak of the civil war, and that it resulted in the complete discomfiture of the Confederate forces which had started out with the intention of invading Iowa, its results were highly important. The population of southern Iowa was altogether peaceable and quiet, while there were hundreds, if not thousands, of Missourians who were ready at a moment's notice to engage in a raid into our State. In the leading article in today's *ANNALS*, Gen. Cyrus Bussey gives a clear and succinct account of the events which preceded and led up to this affair. The article becomes all the more important from the fact that he adds several letters from the correspondence between himself and the authorities of our State. At that time he held a staff appointment under Governor Kirkwood, with authority to act upon his own discretion in any emergency which might arise. How promptly and admirably he used that discretion he clearly sets forth. Until he had made himself thoroughly understood, he was censured for interference with the plans of the State and general government, and also of Col. G. M. Dodge, who was at that time organizing the Fourth Iowa Infantry at Council Bluffs. But it will be seen by the letters of Governor Kirkwood, Adjutant General Baker and Judge Caleb Baldwin, that his course was heartily endorsed. In his speech before the Crocker Brigade on the 27th of September, 1900, which was copied into *THE ANNALS* for January, 1901 (pp. 577-594), Gen. Dodge also makes mention of this action of Gen. Bussey.

As Gen. Bussey deals more particularly with events preceding the bat-

tle, we presume that it will now be in order for some one who participated in it to give a circumstantial account of the action itself. There was considerable apprehension during the years of the war that Iowa might be invaded from the south, and it was believed that the capital itself would, in that contingency, be placed in jeopardy. This signal defeat of the enemy went far towards discouraging them from undertaking that task again.

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### A VERY PROPER MOVEMENT.

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Dr. J. M. Shaffer, of Keokuk, has sent us a marked copy of *The Washington (Pa.) Reporter*, of February 6, 1901, a weekly paper which, we observe, was established in 1808. The article marked is an account of the preliminary steps in the organization of the Washington County Historical Society. The ends sought to be accomplished are stated to be "collecting and preserving books, papers, records, writings and relics, local, military and otherwise, relating to the history of Western Pennsylvania, and especially of Washington county." The society was duly incorporated and made a matter of public record. The incorporators met and organized January 1, 1901—beginning their good work on the first day of the twentieth century. A constitution and by-laws were adopted and a meeting appointed for the 22d of February, "to explain to the public the purposes of the society, to induce applications for membership and to complete the society's organization." The date was deemed a most auspicious one for the purpose. In issuing the call for this meeting the president and secretary of the society submit the following by way of program:

"One hundred and twenty years have now elapsed since Washington county had its birth. He who knows its history cannot avoid a pride in being one of its native-born citizens. . . . Shall the written and other evidences of the history of the county become lost, obliterated? Scattered everywhere, in the old and forgotten files of court records, in the hands of private persons, stuck away in old boxes and in garrets and never thought of, are important papers of all kinds, as well as books, writings and relics, civil, legal and military, which illustrate that history, and ought to be preserved in some safe place where they would be accessible.

"The organization to undertake this end now has a name, and a place to live; and with the aid of all the people, or as many as can be had to take an interest in its work, it has a chance to succeed and enjoy a permanent prosperity.

"While it shall give special attention to the collection and preservation of materials illustrating the history of Washington county, yet materials illustrating the history of the state and union of which it forms a part will not be regarded as foreign to its purpose.

"Any person over the age of 16 years is eligible to membership on payment of a membership fee of three dollars, and annual dues after the first year of one dollar. The age limit has been fixed at 16, to enlist the interest of the young of both sexes in the history of their county and country.

"It is the purpose of the society to hold public meetings at least once each year, and as many more as possible, at which addresses will be deliv-

ered or carefully prepared papers read, on special subjects of local or general history; and at these meetings an effort will be made to have the attendance not only of the people generally, but especially the teachers and the advanced pupils of the public schools; for it is believed that this country of ours will be saved from impending dangers only by the education of its people, not only in the arts and sciences generally, but by a thorough knowledge of the country's history, and thereby of the principles which have given it life and vitality."

From a late number of *The Reporter* we learn that the Washington County Historical Society was successfully organized and started out upon its good work under very promising auspices. A constitution and by-laws were prepared and adopted providing for regular meetings, dues to be paid by members, the making of collections, the preparation of historical papers, etc., etc. The movement appears to have elicited a good degree of public interest, and as the community is old, populous, and long a noted educational center, there would seem to be an excellent prospect of usefulness before the new society.

There ought to be a similar society in every Iowa county, and its organization should be commenced at once and not deferred until the county is more than a hundred years old. In the case of Washington county, Pennsylvania, this long delay cannot but have resulted in the loss beyond recovery of much precious historical material. But the people turned over a new leaf with the beginning of the new century and the best results may be confidently anticipated.

During the past two months the subject of founding such a local historical society has been discussed in Boone, Scott and Lucas counties. From the standing of the parties who have interested themselves in these matters there would in each locality seem to be a good prospect of success. Wherever a public library has been established, and a building erected, a county historical society might easily be organized. The expenses could be made very moderate and much good accomplished. A volume or pamphlet should be published every year or two, thus making a permanent record of the early history of each county. Portraits of the pioneer settlers, with cuts of early buildings, can be secured at trifling expense as compared with the cost of illustrations a few years ago. Every effort of this character should meet with local encouragement. Once begun, many organizations would assuredly have long and useful lives.

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Our first territorial governor, Gen. Robert Lucas, had also been Governor of Ohio before he crossed the Mississippi. He was one of the most distinguished friends of education of his time in the West. From "A History of Education in the State of Ohio" (Columbus, O., 1876), we learn that he was made president of the first State Convention held in Ohio in the interest of public education. When he was transplanted to Iowa he began at once to use his influence for common schools, public libraries and other means of general education.

## NOTABLE DEATHS.

LEMUEL R. BOLTER was born in Richland county, Ohio, July 27, 1834; he died at his home in Logan, Iowa, April 29, 1901. His early years were passed upon his father's farm in Ohio and later in Michigan. He attended the district and graded schools for several years, finally entering Hillsdale college. He received a good business education, his favorite study being mathematics. After his college days he taught school for a short time, when, in company with three other young men he started on the overland journey to California. This was in 1852. The traveling outfit consisted of a wagon and three yokes of oxen. The way was long and the journey full of peril from the elements and hostile Indians. Reaching Mokelumne Hill, Calaveras county, he served the Wells-Fargo Express Company awhile as a clerk, at \$300 per month, but left that work to try his hand at mining. The results not meeting his expectations he returned to the town, where he worked two years as a clerk in a store. He returned to Michigan in 1854, where he taught school and studied law. He removed to Iowa in 1863, having in the meantime married Miss Caroline J. Rinehart. He settled upon a farm in Jefferson township, Harrison county, where for some years he devoted his time to farming and the practice of the law. He was admitted to the bar in the court of Judge Isaac Pendleton, in 1856, in which year he was elected to the Iowa House of Representatives. As a legislator he secured and always retained a strong hold upon his constituency. Mr. Bolter probably served more years in the Iowa legislature than any other man in the territory or State. He sat in the house in the fifteenth, sixteenth, nineteenth and twentieth general assemblies, and in the senate in the twenty-first, twenty-second, twenty-third, twenty-fourth, twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth. He received the Democratic nomination for Congress in 1876, against Col. William F. Sapp, of Council Bluffs. The district had a large Republican majority and Mr. Bolter was defeated. The canvass, however, was a memorable one. In 1885 Gov. Buren R. Sherman appointed Mr. Bolter as a delegate to the N. W. Waterway Convention at Kansas City, of which he was chosen president. He was mentioned at different times for the nominations for governor and supreme judge. While he was an uncompromising Democrat, and acted with his party on all political questions, he was a man of liberal views in regard to education, libraries and other public improvements—truly a man of the people—without a trace of the demagogue. With clear convictions of his duty as a representative of the people, no considerations personal to himself were ever allowed to influence his official action. He was a thoroughly independent man throughout his busy life. His long service in the legislature, where he was always useful, gave evidence of the respect and confidence in which he was held by his constituents. He was most trusted by those who knew him best.

HIRAM PRICE was born in Washington county, Pa., January 10, 1814; he died in Washington, D. C., May 30, 1901. He was a farmer's boy, receiving only a common school education. After leaving school he remained on the home farm for several years. He then engaged as a book keeper for a commission house in Pittsburgh, his experience there fitting him for the wider fields he was destined to occupy. He settled in Davenport, Iowa, in 1844, where he opened a store. He was soon afterward elected treasurer and recorder of Scott county. He took an active and prominent part in organizing the State Bank of Iowa under the law of 1858, of which he became president in 1860, upon the death of Chester Weed. He held this honorable and useful position until the institution was wound up in 1865. When the civil war broke out our State had a treasury nearly empty. At

this juncture he advanced \$22,000 to aid Governor S. J. Kirkwood in raising, arming and equipping the 1st, 2d and 3d regiments of Iowa Infantry. He also furnished money very freely for the purpose of aiding various railroad enterprises of local and State importance. He was elected to the national house of representatives in 1862, and twice re-elected. He was again elected in 1876 and served four years. He was appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1881, serving four years. Upon retiring from this office he took up his residence in Washington, where he afterward remained. Mr. Price was an able and most upright and conscientious man. None ever questioned the strict integrity with which he discharged his multifarious public duties. He was a leading anti-slavery and temperance man, never compromising with any sort of opposition, and aggressive in sustaining and disseminating his radical views. Each of the past volumes of the 3d series of *THE ANNALS OF IOWA* contains articles by Mr. Price, or references to his public career. The opening article of Vol. I was written by him, giving his "Recollections of Iowa Men and Affairs." The same volume, pp. 584-602, contains a biographical sketch of Mr. Price, by his life-long friend, Hon. B. F. Gue. Each of these articles is illustrated by a fine steel portrait. The Historical Department owns his portrait in oil by George H. Yewell, the distinguished Iowa artist. Mr. Price some years ago privately printed a volume of his speeches in Congress, which may be found in many Iowa libraries. These materials, as well as the columns of the Iowa newspapers, for more than 40 years, contain full accounts of his useful career. His connection with the State Bank of Iowa is set forth in the present number of *THE ANNALS*, by Major Hoyt Sherman, who was his business associate for many years.

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HENRY C. MARKHAM was born in New York City, July 24, 1812; he died at Mount Ayr, Ringgold county, Iowa, May 12, 1901. He was truly a pioneer, having lived in Iowa sixty-five years. His first halt on his western travels was in Ohio, but he came to Montrose, Lee county, Iowa, in 1836. That frontier post was then held by a detachment of United States soldiers. He was first employed as a clerk by an Indian trader. In the organization of Lee county he also took a part. Entering into the politics of the time he became deputy sheriff. While filling this office he participated in two famous "man hunts"—one for the Hodges brothers who murdered two Germans near West Point, and the other for the murderers of Col. Davenport on Rock Island. He married Miss Hannah Remington, who resided near Montrose, in 1844, and the following spring started to remove overland to Oregon. The outfit consisted of "a prairie schooner" wagon drawn by a yoke of cows and two yokes of oxen. It was winter when they reached Council Bluffs, where he erected a rude log hut and remained until spring. He then determined to abandon the idea of going farther west and returned to Lee county. He went into the mercantile business at Montrose, but some years afterward settled in Albia. He was appointed postmaster of that town by President Franklin Pierce, and held the office four years. In 1859-60 he was sheriff of Monroe county. At the outbreak of the rebellion he entered the military service as Captain of company I, Eighth Iowa infantry. Suffering from bronchitis he was mustered out of the service, but promptly re-enlisted in "the graybeard regiment," where he became First Lieutenant of company G, from which he was discharged at the close of the war. He settled at Mount Ayr in 1869, where he served as postmaster under President Grant. He withdrew from active business in the later seventies, after which time he lived a retired life. That he was a useful man is attested by his services as a soldier, as well as by the positions he had filled in civil life. He was known as "a kindly, reputable and honorable citizen."



**GEORGE A. STONE** was born in Schoharie, New York, Oct. 13, 1836; he died at Burlington, Iowa, May 26, 1901. His family came west in 1839, and settled in Washington county, Iowa. After attending the country schools, he went to Mt. Pleasant and entered college. In 1851 he was made cashier of the First National Bank of Mt. Pleasant. At the outbreak of the civil war he assisted in recruiting Co. F, First Iowa Infantry, of which he was made first lieutenant. He bore his part in the battle of Wilson's Creek. At his muster-out he was appointed major of our Fourth Cavalry. In August, 1862, he was promoted to the colonelcy of the Twenty-fifth Iowa Infantry. He was in active service during the war, and with Gen. Sherman in his famous "march to the sea," in which he commanded a brigade. He received the surrender of Columbia, S. C., planting the stars and stripes over that city. At the close of the war he was brevetted brigadier general for gallant and meritorious service. He returned to Mt. Pleasant and resumed his position in the bank. After several years he removed to Ottumwa, and later to Rulo, Neb., where he was engaged in merchandising. President Cleveland appointed him National Bank Examiner for Iowa, which position he retained until a short time since, when failing health compelled him to resign. His army record was a proud one, and his business career gave evidence of large ability and the strictest integrity. He was a member of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, and of the Grand Army of the Republic. His remains were taken to his home at Mt. Pleasant, where he was buried with military honors.

**JOHN A. L. CROOKHAM** was born in Jackson county, Ohio, October 29, 1817; he died at Oskaloosa, Iowa, May 2, 1901. He remained at home on his father's farm until his majority, presumably with only such educational advantages as were afforded by the district school. He settled in Darwin, Illinois, where he taught school for three years, during which time he studied law. He first visited Iowa in 1845, but having contracted fever and ague, went back to Illinois, where he taught school another year. Returning to this State in 1847, he settled in Oskaloosa, where he resided up to the time of his death. Judge Crookham was always remarkable for his activity in business and politics. He was an important factor in railroad development in his section of the State. He also gave liberally of his means in the founding of Penn College in Oskaloosa. Under the old law which went out in 1860 he was elected county judge, serving from 1851 to 1855. At that time the "county judge" transacted nearly all the business which is now confided to the board of supervisors and county auditor. He represented "proud Mahaska" in the State Senate in the sessions of 1864-66. He especially distinguished himself in securing the adoption of the constitutional amendment giving the ballot to colored men—the "striking out of the word white." He introduced the bill granting aid to the families of Iowa soldiers in the Union army. It is stated that he signed the Washingtonian pledge when he was a child of eight years and kept it to the end of his long and useful life.

**JAMES D. SEEBERGER** was born in New York City, November 4, 1836; he died in Des Moines, Iowa, April 19, 1901. His family removed to Wooster, Ohio, the year after his birth. He attended the public schools until his fourteenth year, when he entered upon an apprenticeship to learn the mercantile business. During the period of his service he was distinguished for his energy and fidelity to the interests of his employers, which led to his rapid promotion. The year 1860 found his health so seriously impaired that he went to Idaho where he resided four years. Returning to Chicago he remained some months with his brother, Anthony F. Seeberger. In 1865 he came to Des Moines. He entered into a partnership in the hardware business which continued until 1872, when he became sole proprietor

of the establishment. Through his hard work and remarkably sagacious management he built up one of the most flourishing wholesale business houses in the State—his annual sales amounting to \$1,000,000. Mr. Thomas Hatton, an old resident of the capital city, said of Mr. Seeberger: "As a business man he stood at the very head, commanding the respect and confidence of all who came in contact with him. . . . He was the soul of honor, and generous almost to a fault." He was a liberal giver for religious and charitable purposes, warmly attached to his friends, a man of the highest personal character, one of the most widely known and highly respected pioneer merchants in the State.

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RICHARD P. MILLER was born on his father's farm just outside of the city of Fort Madison, Iowa, May 27, 1856; he died in Keokuk, May 11, 1901. (He was the son of the late Hon. Daniel F. Miller who sat for the First district in the national House of Representatives in the second session of the thirty-first congress (1850-51), and who was one of the members from Lee county in the twenty-fifth general assembly of this State (1894)—the last appearance of that distinguished Iowan in public life.) He studied law in his father's office and for many years was his partner in the practice of his profession. An affection of the vocal organs led to his quitting legal work for some fifteen years, during which time he was associated with his brother, Harry C., in the grain business, with headquarters at Fort Madison, Kansas City and Omaha. But he returned to Keokuk five or six years ago and opened a law office in connection with his brother, Daniel F. Miller, Jr. In the spring of 1899 he was elected judge of the superior court, in which position he was rapidly acquiring a wide reputation. The public journals of Keokuk paid elaborate tributes to his memory, and incidentally to the distinguished public career of his father, the statesman and pioneer lawmaker. The death of Judge Richard P. Miller, at the early age of 46, resulted from injuries received in a collision of his carriage with a trolley car.

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JAMES H. BURCH was born at Lyons, New York, March 27, 1836; he died at Dubuque, Iowa, May 3, 1901. He was educated in the public schools, which he left at the age of fourteen to carve out his own fortune. At first a clerk in a drug store at Portage, Wisconsin, he rose to a partnership in the business, but left his work in 1859 to engage as a bookkeeper in a lumber manufacturing establishment at Necedah, in that state. In 1869 he removed to Dubuque, where he became identified with its most important interests. He was twice chosen to the mayoralty, on one occasion by a unanimous vote, having no opposition whatever. He was one of the board of directors and president of the Second National Bank, a leading factor in advancing the railroad enterprises of that section of the State, the largest stockholder in the Hotel Julien, director in the Bridge Company, a director and treasurer of the City Gas Company, etc., etc. "The sympathetic and unselfish side of his life was shown in the interest which he always took in enterprises for the public good." He was one of the organizers of the Findley hospital, a director in the Home for the Friendless, one of the trustees of the Y. M. C. A., and member of the Board of Trustees of the Public Library. In all these directions he was a leader, a man of the largest and best influence. The Dubuque papers paid high tributes to his memory.

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RICHARD CAMPBELL was born in Oneida county, New York, August 21, 1825; he died at Independence, Iowa, March 26, 1901. He settled in Independence in 1856, since which time until his death he was one of the leading business men of that thriving town, becoming its wealthiest citizen. One of the founders of the First National Bank of Independence, he held

the office of president of that institution from its organization in 1865 until his death. "His wealth was obtained," says *The Conservative*, "by legitimate methods, by shrewd foresight, by close attention to business affairs. . . . He possessed in a very large measure the affection and confidence of his business associates," as well as of the many people with whom he had business relations. His gains had come largely from investments in which the people were interested, as the electric street railway, business blocks, the opera house, etc., etc. He also owned many thousands of acres of Iowa lands which rapidly increased in value. *The Bulletin-Journal*, in an estimate of his character and worth, states that he was "a steadfast friend, who could be depended upon in good or evil report, and a delightful companion whose wide information and many personal gifts made him a marked feature in any social gathering."

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ANDREW OLIVER HUNTER was born in Westmorland county, Pa., Oct. 26, 1836; he died at Des Moines, Iowa, May 17, 1901. His ancestors were Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. He received his education in the common schools, Beaver academy, and the Normal school. He studied medicine under Dr. W. C. Lafferty, of Brownville, Pa., and attended the Medical Department of the State University, Philadelphia. He settled for the practice of his profession at Greenfield, at which time he began to investigate homeopathy, and finally decided to adopt that system. He studied under Drs. Cote and Herron, eminent practitioners in Pittsburgh. Later, he graduated from the Cleveland Homeopathic College. He served in the civil war as sergeant in Co. C, 58th Pa. volunteers. He removed to Iowa in 1868 and settled in Des Moines in 1869, where he resided until his death. He had been a leading member of the Unitarian church for nearly a quarter of a century. He was a patient, true and devoted physician, and had won a proud place in the practice of his laborious profession.

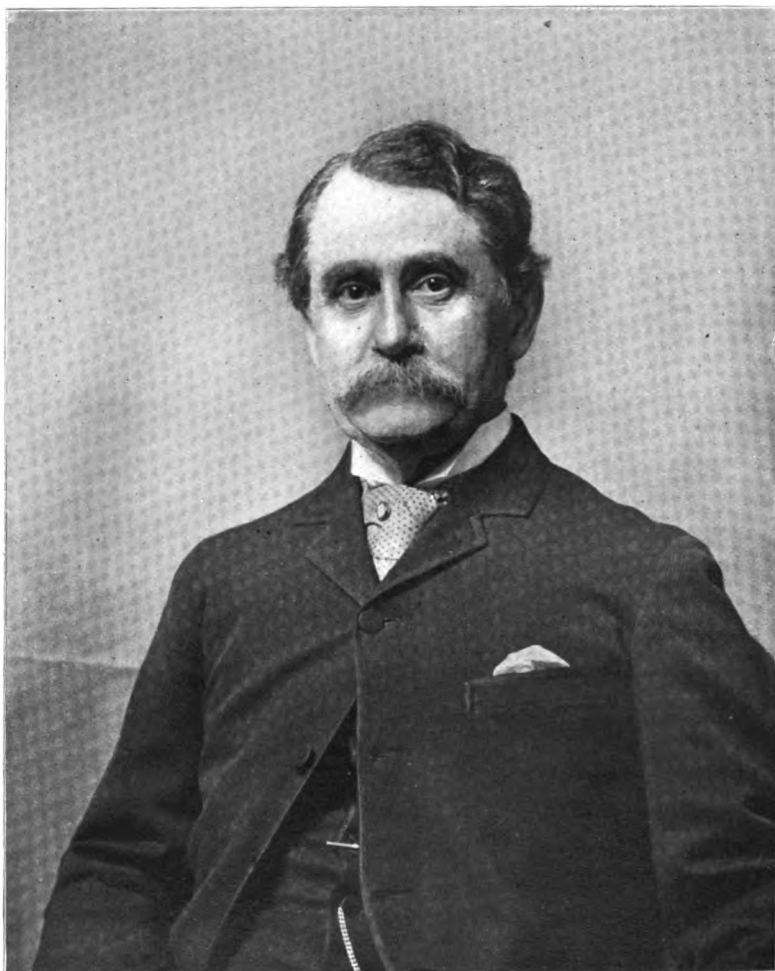
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W. H. CHAMBERLAIN was born near Chelsea, Vermont, in February, 1841; he died at Excelsior Springs, Missouri, whither he had gone in the hope of regaining his health, April 7, 1901. He settled at Independence in 1864; and for many years was in active business, either as a merchant or traveling man. Though living in a Republican county he was four times elected to the Iowa House of Representatives, serving in the regular sessions of 1884, '86, '90 and '92. He was once a candidate for congress, in opposition to Col. D. B. Henderson, and at another time for secretary of state, but his party being in the minority he was defeated in each instance. He was a man of fine personal qualities, genial, open-handed, approachable, one who looked upon the bright side of things, and who discharged his public duties with rare fidelity. His death occasioned deep regret in the county of his residence, as well as among those who knew him throughout the State.

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CHARLES BEN DARWIN died at Napa Asylum near San Francisco, Cal., late in April or early in May, 1901. He resided for some years during the fifties and sixties in Burlington, Iowa, where he rose to a commanding position at the bar. He was one of the Code Commissioners who prepared and reported the "Revision of 1860," his associate being Hon. W. T. Barker of Dubuque. He also prepared the Code of Tennessee, and was at one time U. S. district judge of the territory of Washington. He was a man of great ability and learning, and one of the foremost lawyers of Iowa. The newspaper notices of his death contained no precise dates.





Always Sincerely Yours  
Geo. H. Yewell

GEORGE HENRY YEWELL, N. A.  
Artist—Portrait painter.

# ANNALS OF IOWA.

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## REMINISCENCES OF CHARLES MASON.

BY GEORGE H. YEWELL, N. A.

### PART I.

My acquaintance with Charles Mason began at Iowa City, my boyhood home, in December, 1848. Born October 24, 1804, he had recently passed his forty-fourth year, and I was just nearing my eighteenth birthday. In the previous month of January, Judge Mason, together with William G. Woodward and Stephen Whicher, had been appointed by the legislature, commissioners to prepare a code of laws for the State of Iowa, and were then holding a session at the old Capitol building in Iowa City. Judge Mason's attention had been directed to me through certain rude political and local caricatures, the work of my youthful pencil, in which some strong exaggerations of character, and ridiculous situations appealed to a native sense of humor that he always manifested in a quiet way. He came one day to our house and left word for me to call upon him at his hotel, and bring with me some of my drawings for him to look over. His colleague, Mr. Woodward, whom I had known from early boyhood, was in the room when I presented myself, and introduced me to Judge Mason, whose dignity of bearing impressed me strongly, while, at the same time, I was drawn to him by a kindness of manner and an evident desire to befriend and help me. He examined my boyish efforts in pencil and water-color, and told me, finally, if I would like to become a painter, and would let him have some of my drawings, he would show them to some artists in Washington, where he was going in

the following spring, and whose opinions he would get as to my apparent fitness for the study of art. I selected some of those I considered best for the purpose and gave him, and he told me at parting that when he returned to Iowa City he would let me know the result of his inquiries.

More than two years went by before I saw Judge Mason again. My leisure time, as before, was given to drawing and painting in my erratic and unskilled way. An incident occurred in the meantime, that had an influence in setting the current of my life strongly toward the pursuit of painting as a profession. In the summer of 1850 the American Art Union of New York appointed Mr. Joseph T. Fales one of their honorary secretaries, and sent him copies of all the engravings they had issued up to that time. These he placed upon the walls of his office in the Capitol building, he being, at the time, State Auditor. I spent many a summer afternoon dreaming over those engravings. The large one, from Cole's "Voyage of Life," where the aspiring youth in the boat grasps the rudder in one hand and stretches the other forth eagerly toward the bright cloud-temple in the sky, awoke all the latent love for art in me, and made me resolve to become a painter.

In February, 1851, Judge Mason called upon me again and told me that my sketches shown to several Washington painters had seemed to them to indicate enough talent to warrant my taking up painting as a serious study. He told me he was going to New York in May and, if I wished, he would make inquiries with reference to my establishment there as a student of art. He was on the point of leaving Iowa City, and I could write to him at his home in Burlington, Iowa, when my decision was made. This I did, later, and received in answer to that, and other letters, the following replies:

BURLINGTON, May 6, 1851.

*Dear Sir:* Yours of April 27th was received a few days since but my business engagements have prevented me from answering it sooner. I am expecting to go east some time in June, but may possibly not go at all. If

I go I shall not neglect your business, and if I do not go, I will write to a friend in New York in relation to the matters on which you wish enquiries made.

I fully appreciate the difficulties in your way, having had to contend against them once myself. But they are not insuperable as the history of so many men in our country clearly proves. A resolute determination can overcome all the obstacles which are so thickly strewed in the pathway of genius. In fact, I am sometimes inclined to think that these very obstacles are a final advantage. Else why do we find so few instances of persons born to every advantage who finally attain eminence in any attainment? Effort, labor, the exertion of our energies are as necessary to give strength and full development to our moral and intellectual as to our physical persons. Nothing but necessity will in any case fully call forth those energies and efforts.

I am by no means sorry to learn of your attachment to the West, and to the manners and habits of its people. Ambition is despicable where it can only be indulged in at the expense of the affections. But a residence of a few years in the east are, I think, necessary to enable you to develop capabilities which I think you possess. It will give new relish to your taste for western life, and will enable you the more fully to appreciate our advantages—our freedom from the restraints of fashion and custom, and the superiority of rural pleasures to those within the reach of the denizens of the metropolis.

I hope to be able to ascertain something of interest and advantage to you during my absence. Write me further when anything suggests itself that may be serviceable to you. I think I shall start about the middle of June.

Yours truly,

CHARLES MASON.

MR. GEO. H. YEWELL, Iowa City, Iowa.

BURLINGTON, July 4, 1851.

*My Dear Sir:* I have delayed to answer your last letter for the reason that I was not altogether certain whether I should be able to go to New York or not. I have now so arranged my business that, unless something unexpected shall prevent, I shall start on Thursday of next week. I shall make a short stop at Pompey, Onondaga county, New York, and then proceed to the city, where I shall not forget to make enquiries for you. If you have anything further to suggest you can write to me either here or at Pompey, if done soon.

Yours truly,

CHARLES MASON.

MR. GEO. H. YEWELL, Iowa City, Iowa.

NEW YORK, August 7, 1851.

*My Dear Sir:* I arrived here this morning and have been to see several persons in your behalf. I called on Mr. Durand, but he was in the country and would not return for several days. I shall stay but two days in all as my time is short, before I must return West.



Among others I have talked with Mr. Bryant, the poet, and with Mr. Ingham, the painter. They both assure me that there will be no difficulty in your getting admission into the Academy of Design. Mr. Ingham assured me that this was your best chance.

The session commences in November (about the first), and continues till March. You will attend only evenings, and will receive instruction gratuitously. (I understood him that you would be engaged some part of the time in making drawings from plaster casts). Your only expense will therefore be for your board, clothing, &c. Mr. Ingham was of the opinion that those students who had difficulties of a pecuniary character to encounter succeeded best,—where those difficulties were not insurmountable. He thinks you had better come down and spend one winter in this way. You can then tell whether you would wish to continue longer, and they can decide as to your capacity and talent as an artist. You would not be losing much, as a few months spent in New York would perhaps be of service to you in other respects.

I do not think you will like New York much, but you will be able to endure it for a few months. Before I close this I will endeavor to ascertain what the probable expense for board and washing will be. My impression is that you can get board for about \$3.00 per week, and washing for six cents per piece. Mr. Ingham says that after the first winter you will probably be able to pay your way by laboring at your profession as an artist. He kindly proffered his services in your behalf, and I think he meant what he said—which is not always true of such proffers.

AUGUST 10. I left New York yesterday morning, and am now in the western part of Massachusetts, from whence I shall start tomorrow for Onondaga county, and thence, after about a week or two, I shall leave for Iowa. I expect to be at home by the last of this month.

Since writing the first part of this letter I have made further enquiries for you and ascertain that the price of board will fall something short of the price mentioned above.

I have also had a conversation with a young gentleman who has been pursuing the same course as that you are contemplating. He was engaged in other pursuits till he had attained to about your age. When he commenced in New York he placed himself under the tuition of an artist to whom he had to pay fifty dollars per quarter. After the first quarter he was able to support himself by his profession. He seems a gentleman of sincerity and truth, and will give you any aid in his power.

I do not suppose I shall be in Iowa City soon, having now been absent so much that I shall be obliged to attend to my matters at home for a while after my return. Write to me at Burlington by the time I return. If you could make it convenient to come down early in October and obtain a little instruction previous to the opening of the Academy of Design it would be all the better. Let me know what you think of this matter.

Yours truly,

CHARLES MASON.

MR. GEORGE H. YEWELL, Iowa City, Iowa.

On receiving this last letter I consulted with friends in Iowa City, who had known me from childhood, regarding the advancement of sufficient money to pay my fare to New York, and get me through my first winter there. This was done cheerfully. A sum was handed me, the result of many small contributions, sufficient for present needs, with promise of more when that was gone. Some useful letters to New York people were given me, and I only awaited further instructions from Judge Mason, which came in the following letter:

BURLINGTON, August 31, 1851.

*Dear Sir:* I returned home yesterday and found yours of the 24th awaiting me. I am highly gratified to learn of your final determination, and particularly with the spirit with which you are about to commence your arduous undertaking. I entertain great hopes that you may attain high eminence in your profession.

I send you a letter of introduction to Mr. A. H. Dana, whom you will find at No. 27, Wall street. His office is in the third story. He will be able and willing to render you assistance in the way of information and advice.

I send you another letter to Wm. Thurston Black, the artist of whom I wrote in my last letter. He was at No. 74 Chambers street, but will be found at the Academy of Design, probably, before you reach New York. He was introduced to me by Mr. Dana, who can aid you in finding him if you have any difficulty on that subject. He seemed to me an honest, candid, right-hearted gentleman, and as he has traveled the same road you are about commencing, he will be able to give you much useful information.

Mr. Ingham resides in White street—I think at No. 76. You will meet with no difficulty in finding him. I do not remember his Christian name. I have no acquaintance with him except a self-introduction, but he kindly proffered to aid you in getting an admission into the Academy of Design. I did not learn whether they received every one who applied, but felt certain from what I learnt from him and Mr. Black, that you would meet with no difficulty in gaining admission there.

Mr. Black seemed to think that a few weeks' previous instruction would be of great service to you. He will give you that instruction himself, or recommend you to some other person who will do so. You will probably not do better than to employ his services as instructor, if you should conclude on that course. On this subject you can best determine what to do after you shall have reached New York.

I am glad you think of going soon, as I believe it will be important for you to reach there several weeks before the opening of the Academy. By placing yourself under a judicious instructor for that length of time I think you will be better prepared to derive full benefit from your opportunities at the Academy.

I know not that I have but one single piece of advice to give you, and that is to take some care as to your diet and much as to your exercise after your arrival in New York. Young men living in the country or in country towns generally take sufficient exercise for their health without being conscious of its necessity. Going into such a place as New York all ordinary opportunities for exercise will be wanting, and the loss of health may be your first admonition that you have not observed those laws which can secure its continued enjoyment. Unless you find some other kind of exercise do not fail to walk six or eight miles each day regularly.

I should be glad to hear from you when you get settled down in New York, if not before. If you ever have occasion for fifty or one hundred dollars let me know as I shall be very glad to make you some advances of that kind that I may secure some of the specimens of your skill as an artist after you have attained that excellence to which you aspire and which I believe you will attain.

I think you do right in selecting the northern route. A little more than forty-eight hours will carry you from Chicago to New York City by the way of Albany, and a less time by the Erie railroad, which will, I suppose, be your best way if opportunity favors you.

Yours truly,

CHARLES MASON.

MR. GEO. H. YEWELL, Iowa City, Iowa.

It is my purpose in giving these letters to the public to keep myself, as much as possible, in the background, that they may tell their own story. It will be necessary, however, to connect them by such personal incidents and occurrences as may be needed to explain their contents. I left Iowa City on the morning of October 4, 1851, and traveled by stage coach to within about thirty miles of Chicago, making the remainder of the journey by rail, arriving in New York on the morning of the 9th.

Through Judge Mason's letter I found an excellent and helpful friend in Mr. Wm. Thurston Black, who assisted me in many ways. The other letter to A. H. Dana, Esq., was instrumental in procuring me a note of introduction to his relative, Mr. Charles A. Dana, then assistant editor of *The New York Tribune*, who talked encouragingly to me and gave me a letter to his friend Thomas Hicks, the artist, who, a little later received me as a pupil. At the same time I entered the antique school of the National Academy of Design, and settled myself down to a winter of serious study.

The next letter was directed to No. 191 Grand street, New York, where, in an old-fashioned brick house on the corner of Mulberry street, I had found good homelike board and lodging for the modest sum of two dollars, sixty-two and one-half cents per week.

BURLINGTON, January 25, 1852.

*My Dear Sir:* My apology for not sooner replying to yours of November last is in part that my time has been unusually occupied, and in part that I have been somewhat expecting to visit the east this winter on business. All expectation of such a visit is now at an end for the present.

I am very much rejoiced to hear that you are so well pleased with your prospects in the city, and that you have found some good friends there. I am anxious to hear from you again since you have been for some time in attendance at the Academy of Design. I hope all your expectations will be realized. I take great interest in your success, and am expecting something extraordinary as the result of your studies and efforts. Let nothing dishearten you. The pursuit is a noble one. I trust you will strive to stand in the first rank among artists. In your profession, as in all others, there must frequently be causes and occasions of discouragement, but perseverance and determination will be sure to carry you through triumphantly, if your health does not fail you.

On this subject you must take much care. The change in your condition and habits of life are so great that there is danger of ill consequences unless great care is used. Your health will be most likely to suffer from want of exercise. You can have little of this in any other way than walking. I would recommend that you set apart a portion of every day for this purpose. The last year I spent in the city I walked eight miles regularly each day, and have no doubt I derived great benefit from it. Perhaps you would not need as much exercise, but you must not fail to take a pretty liberal amount of it.

How are your financial affairs? Let me know whether you need anything on that score. Your expenses are not great, but I hope you will not deny yourself anything necessary to your progress in your studies.

We have had rather a severe winter—the coldest January I have ever known. On the morning of Monday, the 19th instant, the thermometer stood at a little more than 26° below zero. It has stood at 20°, 19°, 16½° and 15° on four other mornings at different times, besides many other times when it was below zero. It is warm now.

Remember me to Mr. Black and Mr. Dana if you see them, and thank them for me for their kindness to you.

I hope to hear from you soon.

Yours truly,

CHARLES MASON.

Mrs. Geo. H. YEWELL, No. 191 Grand street, New York City.

The accumulation of letters becomes so great at times

that I get a destructive fit upon me, and often carry the destruction too far. I am sorry to record the fact that every letter from Judge Mason, written during the remainder of my student days in New York, has been destroyed, leaving a period of nearly five years without anything from his hand. They were busy years for me, full of ambition and hope, with a growing desire each year to go and study in Europe. The opportunity finally came, through Judge Mason, in the summer of 1856, and it was settled that I should go abroad, in a letter I received from him May 29th of that year, in which he also invited me to spend a month with them at Washington before I sailed. He was at that time Commissioner of Patents, having been appointed to that office by President Pierce. I had a delightful visit with them extending over four weeks, and their kindness to me will never be forgotten. Their young daughter, Mollie, with her birds, her flowers, and her books, was the light of the household. I bade them good-bye July 5th and returned to New York. In company with a fellow student I sailed for Liverpool July 19th, in the packet ship James Foster, Jr., of the Black Ball Line. We spent a week in Scotland, four days in London, and then went to Paris where we entered the *atelier* of Thomas Couture, one of the most eminent painters of that day. He was working upon a large painting commissioned by the French government, and in my letters to Judge Mason I had described this important picture with more or less enthusiasm. This, no doubt, led to the well-meaning but injudicious suggestion of our mutual friend, Mr. Wood, as shown in the next letter.

WASHINGTON, December 4, 1856.

*My Dear Sir:* . . . . Our friend, Mr. Wood, a few days since suggested that you might probably obtain an order for a painting to place in one of the vacant panels of the capitol. I had thought that you would in a few years justly look for such an order, but I did not suppose that you would venture to make an effort of this kind now. Mr. Wood, however, thinks it not too soon for you to try your hand in that way, and desired me to consult with you on that subject. He had already spoken with Captain Meigs on the subject.

Now, if you think you have the courage to make such an attempt, I will try to obtain an order for you to that effect. Mr. Wood's opinion is of weight.

He proposes that you should select some proper subject of American history and prepare a suitable drawing. That being forwarded here could be laid before the proper committee and, if approved, would call for an order to paint the picture.

Now, if you have the courage to make such an undertaking, and will send me on the sketch of what you would propose to paint, I will take the matter in hand and obtain the order for you if I can. Having got the order you can take your time to make the painting. . . . .

Yours truly,

CHARLES MASON.

MR. GEO. H. YEWELL,

Care of Messrs. Greene & Co., Bankers, Paris, France.

Not unconscious of my inexperience, yet with my youthful ambition fired by the greatness of the occasion, I decided to make a bold attempt to secure a government commission, if possible, and then make all my studies bend in the direction of the subject I might choose, wisely deferring the painting of the large canvas to a future day. After long deliberation I chose for my subject "The First Prayer in Congress," and wrote to Judge Mason to get for me whatever description there might be of the event, and any historic data that would aid in the making up of a picture. The thoroughness with which he fulfilled my request is shown in the next letter, and is characteristic of the man:

WASHINGTON, Feb. 4, 1857.

*My Dear Sir:* Since the receipt of your letter I have been trying to gather up the information you requested, and shall give you the result of my inquiries. I have now in my possession the Journal of the Congress of 1774 from which I gather the following facts in the most authentic shape. Congress met on the 5th of September, and dissolved itself on the 26th of October following. The Congress of 1775, which finally declared independence, was a new body, though composed to a considerable extent of the same members.

The whole number of members present in 1774 was fifty-three, but at the time of the prayer by Mr. Duche there was only forty-six. Seven members reported themselves and were admitted afterwards.

On Tuesday, September 6th, a resolution was adopted inviting the Rev. Mr. Duche to open the session at Carpenter's Hall next morning with prayer, which was done on the 7th. Up to that time the following-named

members had reported themselves and taken their seats. They were probably all in attendance on that morning:

New Hampshire—Major John Sullivan, Col. Nathaniel Folsom.

Massachusetts—Hon. Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine.

Rhode Island—Hon. Stephen Hopkins, Hon. Samuel Ward.

New Jersey—James Kinney, Wm. Livingston, John Dehart, Stephen Crane, Richard Smith.

Connecticut—Hon. Eliphalet Dyer, Hon. Roger Sherman, Silas Deane.

New York—James Duane, John Jay, Philip Livingston, Isaac Low, Col. William Floyd.

Pennsylvania—Hon. Joseph Galloway, Samuel Rhodes, Thomas Mifflin, Charles Humphreys, John Morton, Edward Biddle.

Delaware—Hon. Caesar Rodney, Thomas McKean, George Read.

Maryland—Robert Goldsborough, William Pace, Samuel Chase, Thomas Johnson Gun.

South Carolina—Henry Middleton, John Rutledge, Christopher Gadsam, Thomas Lynch, Edward Rutledge.

Virginia—Hon. Peyton Randolph, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison, Edmund Pendleton, Richard Henry Lee.

At a subsequent day the following gentlemen reported themselves and were admitted:

New York—John Alsop, Henry Wisner, Simon Boerum.

Pennsylvania—George Ross.

North Carolina—William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, R. Caswell.

You are probably aware that Peyton Randolph was the first President of Congress, having been elected on September 5th, the first day of the session.

Carpenter's Hall is so called because it was constructed as a place of meeting for the Society of House Carpenters. It is not the same place as Independence Hall where the Declaration of Independence was made. It is now used as an auction room. I shall endeavor to send you before long a photograph of it.

I have sent to Philadelphia for an engraving of Matteson's painting, and hope to get it soon, but thought I would not wait for these photographs. I am promised a photograph of the Rev. Mr. Ducho which I hope to be able to send you at the same time. I will also, if I can, send you a likeness of Patrick Henry, who should receive a prominent position in your painting. He is represented on the occasion of this meeting of Congress as being clad in a plain suit of "minister's gray," with empowdered wig, and as having the appearance of a country parson.

As to the religious notions of the members of Congress I can learn little. I am told, however, by Mr. Lossing, the author of the "Field Book of the Revolution, a History of the United States," and some other works, that there were no Quakers in that body. The Quakers were opposed to the movement. I presume he is right.

It is also stated in Watson's "Annals of Philadelphia," in speaking of this first prayer in Congress that it was on this occasion that Gen. Washington was observed to be the only member who knelt, and Mr. Lossing made this objection to Matteson's picture,—that he had several members kneeling.

Lossing, in his "History of the United States," says in a note that Mr. Duclie afterwards became a tory, but I know not on what authority he makes the statement. It detracts from the romance thrown around the scene as described by Irving, and I hope it is not true.

Mr. Duclie was attended by his clerk when this prayer was made.

Charles Thomson, of Pennsylvania, was the secretary of Congress at that time, also.

Richard Henry Lee, Samuel Chase, and Roger Sherman should receive prominent positions, though not more so than the two Adamses.

In giving the names of the members of Congress, I have prefixed the titles given them in the Journal of Congress. All others have the appendage Esq. affixed to their names in that journal.

Mr. Wood will obtain the photograph of Trumbull's painting which I will send soon. Mr. Peale says that picture may be relied on for costume and somewhat so for portraits.

We are all well. The fourth of March is only four weeks distant when a new order of things will be introduced here. It is expected that the cabinet will be entirely changed. I shall probably not remain here many weeks after that date. I think I shall probably be allowed to remain if I choose. But I am pretty well satisfied with my residence in Washington, and think I shall prefer Iowa. This will be done at all events unless my situation is made more pleasant by some changes in the law now pending before Congress. . . . .

Yours truly,

CHARLES MASON.

G. H. YEWELL, Esq., Care of Messrs. Greene & Co., Bankers, Paris, France.

The next letter tells of the fate of the "First Prayer in Congress." Too presumptuous, I had sailed high, and the sun, for which I had aimed, had melted my waxen wings and let me down. The kind heart is shown in Judge Mason by the way he writes in explanation of my failure; and yet I think he liked me all the better for having made the attempt. "Nothing ventured, nothing gained." The subject of the treaty for the Black Hawk purchase is one that ought to be painted some day, by an artist fitted for that kind of work, upon one of the prominent spaces in the capitol building at Des Moines. I remember, when visiting Judge Mason at Burlington some years later, we spent an evening with Hon.



A. C. Dodge at his home, and the subject of the Black Hawk purchase coming up in conversation, Gen. Dodge gave me a very fine description of the *mise en scene* of that remarkable event, at the moment of signing the treaty.

The pictures mentioned in the letter were principally copies I had made, as matter of study in color, from very beautiful paintings by modern French masters. The original of the "Falconer" was a gem of modern art, painted by my master, Couture, and one of his most admired productions.

BURLINGTON, May 20, 1858.

*My Dear Sir:* I have waited till the present before answering your last letter written near three months since, in order that I might give you some information respecting the paintings. On my return from Washington on Saturday last I found the paintings all safe. They came a few days previous. I have retained the "Falconer," "Paul and Virginia," and the "Fortune Teller." The rest I have sent to Hon. John P. Cook for him, if he chooses to retain the "Trooper" and the "Drawing Lesson," and to send the other two to Iowa City. I saw Mr. Cook some five weeks since and he requested me to send him one or two of the paintings. I wrote him at the same time that if he chose to take the "Fortune Teller" he could do so. I also made suggestions respecting the portfolio of sketches, and hope you will receive some orders from Davenport. I have been to Washington twice this winter and spring on business and may, very possibly, be obliged to go again, though I hope not. I have, of late, been more busily occupied than I was in the Patent Office. I go this evening to Keokuk. During the week thus far I have been engaged in the United States District Court at this place. Next week I must devote to preparation for the celebration of the anniversary of the first settlement of this State. The Indians gave possession June 1, 1838. We have organized an association with a view of celebrating that event annually hereafter. This is our first celebration, and I have been requested to deliver the oration on the occasion.

I brought with me your sketch from Washington regretting very much that you did not obtain an order. The sketch is very fine, but I see at once that your failure to secure the favor you sought grew out of the difficulty of the subject you had selected. You could not give Washington the reverential attitude which comports with my ideas without concealing his features. I hope you will not be disheartened but try again.

I think you would do better with some wilder, western subject. It has occurred to me that the first treaty for the Black Hawk purchase, as it is called, would furnish you with a better subject. There should be in the panels in the House of Representatives something commemorative of an event in each of the states in the Union. An Iowa subject treated by an Iowa artist would be peculiarly appropriate. The stalwart form of Gen.

Scott, and the striking, manly face of Keokuk, with other proper surroundings might, it seems to me, be wrought up into something highly interesting and proper. These are historical characters, and should live on canvas in the House of Representatives.

I am very much pleased with your paintings. They show great improvement. "Paul and Virginia" is my favorite. The "Trooper" is very good and so are the others.

I hope to hear from you soon.

Yours truly,

CHARLES MASON.

GEO. H. YEWELL, Care of Greene & Co., Bankers, Paris, France.

We now come to the time of the civil war. During that critical and unhappy period Judge Mason was sometimes most unjustly and cruelly accused of sympathy with the cause of rebellion. Nothing was ever farther from the truth. No more true-hearted patriot ever breathed than Judge Mason. He saw in the war the beginning of a hatred between the North and the South that would lead to the utter ruin of the republic that he loved with all the intensity of his strong, pure nature. Either that or a survival in the form of a military despotism equally to be deplored. His mental suffering was constant, and at times he was almost heartbroken. I am sorry that so many of his letters of that time are missing, for he wrote to me freely; and it has been to me a touching evidence of his friendship, more clearly discerned since his death, that he seemed always to take comfort in writing to me of that which lay near his heart. In the following letter there is, in his own words, a refutation of the charge of disloyalty, where he states that he had, long before, offered his services to the government. Such services would have been valuable from the fact that he had received a military education at West Point. Why he was overlooked or ignored when commanding officers of his capacity, integrity and high moral worth were needed by the nation, has always remained a mystery to me.

BURLINGTON, November 4, 1861.

*My Dear Sir:* Your last letter should have been long since answered, but circumstances which I will not take time to explain, but which you will in part understand, have prevented or caused me to procrastinate till the present.

I was in the west on business in April last when the first hostile shot was fired at Fort Sumter, leaving my wife and Mollie in Washington. Foreseeing the possibility of hostilities I had advised them to leave Washington as soon as the first gun should be fired in the south, believing as I then did that the next step would be to make a dash upon Washington. They accordingly left on the 18th of April and stayed over night in Baltimore, leaving for the north on the morning of the day of the great riot in that city and passing over the railroad bridges the very day before they were burned down. I returned from the west two days afterwards, and after much trouble and delay made my way to Washington, not knowing that they had left. After a few days I made my way north, where they remained through the summer, while I returned to Iowa. The Democratic party nominated me for Governor, but afterwards a third party, styling itself the Union party, proposed to unite with the Democrats and go for Col. Merritt, who had just returned from the war with the smell of gunpowder upon his garments, and thinking that in this manner the Republicans could more probably be beaten, I withdrew from the canvass. Many of our friends were dissatisfied with this and refused to vote for Merritt, and I am inclined to think that I should have done much better than he did, though I should doubtless have been beaten. There is probably a majority of 10,000 for the Republicans and against Merritt.

Our whole country is transformed into a military camp. Go into any of our towns and you see men in uniform moving about the streets, sometimes in companies or squads, sometimes singly or in numbers of two or more. A sort of martial law prevails all over the country. Men are arrested and thrown into prison on suspicion, and a writ of habeas corpus, which would never be disregarded in England, is laughed to scorn. Several of the states—especially Missouri, Kentucky and Virginia—are to a great extent laid waste. I know of no country on earth in a more deplorable condition than ours, and it does not seem to me to be improving. Men are flocking into the army from all quarters for the means of obtaining a livelihood. There are said to be half a million of men or more already in the service in the northern states, and nearly as many more in the south. There will be no difficulty in raising as many more if the means can only be provided to pay, feed and clothe them. I am heart-sick at the prospect before us, but hope, in some unlooked for way, we may escape from our present troubles without individual and national ruin, though the probability of such a result seems small. I have long since offered my services to the government whenever they are needed, but have not been called on and probably shall not be. I expect to spend the winter in Washington. My wife and Mollie are now here and may go with me, but that is not yet settled.

There is no sale for real estate. In fact, I have almost concluded to let some of mine be sold for taxes rather than pay them. I believe, however, I will pay a while longer if I can. I think you had better remain in Europe if you can obtain the means of making a livelihood, though I some-

what expect to see hostilities commenced between our country and France within the course of a few months.

And all this trouble which has been brought upon us is wholly needless. The abolitionists and the extreme southern men have succeeded in plunging the country into an abyss of ruin from which I fear all the conservative men of the north and the south will never rescue it.

My wife and Mollie send kind regards. We shall always be glad to hear from you.

Yours truly,

CHARLES MASON.

GEO. H. YEWELL, Esq., 15 Rue Taitbout, Paris, France.

Between this and the next letter there intervenes a period of a little more than seven years. In August, 1867, I went to live in Rome, Italy, setting up a studio and making that my home for eleven years.

BURLINGTON, November 22, 1868.

*My Dear Friend:* Yours of the 29th of August was duly received and found me at this place a good deal out of health. I remained so for a month or two. The doctor at first pronounced the disease an organic affection of the heart, but afterwards changed his opinion and thought it a disguised bilious remittent fever. I am now quite well again. We have been living on the farm for near three months and I sometimes work nearly all day without any great fatigue. I start east in the course of a few days and shall probably spend most of the winter there—mostly in Washington. I had thought somewhat of making a journey to Europe this winter, and may possibly do so yet, but probably shall postpone that trip for the present. I shall more probably go south during a part of the winter, though that is still uncertain.

Politically everything is very quiet here since the election. The Democrats seem quite as well satisfied with the President-elect as do the radicals. The probabilities are that we shall hereafter more zealously support him than they will do. I have, however, no very bright hopes for the future. When our people refused to settle their differences of opinion by the exercise of these moral and intellectual faculties which had created our noble system of government, and substituted the exercise of their brutal propensities therefor, I had little hope for the future except through those long and bloody struggles by which law and liberty regain the ascendancy which military violence always tramples underfoot. I scarcely expect to ever see a constitutional government restored in this country. Grant may if he will become a second Washington, but that is hardly to be hoped for, judging by the examples afforded by the world's history. The military power will hardly yield again to the civil. Theoretically it will do so, but not practically. The army will govern us for many years to come, and the maxims and principles which prevail in Europe will be substituted for those which our fathers vainly hoped had been established here for all gen-

erations. The republican day-dreams of my youth and earlier manhood are at an end. A centralized government has taken the place of that of the federal constitution, and that central government must necessarily be imperial by whatsoever forms it is controlled. I am accommodating myself to this change as best I may.

We expect to settle down on the farm in the spring. We have thus far been only boarders. Things look very pleasantly here. The change from city life is not disagreeable, though most of our friends predict that we shall not relish it long. On many accounts I would prefer a residence in Washington, and it is not impossible that our present purpose may change before many months. My wife and daughter will probably remain in Burlington through the winter, or, at least, until my return, when we may visit the south some time in January, to return the latter part of March.

If you have not sent the painting mentioned in your letter I hope you will not do so until we become settled in our house, here or elsewhere, when I will write you again. Times are rather prosperous here at present. Prices are high. The farmers have been growing rich in name, but they find it quite as difficult to make the ends of the year meet as ever they did when their wealth was nominally far less than at present. The laboring classes get higher wages but find it more difficult to support their families than formerly. And when pecuniary troubles shall come, as come they must before many years, I look for serious troubles throughout the country.

I was much interested in your description of life and manners in Italy, and hope I shall one day be an eye witness of what you have so well described. When I can forget the future that I had pictured to myself for my own country, I may perhaps be brought to appreciate the advantages enjoyed under European governments, and learn that the true happiness of life is to be sought in the cultivation of those tastes and social virtues which flourish or are, at least, tolerated under a system wherein the people passively submit to whatever the government of which they have little control sees proper to do.

My wife and daughter join in sending love to yourself and your good wife, whom we hope to see at our house at no distant day, if not, in that land "where all but the spirit of man is divine." Yours truly,

CHAS. MASON.

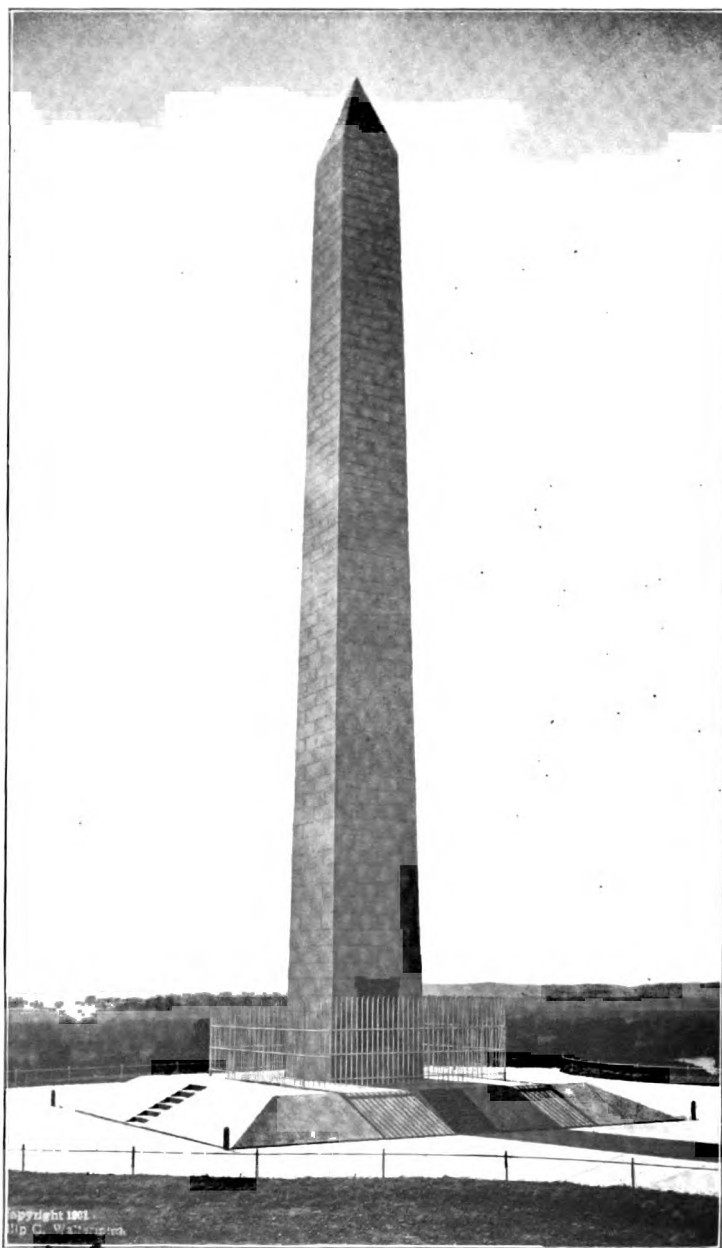
GEO. H. YSWELL, Esq.,

Care of Maquay, Packenham & Hooker, Rome, Italy.

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Two large coils of telegraph wire were landed here this week. Certainly many more days cannot intervene before we are in communication with the cities of the Union.—*Democratic Enquirer (Bloomington, Iowa), August 19, 1848.*





1901  
 H. C. Wallingford

THE FLOYD MONUMENT, ERECTED AT SIOUX CITY, IOWA,  
AND DEDICATED MAY 30, 1901.

In commemoration of the acquisition of Louisiana and in honor of the first explorers and pioneers of the West.

## THE EXPANSION OF THE REPUBLIC WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

BY HON. JOHN A. KASSON.

[Address at the dedication of the historic monument erected at Sioux City, Iowa, in commemoration of the acquisition of Louisiana and in honor of the first explorers and pioneers of the west, May 30, A. D. 1901.]

*Fellow Citizens:* The occasion which has brought this great assembly together evokes the memory of many important events in our national history. To all except the aged pioneer it seems impossible that only a century ago all the fair land we look upon from this eminence and all westward to the continental range of mountains was a desert, and under the dominion of despotic Spain; that all the land eastward to the Mississippi, as well as all toward the setting sun, was at that time, and had been for unrecorded ages, in possession of wild beasts and of savages of the human race.

Only ninety-seven summers have passed since a roving Indian standing on this highland would have witnessed a scene altogether new and strange to him. A barge 55 feet long, having a forecastle forward and a cabin aft, carrying 22 oars and a square sail, drew near this shore on its passage up the great river of the Missouri. It was accompanied by two smaller open boats; and altogether they carried about forty pale-faces, chiefly soldiers. A number of the men landed at the foot of this bluff and ascended it, bearing gently a burden which they deposited in a grave, and marked the spot with a rude cedar post. Upon its face was inscribed the name of Sergeant Charles Floyd of the United States army, who had died that day, August 20, 1804. No priest's prayer or blessing was heard; but certain simple honors of the military service broke the sad silence of the ceremony. After this solemn act these pale-faces descended the bluff to the boats; and the barge with its pirogues moved a mile up the river into the mouth of a tributary stream, then 30 yards wide, where the company camped for the night. The brilliant



stars of this western firmament drew their eyes and their thoughts heavenward, whither their brave companion had just departed, and made the scene more beautiful than the day. In honor of the dead they dedicated to his memory both the burial bluff and the little river in which they were moored. Thenceforth for all time these two objects in nature shall preserve the name of their dead comrade. So does a name—a mere sound in the air—become more imperishable than any structure of human workmanship. Unaffected by flood or tempest, or war's destructiveness, it is repeated from father to son, for all generations.

Thus prematurely died and was buried the courageous young Kentuckian. He had enlisted for a long and adventurous service which was expected to lead him along mighty rivers, among many wild and strange tribes, and over unknown mountains, until his eyes should finally rest upon that great and distant ocean which washed the western shores of the unexplored continent. Although he perished in the earlier stage of the enterprise this lonely burial, which cut off his hopes and his career, has preserved his name and memory among mankind above that of his comrades who continued the struggle to the end, and who returned to receive the rewards voted by an appreciative Congress.

#### THE GREAT EXPLORATION OF 1804-6.

President Jefferson had in the winter of 1802-3 conceived the plan of an exploring expedition up the Missouri and across the mountains to the Pacific with the view of scientific investigation and of opening trade with the Indians, and also of finding a feasible route for the limited commerce of that day across the continent. He hoped also to divert the fur trade of the northwest into the hands of the Americans. He obtained an appropriation from Congress of \$2,500, with which he proceeded to organize a company under the leadership of Captains Meriwether Lewis, his private secretary, and William Clark. The details of that expedition are interesting, but are already so well known that there is no occa-

sion to repeat them in this address. Its success was only accomplished by the exercise of all the virtues known to the life of the frontiersman. It required valor, perseverance, mutual trust, self-confidence, vigilance, knowledge of the instincts and characteristics of the savage, inventive resource, endurance, continuous toil, and unlimited courage. The explorers left their camp in Illinois, opposite the mouth of the Missouri, on May 14, 1804, and sixteen days from their departure saw the last cabin of the white man, about one hundred miles from the mouth of the river. It was ninety-seven years ago this day that they bade farewell to these huts of semi-civilization. Thenceforward for many, many weary months, upward along the endless windings and shifting sandbars of that treacherous river, and through the gorges and over the trackless ridges of confused mountains, and down the unknown streams rushing to the Pacific ocean, abandoning their old boats and building new, in peril of starvation, in peril of drowning, in peril of wild beasts and of wily savages, they pushed their way over flooding waters and pathless forests to their desolate destination on an uncharted ocean coast in the far region of the sunset. Every morning found them ignorant where their evening would be. The sun by day and the stars by night were the only familiar things of the visible universe. When in the opening of a second winter season they arrived on the bleak and desolate ocean shore at the mouth of a great river, it was only to encounter the incessant cold rains of winter, the increasing dangers of famine, and the attacks of disease. After four tedious months of waiting beside the deserted waters of the Pacific, hoping vainly for sight of a vessel that should take their homeward messages around Cape Horn, in the third spring of their expedition they turned their steps again into the continental wilderness on their return (if God should permit it) to the lands of civilization and expectant friends.

Again the weary hunt for wild food, again the endless tugging at the oars upstream, again the rugged transit of

mountain ranges, once more the search for new passes and new waters of navigation in the tangled web of mountains, until at last, in the summer of 1806, their boats were again launched upon the Missouri. Then for the first time they felt themselves truly "homeward bound." Now the swift current of the great stream which was lately their enemy became their friend. Every lapping wavelet now sang of the nearing home. The stars, ever brilliant in that clear atmosphere, now seemed to shine with increasing luster as they rose up from the distant east, where anxious friends were awaiting the long-expected tidings. Familiar scenes of old camping-places appeared as they swiftly descended the river. More cheerily than on the upward voyage they now leaped into the stream to push their boat from the ever-lurking, ever-changing sandbars. Instead of fifteen or twenty miles a day as on their upward voyage, they now counted fifty, sixty, even seventy miles per day. There was little halting on their homeward course. But as they came by the bluff on which we are now standing the strong magnet of memory drew them to the shore. Once more the expedition halted at this landing that they might visit the grave of their dead comrade. They restored it to a condition of safety, and then bade the sacred deposit a long farewell. Little did they know—not one of the toil-worn heroes ever dreamed—of a future scene like that we look upon today. They saw only a solitary grave-mound in a vast desert region, far away from the abodes of civilization. We behold a splendid monument commemorating the spot where they laid their comrade in his last camping-ground, while jubilant thousands celebrate the brilliant deeds of the men who then sailed sadly away from the shore. They looked upstream and eastward upon a limitless solitude, stretching far away to the north and to the Mississippi. Our eyes look upon a populous and prosperous city which shall watch forever over this grave, and around it a rich and happy state of the American Union, with more than two millions of patriotic inhabitants, who today recall

with pride the story of the first American pioneers of the great west. It is a transformation scene unmatched in any oriental story. But these pilgrims of the wilderness, ignorant and undreaming of all this incredible future, passed on, plying their oars, until at the end of nineteen days they met a joyous welcome from the villagers of St. Louis, and rested from their labors.

#### THE HISTORIC COMMEMORATION.

But this lofty monument is not erected solely to commemorate the modest life and humble career of the army sergeant whose bones were deposited in this soil long before the plow of civilization had disturbed it. Nor will this memorial only serve to celebrate the splendid exploration accomplished by his more fortunate companions. It also perpetuates the memory of a great historic act which influenced the fate of three nations, and opened the way to new liberties and increased happiness for mankind. It changed the development of our people, and gave a new pathway to the march of our young republic. It is this historical significance of the monument which induced the national congress, the legislature of Iowa, and the patriotic people of Sioux City to combine their efforts for its erection. It is my honorable and welcome duty today, fellow citizens, to invite your attention to the history of that great acquisition in our national progress which this monument will forever commemorate, and to indicate its influence upon the later destinies of the republic.

#### CHANGING FORTUNES OF LOUISIANA.

Before the outbreak of the Anglo-French war of 1756 the French king claimed under the name of "Louisiana" not only all of the Mississippi Valley west of that river, but also all the valley on the east of it lying north of Spanish Florida and eastward to the Alleghany mountains. The country north of the upper Ohio, however, was regarded as a part of Canada. The Count de Vergennes in his memorial on the subject, addressed to the king of France, says that the Appa-

lachian mountains "separate the new France from the new England as distinctly as in Europe the mountains of the Pyrenees separate France from Spain."\*

The Louisiana of that day may be generally described as embracing the whole region north of Spanish Mexico and Spanish Florida, from the Alleghanies to the Rocky Mountains, and from the sources of the Mississippi to its mouth, with the exception of that northeastern part which was tributary to the great lakes north of the Ohio, and was therefore associated with Canada.

The French were very active in establishing trading posts and making agreements with the Indians for common hostility to the English. Along the undefined eastern boundaries aggressions were continually occurring without waiting for declarations of war. When the war of 1756 came it proved exhaustive for both parties, but ended most disastrously for the French. They were obliged in the end to surrender to the British all Canada, and all of Louisiana lying east of the Mississippi, with the exception of New Orleans and the block of adjacent land extending east to the boundary of west Florida. The delta east of the river, and all the remainder of Louisiana to the west and northwest of the river as far as the mountains, was about the same time ceded by France to Spain in compensation for her losses in the war as the ally of France.

The retention by the French king in his treaty with England of the lower east bank of the river, which gave to the jealous Spaniard the control of both banks for a long distance above the mouth, and of the whole gulf coast, was destined to cause much angry excitement and trouble in the future, with much contention between the United States and Spanish governments; and it led later to a great change in the policy of the United States. The treaty of peace of 1763 assured to England the free navigation of the river to its mouth.

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\*"Séparent aussi distinctement la Nouvelle de France de la Nouvelle Angleterre, que les Monts Pyrenees séparent, en Europe, la France d'avec l'Espagne."

But commerce in barges and flatboats required a depot near New Orleans for its transfer to ocean-going vessels. France, however, had relieved herself of all trouble on this account by her secret transfer of the territory to Spain. After the peace of 1763 England found French interests withdrawn from the American continent, and Spain was in possession of all the Mississippi region which France had owned or claimed, except that portion toward the Alleghanies and above the Ohio, which was ceded by the treaty to England.

This was the situation when our revolutionary war again disturbed the international conditions in respect to Louisiana. Naturally the sympathies of the French people and government were with our American patriots because England was our adversary. But the Memoir of Count de Vergennes, before referred to, shows that the motive of France for participating in the revolutionary war as our ally was found in the hope of inducing Spain to retrocede Louisiana and of recovering Canada for herself. The Memoir expressly mentions the danger to both Spain and France if the Americans should succeed in their revolution. The French statesman says plainly that "the United Provinces of America, after shaking off the metropolitan yoke, will be in a condition to give the law to France and Spain in all America, and they will invade their possessions at the moment when the two crowns will be least thinking of it." The French government was not so desirous for our success as for the loss by England of her American colonies and later acquisitions, and for the restoration to France of her former possessions. But even with her aid the war had no such result. England retained Canada and conceded to the revolted colonies their independence, together with all the territory held by England south of Canada and east of the Mississippi.

This territory seemed to our fathers vast enough for many generations of Americans. So late as 1801 Jefferson in his inaugural message congratulated the American people on "possessing a chosen country, with room enough for our de-

scendants to the hundredth and thousandth generation." And yet in that same generation, during that very administration, the expansion of the territory of the republic began, not by will of president or government, but by that providential force of development that has so often in our history overborne or compelled the will of man. The story of this wonderful transformation of public opinion and statesmanship may be briefly told.

After the establishment of our independence, and indeed before it, our already scattered population had begun to feel its way across the Alleghanies into the fertile lands of the great valley beyond. All the transportation of their products seaward must follow the current of the rivers flowing into the Gulf of Mexico. Spain, now holding all the outlets through East and West Florida, and the entire gulf coast as far as Mexico by her acquisition of Louisiana, was arbitrary, selfish, and jealous of this right of transit through her territory. The United States government, by treaty of 1795, had secured from Spain the right of depot at New Orleans for produce of the United States for the term of three years only, with provision for its continuance or for the establishment of another depot on the banks of the river. For a few years this arrangement was continued undisturbed. Then came a report from Europe that Spain under the commanding influence of Bonaparte had retroceded New Orleans and the entire province of Louisiana to France. In the subsequent excitement among the colonists the Spanish Intendant for some unknown reason cancelled the privilege of depot for our citizens. The Americans of the whole valley suddenly became aware of the frail tenure by which they held their commercial privileges. The entire valley became angrily excited, and was ready for immediate war and the capture of New Orleans if the depot privileges were not restored.

The report of the retrocession was afterward verified, and the title to Louisiana was again in France. It had been effected by a secret treaty executed in October, 1800, but the

terms were not published until many years afterward. The Americans of the valley, foreseeing the closing of their only commercial gateway, flooded Congress with their remonstrances, threatened to take measures for their security into their own hands, and boldly announced that their national allegiance depended on national protection. The more violent among them indicated the possibility of organizing an independent republic west of the Alleghanies, of seizing the control of the Mississippi and its valley, and expelling both France and Spain.

President Jefferson became profoundly alarmed by the energetic action of the west. He wrote to our minister (Livingston) at Paris that the possession by France of New Orleans would force the United States into alliance with England. He summoned Monroe to go with all speed of preparation on a special mission to Paris, the object of which was declared to be to purchase New Orleans and the Floridas, or so much of them as the powers in possession could be persuaded to part with. His purpose was wholly limited to the question of acquiring lands or permanent depots on the east of the Mississippi, and on the rivers running through Florida, for the convenience of our commerce which required outlets to the Gulf of Mexico, the northern shore of which would now be wholly controlled by Spain and France against the interests of the United States. This control by two foreign and allied powers was rightfully regarded as more dangerous to American interests than was the sole dominion of Spain. France under Bonaparte, then First Consul, was a much more dangerous neighbor than the King of Spain. The simple presence of French sovereignty at the mouth of the Mississippi was a provocation to the hostile fleets of Europe, and particularly an invitation to the fleets of England to enter and seize New Orleans and the mouths of that great river. This would establish Great Britain, already entrenched upon our northern frontier, on the other flank of the young republic, involving a thousand dangers to our growing interests in the newly-settled valley of the west.



French recklessness of international obligations on the high seas had already been disastrous to our commerce on the Atlantic ocean. Eastern merchants had numerous and just claims against the French for their seizures of our vessels and cargoes on the ocean, and now they were to control also the commercial outlet of the continental inland, and to invite thither the presence of warlike fleets. The instinct of danger which developed itself in the west was fully justified. Jefferson, who during his long residence in Paris had become impregnated with French ideas and French sympathies, was slower in appreciating the dangers than were the people of the valley. Indeed his adhesion to French ideas and French interests had years before caused a certain alienation of sentiment between him and Washington. The terrible excesses of the French revolution, its gross infidelity and its shocking bloodshed in the effort to abolish Christianity and law, had offended all of Washington's sentiments of religion and humanity. The sympathies of Washington were on the side of the religious civilization of his English forefathers; while Jefferson looked complacently upon the violent destruction of all that was sanctified by ages of faith and custom. So now after Washington's death, himself in the president's chair, Jefferson was far behind other responsible citizens of the republic in his appreciation of the perils arising from French recklessness in resort to war and international violence. He did not lead, but followed the people in their protest against the fresh introduction of the power of France into the very center of our continent.

THE PURCHASE OF LOUISIANA A SURPRISE TO THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT.

Jefferson's proposed measure of relief was limited, and altogether inadequate to provide for the future interests of the United States. His instructions to his envoys was to obtain "a cession to the United States of New Orleans and of West and East Florida, or as much thereof as the actual proprietor can be prevailed upon to part with." That is to say,

their attention was called exclusively to the gulf coast line extending from the Mississippi to the Atlantic. This appeared to be the maximum of his wishes. There was no hint of our requiring or of purchasing the great territory west of the Mississippi. He then proceeded to instruct them touching a possible reduction of even this demand, if necessary. If no grant of territorial jurisdiction could be obtained they were to secure mere rights of deposit, with the privilege of holding real estate for commercial purposes. In respect to the Floridas, the envoys were to secure depots at the mouths of the rivers which ran from the United States through Florida to the sea, together with their free navigation. And the sum within which they were to negotiate for any or all of these concessions was two millions of dollars.

It thus appears that Jefferson had never contemplated the acquisition of what is called the "Louisiana Purchase." Popular opinion has attributed to him a remarkable and statesmanlike foresight in negotiating for that vast tract of country west of the Mississippi in order to provide for the future needs of the then young republic. The truth, however, compels us to recognize the fact that neither the American people of that day—who were few in number compared with the extent of their existing territory, and who already possessed ample lands beyond their power of cultivation—nor their statesmen in their farthest vision foresaw the amazing development destined to come before the end of the century. Jefferson's plans, not anticipating, but following the demands of the "west," only sought to provide for an existing emergency, and to acquire in perpetuity a right which had been once conceded to the United States by Spain—the right of a free depot and transfer of their products. That was the attitude of our government when Monroe sailed for France. Its eyes were directed to the south, not to the west.

The real scene of the story of the Louisiana Purchase is on the other side of the Atlantic. It is laid in Paris, where the proposal of the greater transaction had its origin in

the breast of the powerful master of the French republic.

The First Consul, under the pressure of European hostilities, was contemplating an act of transcendent importance to our country. He had secretly held all of Louisiana at his disposal since October, 1800, although our ministers in France and Spain had been kept in ignorance of it. So late as the spring of 1803, Talleyrand deceptively denied the French title in a conversation with Livingston. But now a renewal of the war with England was threatened. The British navy was dominant on the sea, and an English expedition might at any time seize New Orleans, and France would lose the colony without compensation. His thoughts were already bent on a sale to the United States by which he hoped not only to satisfy our large pecuniary claims which we were pressing against his government, but to obtain besides a large surplus to reinforce his treasury for the coming war. He directed Marbois, his minister of finance, to offer the entire Province of Louisiana to the United States, and to demand in compensation one hundred million francs, together with the assumption by our government of the American claims against France for her outrages on our commerce. He said to his advisers with some passion in his voice that England coveted that colony and could easily make a descent there; but she should not have it. For France to retain it would be folly. He would cede the whole to the United States. This was the situation when Monroe arrived in Paris; for this startling proposal had been already communicated to Livingston, who could hardly credit the sincerity of the offer.

The prospect of this vast and complete acquisition which would for the second time eliminate French control from the American continent and settle the question of commercial depots forever, aroused intense interest in both the American envoys, but especially in the mind of Livingston. Communication with the United States by occasional sailing vessels was slow and uncertain. In that day neither telegraph nor steamship was available. A royal message to the English

parliament had just announced the British preparation for renewing the war with France. If anything was to be done with Louisiana it must be done quickly. Our envoys could not wait for new instructions. With true American courage they resolved to take the responsibility upon themselves, and without authority win a new empire for the young republic. They protested against the extravagance of the sum demanded as beyond the resources of the American government, and succeeded in reducing the amount of purchase money to sixty millions of francs, and in limiting the assumption of American claims to twenty millions of francs. They then concluded the three treaties with all haste. They were signed on the 30th of April, 1803. The war cloud hanging over the English channel burst eighteen days after the signature. When the names of the plenipotentiaries were appended to this unexpected convention of purchase, Livingston enthusiastically grasped the hands of Marbois and Monroe, saying: "We have lived long, but this is the noblest work of our lives!" The praise for this magnificent accomplishment is more due to Robert R. Livingston than to any other American; and some city or county in every state formed out of this imperial purchase should bear his name in commemoration of his courageous statesmanship.

#### ACQUISITION DENOUNCED, BUT JUSTIFIED BY HISTORY.

The purchase money was indeed a great sum to pay out of the limited treasury and unestablished national credit of the United States of that day. Bitter opposition was aroused in this country against the ratification of the treaty. The acquisition was derided as of little worth, wholly unnecessary, and tending to weaken the old states. It was declared to be an excessive extension of territory which would lead to a disruption of the Union. The prophets of woe were as effusive then over the enlargement of our territory as they have been ever since over the successive expansions which have illuminated the pages of our national history. The evil predictions of 1803 are now buried deep in the drift of time. The very

names of the false prophets are in oblivion, while the many happy millions who inhabit the twelve states and two territories now lying within the limits of the Louisiana Purchase have forever repudiated the old forecasts of evil. Instead of diminishing, the older states have greatly increased their population and prosperity with the settlement and development of the new. The newer states have also forged new bands for the strengthening of the Union. The bravest blood offered to the nation in its historic struggle for liberty and Union, and in its struggle for the maintenance of the national power and glory abroad, has flowed from the veins of men who were nourished on this new soil of the republic. Patriotism, courage, energy, flow forth with every heart-beat of the child of the new west. He has subdued the savagery which dominated the prairies and plains and mountains of the Louisiana of 1803. He has covered the rolling prairies and plains with grazing herds and smiling harvests, with schoolhouses for happy children and churches for an untrammelled religion. He has uncovered the hidden caves of rich metals in the great mountains of northwestern Louisiana, and has enriched his whole country with the elements of a new and unbounded prosperity. Whenever and wherever his nation's flag has been thrown to the breeze at home or abroad, in Mexico or Alaska, in Cuba or other islands of the sea, under the great wall of China, or in the mountain fastnesses of Luzon, wherever deeds of loyalty, of courage and of daring are required, there in the front rank of volunteers is heard the quick response of the loyal sons of the west. New strength has been acquired for the constitution and the Union, new hope for the country's prosperity is created with every new breath born in the expanded territory of our republic.

It may be further confidently affirmed that our national character has not deteriorated during the century in which we have followed the providential law of our national growth and development. We have seen in what manner this law was introduced and historically established. I call it providential

because neither our statesmen nor our people proposed it or foresaw it. The national representatives of that day, including Jefferson himself, when informed of the convention signed by our envoys in Paris, doubted its constitutionality, or were astounded by the resulting increase of the public debt. They adopted it chiefly because of the evident perils to existing national interests which would follow its rejection.

THE STORY OF LOUISIANA DRAMATIC—HER FATE  
PROVIDENTIAL.

The whole story of Louisiana involves much that is dramatic and unexpected. De Soto merely crossed its central river and died without discovering its mouth or exploring its course, although his decimated followers later escaped through its outlet without any act of possession. Consequently Spain acquired no title to the river valley. Then came France, whose explorers from Canada made discoveries from the sources downward, and later found its outlet by sea and took possession upward. Her right to the country was therefore beyond dispute. Had the French retained possession of all their discoveries they would have imprisoned the future American republic between the Alleghanies and the Atlantic. But this was not the Divine purpose. England conquered Canada, and eastern Louisiana followed the fate of her sister province and became British colonial territory. As a consequence, the latter fell to the United States upon the recognition of their independence. So it happened that our people at the end of the revolutionary war found themselves in possession as far as the Mississippi, but there were barred from all further western progress so long as Spain held all the vast territory west of the river.

Had the boundary remained there for a hundred years, no human mind can conceive the change it would have made in the destiny of this nation. Without the wheat fields and corn fields and the cattle ranges of the prairies and plains of the Trans-Mississippi, without the lead and iron ores of Missouri, without the vast deposits of gold and silver and copper

of the western mountain ranges, with no roads across the continent, with no harbors on the Pacific coast, without possession of the mouth of the Mississippi, without any port on the Gulf of Mexico, above all without the incentive to our individual activities and national development that these sources of wealth have afforded—no human intellect, no poet's imagination, can portray what would have been our fate or our condition today as influenced or controlled by the nations which might have possessed them. What wars might have ensued, what liberties might have perished, what miseries might have befallen!

But at the providential moment there appeared upon the European horizon a new and dominant personal force in the French republic which overawed Spain, and her king yielded to the demand of "Citizen Bonaparte," and restored Louisiana to France. This again threatened to be a more serious obstacle to our growth than was the power of Spain, for the military force of France was far greater. But two years later France finds it impracticable to retain Louisiana owing to her naval inferiority to England, and Bonaparte suddenly, without the knowledge of the government at Washington, conveys the title finally and forever to the United States. Even then Spain, alarmed at the absolute and final disposal of the country by France, protests our title because of an alleged condition attached to her retrocession to France. This condition was officially notified to the United States that Louisiana should never be conveyed by France to a third power. But Bonaparte imperatively insisted that delivery should be made to him under the cession of 1800, which was done; and he immediately thereafter, on the 20th of December, 1803, transferred the possession of New Orleans to the United States. The Lewis and Clark expedition, conceived without expectation of our possible ownership, was thus enabled to explore the territory of Louisiana under our own flag. But we had at that time no acknowledged title to the country westward of the mountains to the Pacific coast. Spain,

Great Britain, and Russia were on that coast before us. Equally in the order of providence, and just in time, the New England Captain Gray, under the American flag, was the first to enter the mouth of the great river of Oregon in 1792, which under international law gave to the United States the claim of discovery, and this claim was strongly reinforced by the succeeding exploration of Lewis and Clark. With this inchoate right on the Pacific coast the United States was able by later treaties to permanently establish our title on that shore, with well defined limits between the Spanish territory on the south and the British on the north.

#### THE PRIZE CONTESTED IN TWO WARS.

Our acquisition of Louisiana had been accomplished by the pacific methods of diplomacy. But the permanent possession of it by our Union was only to be preserved at the cost of great treasure and by the sacrifice of many lives. In less than twelve years from the date of the cession by France, while we were at war with Great Britain that power despatched an expedition to seize the mouth of the river, accompanied by an army for the capture of New Orleans. The men of the lower valley rushed to arms, met the invading enemy, and drove him back to the sea. The dramatic feature of Louisiana's history again appears in the fact that this battle was fought after the signature of peace, of which the tidings had not yet reached the combatants. This battle, however, brilliant as it was on the part of the American volunteers, hardly rises to the dignity of a tragedy in comparison with the prolonged struggle which followed a half century later.

This incomparable valley, dowered with inexhaustible wealth, and like Helen of Troy possessed of the fatal gift of beauty, was destined to become the scene of the greatest conflict known in the history of the American continent—a conflict, please God! never to be renewed. On this 30th day of May, devoted by the affection of the American people to the memory of the heroes of the war for the Union, we can-



not forget the splendid services of the men who by their indomitable courage again saved the lower Mississippi to the United States together with all the original Louisiana on both banks below the mouth of the Ohio.

In our great civil struggle Louisiana and its river once more became the mighty stake played for in the terrible game of war. Again the question was presented of the northern right of access to the sea by way of the river, and of the control of the delta at its mouth. Vaster commercial interests than ever before were in suspense. Once more, also, a Bonaparte appeared on the borders of the scene gazing eagerly from Mexico upon the still coveted territory which had been ceded by his great predecessor. The brave and stalwart men of the valley, in former contests united, were now unhappily divided into hostile camps. As never before it was now a battle of giants, equally brave, equally resolved. The issue hung long in a balance, the scales of which were filled with blood. But the great-hearted men of the upper valley clothed themselves in the panoply of the Union, drew in a mighty inspiration from the sentiment of expanding human liberty, and fought four long years to regain the untrammelled freedom of the great river from all its sources to the sea. The bones of our heroic dead who perished in that fearful struggle lie scattered along all the river shores from the Missouri to the gulf. But they did not die in vain. We owe it to their unfaltering courage that since the end of these years of battle, and we trust for all time to come, every rivulet that falls eastward down the rugged ranges of the Rocky mountains, or that ripples southward from the far springs of the Canadian frontier, or that leaps westward down the slopes of the Alleghanies, dances along all its winding way through the old Louisiana to the southern sea under the folds of the star-spangled banner and to the music of the Union. All hail to the memory of these heroes dead; and all hail to their comrades who live to salute the dawn of this day dedicated to the memory of their deeds!

## EXPANSION A VITAL LAW OF THE REPUBLIC.

Such is the outline of the story of Louisiana, first tossed to and fro between France and Spain, and then imperiously tossed by the French executive to the envoys of the United States. Later it was twice subjected to the wager of battle. Its acquisition is especially significant in our history, as it was the first enlargement of that original territory which our fathers thought sufficient for our children until the "hundredth generation." Based upon Louisiana, the republic continued its expansion across the middle of the continent from the great ocean of the sunrise to the greater ocean of the sunset. Our republic did not dream yet of the wider expansion which was still enfolded in the shadow of her future destiny. She awaited the reappearance of the index finger of providence.

But important events of our history have taught us one great truth of our heredity as a people. Expansion is in the blood of our race. Organized liberty demands a broadening sphere of action. A single generation may pause to organize and utilize what a previous one has acquired. But a succeeding generation will reassert the inherent impulse of the race so long as barbarism remains on the earth unsubdued. Under christian auspices it is the providential law which from age to age opens up new regions to the influences of a higher civilization, and uplifts the inferior races by contact with the superior. The right to enforce civilized usages among mankind is higher and holier than the right to maintain barbaric practices and inhuman laws. The better has an inherent moral right to expand over the worse. The justice and humanity of the motive will forever consecrate the onward movement with a divine sanction. Peace and order, liberty and prosperity, education and morality, have hitherto followed the advancing flag of the American republic. Wild beasts have given place to peaceful herds and flocks. The wandering wigwam has been replaced by the settled home. The ground of the war-dance is occupied by the school house, and the pole hung with scalp-locks by the steeple of the

church. The vast desert spaces are now laughing with harvests, and the various tribes of the white men are dwelling there in unity. Who can doubt that such expansion is in accord with the purposes of the Almighty in the regeneration of the world?

In this spirit and with such purpose the expansion of the republic has more widely advanced in later years. The beneficent changes to be wrought in the alien races may require a full generation or more for their accomplishment. The work of the school house is slow. The work of the church is dilatory. But we have the glorious assurance of the past that we are now doing the will of the great ruler of nations while we follow our providential law. Since the middle of the last century we have been led on step by step beyond the ocean boundary of our continent, following the sun in his western course, until scores of islands of the southern and central Pacific have come peacefully under the dominion of the United States. The Alaskan Islands carried the jurisdiction of the republic within the longitudes of northern Asia. By an unforeseen emergency of the Spanish war, declared for another and a humane purpose, we came into the unexpected possession of the Philippine Islands, on the south of the Asiatic continent. Like Louisiana, their purchase and annexation were unforeseen by the statesmen and people of our country; and, like Louisiana, they will in the process of civilization reveal unexpected resources for the blessing of mankind and for the advancement and security of the republic.

#### A CENTURY OF GLORY.

We look back with amazement and with gratitude upon this century of our history. The first year of the nineteenth century found our youthful nation barred on the west by our great mediterranean river, and shut off from the sea on the south, with the barriers guarded by two formidable military powers of Europe. Our incipient commerce was wantonly destroyed on the high seas, the common prey of warring European navies, without fear of reprisals or punishment.

Even the paltry powers of the Barbary coast levied tribute on our commercial vessels and held captured American citizens in slavery. Our political parties at home were more hostile to each other than to the foreigners who insulted our flag. The republic was neither respected nor envied, neither courted nor feared, by any power of Europe, or Asia, or Africa.

But now, in the first year of the twentieth century, all this is changed. Our matured nation is in possession of the whole northern shore of the gulf, including all the peninsula of Florida, with her jurisdiction extended across the continent to the shore of the Pacific, and leaping thence to the farthest coast of Alaska. Our flag floats over a thousand islands of the western ocean. It was the first to be welcomed in the harbors of Japan, of Korea, and of China as the emblem of international peace and justice. The fame of our navy is wafted around the world by every wind that blows, and the flag that covers its guns assures protection to our commerce on every sea and in the harbors of every continent. The republic is respected and honored as one of the great physical and moral powers of the world. At home a common patriotism unites our political parties as never before. It has been exhibited during this month when all political parties in various parts of this great country have been assembling to greet and acclaim a president, who is himself the soul of patriotism and national honor.

It is a marvelous expansion, a marvelous transformation, a miracle of the nations!

Thanks be to the Almighty Power which has so directed our destiny that in this first summer of the new century, and in the third generation of the explorers of the west, the sun never sets upon the territory of the republic. That brilliant orb which today gilds the summit of this monument will shed his bright beams in every hour of his daily circuit around the globe upon some state or territory, some plain or mountain or island shore, over which floats the beneficent flag of

our expanded republic, carrying in its folds the assurance of peace and liberty, order and security, education and civilization to all the inhabitants. May this great memorial stand for ages to come to remind our children of the manly virtues of their race, which in the nineteenth century made the republic so glorious in the annals of history.

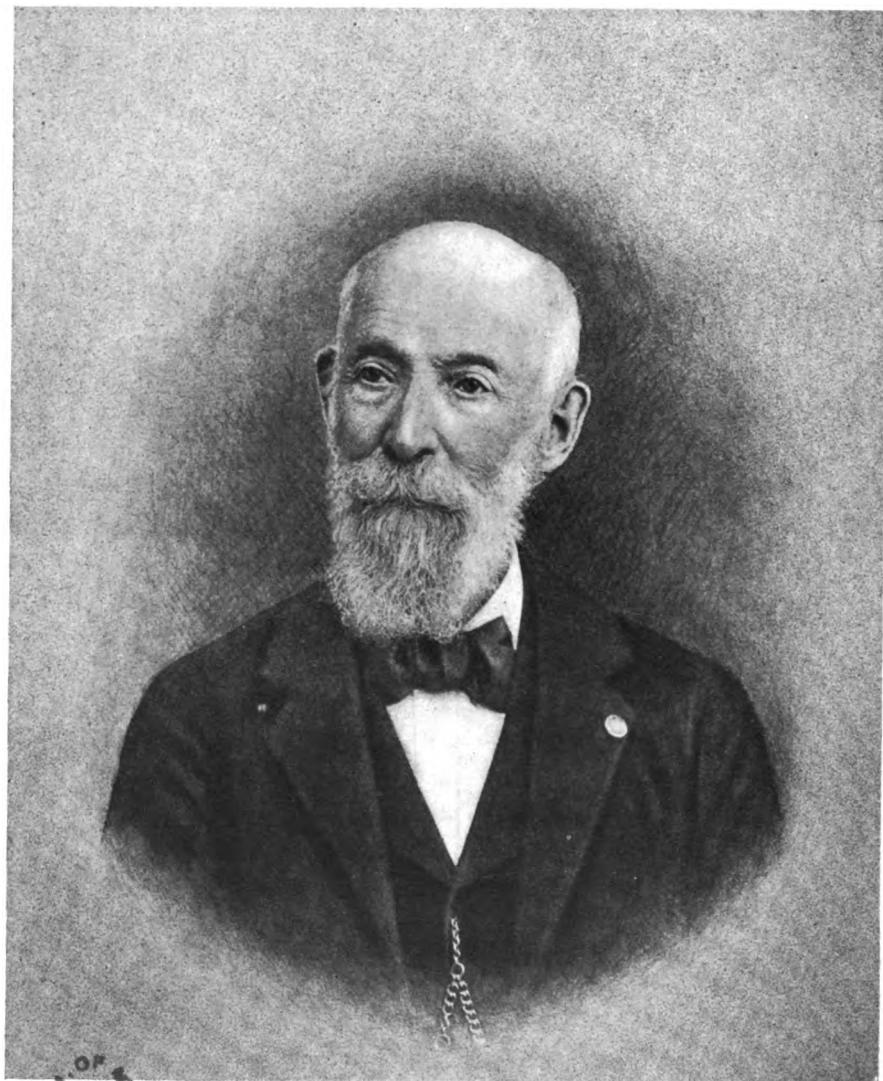
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### THE RUSH TO IOWA.

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We yesterday saw Jas. Chisnell, Esq., of Summit county, just returned from the Decorah land office, Iowa, where with thousands of others he had been waiting for weeks for the purpose of entering some government land. The rush was so great that the crowd would fill up the passage way to the office at night and stand on their feet till morning, in order to be first in. Some froze their toes and some their feet, waiting for the office to open. This was called the "stair system." The outsiders finally organized some three hundred strong and drew numbers from a hat for their turns, pledging to stand by one another, as against those who persisted in the stair system. Upon the drawing, printed numbers were issued to the drawers, from 1 to 300, signed by the chairman of the committee, which certificates of numbers soon became currency, by bearing a premium of from \$5 to \$50 for those entitled to draw first. The officer could wait upon but four or five customers per day, which would throw the high numbers some months ahead. So Mr. Chisnell and others come home and wait a month or so when they expect to return in time to take their chances according to their numbers.—*Cleveland (O.) Plaindealer, Feb. 20, 1856.*





*Theodore S. Parvin,*

THEODORE SUTTON PARVIN,

Private Secretary to Gov. Robert Lucas, 1838-40; First Territorial Librarian, 1839; founder of the Masonic Library and Museum, at Cedar Rapids, Iowa; distinguished as an educator, statesman, and historical collector.

## THEODORE S. PARVIN.

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BY CHARLES ALDRICH.

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This notice of the life and public services of Hon. Theodore S. Parvin has been to some extent extracted from one which the writer published several years ago.

Of all the enterprising young men who came to Iowa in territorial days, few, if any, have left so permanent an impress upon our history as the subject of this article. He had graduated from Cincinnati and Woodward Colleges and completed his legal studies. At an opportune moment (early in 1838) he met Gen. Robert Lucas, who had retired from the governorship of Ohio, receiving from President Martin Van Buren the appointment of first Governor of the new Territory of Iowa. Governor Lucas was at once most favorably impressed with the young man, whom he invited to accompany him to Iowa as his private secretary. An Iowa newspaper of that day paid a high compliment to "two cultured and accomplished young men who came with the Governor." I only know that one of these gifted young men was Theodore S. Parvin—the name of the other I am unable to state. A Governor's private secretary should be as good a man as the Governor himself—his equal in mental culture and capacity for intellectual labor. Such a helper Mr. Parvin proved himself to be. This was the commencement of an active friendship which only ended with the death of the Governor, at Iowa City, in 1853. How useful young Parvin became to the Governor and how implicitly he was trusted we shall see further on.

Theodore Sutton Parvin was born in Cedarville, Cumberland county, New Jersey, on the 15th day of January, 1817, and had therefore entered upon his 85th year. His death occurred at Cedar Rapids, Iowa, on the 28th day of June, 1901. Of his boyhood and youth I am unable to speak, though we may confidently believe that his early life was characterized by sobriety, industry, and thorough devotion



to the studies which fitted him so admirably for his future career of usefulness and honor. He and Gov. Lucas settled in the future city of Burlington, then a small village. In August of that year he appeared before the Hon. Thomas S. Wilson, of Dubuque, then an associate judge of the supreme court of the Territory, as an applicant for admission to practice at the bar. An interesting anecdote concerning that event has been narrated to the writer. I am not certain, however, but it may have been published heretofore; at all events, it is worth repeating. Judge Wilson was at that time only 22 or 23 years of age—quite a juvenile piece of timber from which to construct a justice of the supreme court. But he acquitted himself with such ability and dignity that he remained in the judiciary a long time afterwards. Upon his arrival in the little village of Dubuque, Mr. Parvin repaired at once to the residence of Judge Wilson. Upon knocking at the door it was opened by a very young man, a mere boy in appearance. After the first greeting he asked: "Is your father at home?" "He is not here," was the reply, "but what do you wish?" "Why, I came to see Judge Wilson." "Well, sir, I am Judge Wilson. What can I do for you?" Quickly recovering from his surprise, he said: "I came to apply for admission to the practice of the law." He was at once cordially invited to come in. I can give none of the particulars of the examination, but when he left the house he carried with him a certificate of admission "to practice in all courts of record in the territory aforesaid." This certificate was written out and signed by "T. S. Wilson, one of the associate judges of the supreme court in and for the territory of Iowa." There were no printed blanks for that purpose in those days. This was the first admission of an attorney in the territory, and the original certificate several years ago found a permanent lodgment in The Aldrich Collection of autograph letters, manuscripts and portraits now in the State Historical Building.

During this same year Gov. Lucas, whose Andrew Jack-

son face used to appear on the bills of the old State Bank of Iowa, appointed Mr. Parvin Territorial Librarian. About this time he sent him east to purchase books for the foundation of the Territorial library—the basis of the present State library—to the amount of \$5,000. On his return Gov. Lucas receipted to him for the books, and the receipt, with Mr. Parvin's commission as librarian, are also in the Collection above mentioned.

Right here it may be well to repeat what I have written elsewhere and more than once: Mr. Parvin should have been kept in the position of Territorial and State Librarian from that time forward during his active life, for he has had few equals in the Middle West as a collector of literary wares, books, antiquities, materials for history, etc., etc. Wisconsin had such a worker—Lyman C. Draper, who retained his position until 1887, when he was forced to retire by reason of the infirmities of age. Draper was just such an active, energetic, earnest collector, and the consequence is, that Wisconsin possesses collections surpassing all others in the West, and scarcely paralleled in the Union. Mr. Parvin was not retained, and our State drifted into the senseless policy of appointing librarians—with few exceptions—for political reasons and for short terms. As a natural consequence the libraries of both states have been most conspicuous—one for its extent and value, and the other for its moderate proportions aside from the department of law. I have always believed that had Mr. Parvin been retained in that office, Iowa would have been fully abreast of Wisconsin. The State would now possess invaluable collections, and best of all, they would have cost the State comparatively little beyond the expense of housing and taking care of them. In making such collections the great point of difficulty is in getting the proper quarters for their arrangement and display. Gifts naturally flow into libraries and museums as if by gravitation—if the collector is wide awake and alert, like Parvin and Draper. Had Mr. Parvin been retained the great collection would

long ago have become precious beyond any estimate. It is strange that the men who made our laws failed to realize and comprehend facts so simple and palpable.

The next position to which Mr. Parvin was appointed was that of district attorney for the middle district of Iowa, in the year 1839. In 1840 he was elected secretary of the territorial council. From 1847 to 1857 he was clerk of the United States district court. In 1840-50 he was county judge. This was a position in those days of much power and responsibility, as these so-called judges not only exercised all the duties of surrogates or probate judges, but also (with more of real power) discharged most of the functions now exercised by the boards of county supervisors. They could lay out roads, build bridges or court houses, and run their counties into almost any depth of indebtedness. Some north-western counties were more than twenty years paying the debts incurred in the reign of the county judges. The eastern counties happily had little or no difficulty in that direction. Mr. Parvin's administration was both clean and successful. He was for one term register of the state land office, 1857-8. From 1860 to 1870 he was professor of the natural sciences in the Iowa State University, acting also as secretary of the Iowa Historical Society during the years 1864, '5 and '6. He was one of the founders of *THE ANNALS OF IOWA* which he edited many years. He was a valued contributor to its pages from the beginning. Those old volumes have become so precious that librarians and historical students are now asking for their republication.

Doubtless the most important service rendered by Mr. Parvin to the State of Iowa—far-reaching in its consequences—was his aid in defeating the constitution of 1844. The constitutional convention of that year named the Missouri river as the western boundary of the proposed State, but congress curtailed these fair dimensions by cutting off from north to south about one-third of the proposed area bordering on the Missouri river and sent the constitution back to be ratified





by a vote of the people. The late Lieutenant-Governor Enoch W. Eastman, Major Frederick D. Mills,\* and T. S. Parvin, vigorously stumped the territory in opposition to the adoption of this constitution, and at each of two elections the following year it was rejected. If the reader will take any map of Iowa and rule off one-third of its territory from north to south on the western side, he will readily see and appreciate what the State would have been deprived of by the adoption of that constitution. It required stalwart courage on the part of these eloquent young men to oppose what it is no injustice to call an iniquity—for the adoption of that constitution was demanded by the leading political influences of the territory, sustained and supported by the administration at Washington. There were United States senatorships to be filled, and other choice plums to be distributed, and men who were looking for promotion were in a hurry to see the territory blossom into a State! The credit of preventing the adoption of the constitution of 1844 is due to Theodore S. Parvin and his two associates on the stump.

Since the introduction of Freemasonry into Iowa in 1840, Judge Parvin has been its foremost representative. He served as grand master in 1852. For some time before that year he had been grand secretary. At the end of his grand mastership he was again chosen grand secretary, a position he held until his death. Through his timely and persistent efforts the headquarters of the fraternity were established at Cedar Rapids in 1885. A fund of some \$20,000 had been accumulated and this was wisely devoted to the erection of a large fire-proof grand lodge museum and library building. For many years, probably as far back as 1840, he had been a collector of the publications of various secret orders, especially those relating to Masonry. These, with rare generosity, he presented to the grand lodge of Iowa, continuing his collections with a zeal which knew no abatement and only

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\*Major Frederick D. Mills commanded a battalion in the war with Mexico and was killed at the battle of Churubusco, August 20, 1847.

ceased with his life. That library now contains more Masonic books than any other in the world, aside from those relating to all other secret orders. But it is by no means narrowed down to these specialties. It contains many early books and documents relating to Iowa, with considerable collections in history and general literature, making up a library at once varied and comprehensive, aside from its leading feature. There is also a large collection of miscellaneous books published in this State. The new and commodious edifice gave Mr. Parvin ample room and scope to indulge his born proclivity for collecting. It would be a difficult task to attempt to set forth the contents of the building. The museum has grown so rapidly that more space is necessary for the adequate display of the constantly accumulating materials. These include geological and natural history specimens, prehistoric stone implements, arms, coins, autograph letters, manuscripts, works of art, and hundreds of objects which may be set down as curios or bric-a-brac. One new and very interesting item had just been received at the time of one of my visits. It was an especially fine collection of stalactites and stalagmites from the Dubuque mineral caves, sufficient to fill a large case. These were searched for and brought out of the underground darkness by Mr. N. R. Parvin, the son, and for many years a most worthy and efficient coadjutor of the grand secretary. These formations were known to be very beautiful and most desirable additions to the museum, and there seemed no other way to get them than by personal effort. The best thought connected with these interesting objects is that they grew into forms of beauty beneath our own soil. Such is the spirit with which the Parvins have always labored in building up their Masonic Museum and Library, which years ago became one of the most remarkable enterprises in our State.

Mr. Parvin, as I have sufficiently set forth, was a most intelligent as well as an omnivorous and almost universal collector. A great many of these collectors are a stingy sort of

folk. That would seem to be the most natural thing in the world, for a collector, like Oliver Twist, is "always wanting more." Things must be kept or there can be no collection. Mr. Parvin, although so earnest and devoted a collector himself, was always liberal and helpful to other Iowans in the same work. I have personally known him to hand over rare and cherished objects to a brother collector, who seemed to be looking upon them with longing eyes. He was anxious that other state collections should be kept growing. Neither selfishness nor envy entered into his mental constitution.

To the library of the Davenport Academy of Sciences, the library of the State University, the State Library, the State Historical Society, the State Historical Department and The Aldrich Collection, he has been an open-handed, liberal contributor—and to all but the two last named, for a longer period than the life-time of a generation. To the first he has given large collections of scientific books, and many specimens of great interest to the students of natural history, ethnology and archaeology; and the library of the State Historical Society at Iowa City owes to him a large portion of its most precious contents. His gift of early Iowa documents is valuable beyond estimate—for it is now quite impossible to duplicate it. And to these he added bound files of early and later Iowa newspapers, and a large case filled with geological specimens, prehistoric stone implements, with many out-of-the-way objects and curios of greater or less value.

His gifts to the Iowa State Library of early statute laws and public documents were valuable beyond estimate. Printed at first in small editions, they had gone entirely out of print and could be had nowhere else. This rare generosity entitles him to the lasting gratitude of every intelligent Iowan, for without these precious documents, many important points of our history would forever remain undetermined.

His memory will be perpetuated in all the directions named. The memories of men stand little chance of preservation unless they are embalmed in printed books which are



gathered into public libraries. If memories are not so perpetuated they speedily perish. Of the Iowa men who filled the public eye twenty-five years ago, how few are remembered today! They have come and gone like the ephemeras of a soft night in June! But in the libraries I have named the reader in distant future years, will find multiplied and most precious gifts from the free and ever-generous hand of Theodore S. Parvin. They will also preserve the names and records of other men, and not at all unlikely, of many who looked upon his own work with coldness and distrust, doing their best to thwart or embarrass him in his earnest and patriotic efforts. No other Iowa man has built for himself so many, or such permanent and abiding monuments; and if, as Daniel Webster said, speaking of himself, "the mould shall gather upon his memory," there will be plenty of students of Iowa history, who will scrape the moss from the inscriptions.

All honor, then, to the memory of him, the pioneer in this patriotic work—the preservation of the materials of early and later Iowa history. His will be one of the few names of Iowa men which will be imperishable.

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My personal acquaintance with Mr. Parvin was but slight—though I had known him well since 1857 by reputation, and had met him occasionally at the capitol of the State—up to the organization of the Pioneer Law Makers' Association in 1886. From that time forward our relations grew into a cordial and friendly intimacy. He soon learned what I had in view in relation to founding and building up an Iowa Historical Department and Museum, and no man or enterprise ever had a more truly devoted friend than he became to me and my effort. He had long been recognized as the pioneer collector and museum builder in our State—anxious to extend his own work—but he gave me every possible aid and encouragement. His generosity lay not altogether in words, but he made the Department generous gifts and pointed the way to secure others. He many years ago secured

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*Library*

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*Gift of the  
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FACSIMILE OF MR. T. B. PARVIN'S RECEIPT FROM GOV. ROBERT LUCAS,  
Showing the expenditure of \$3,081.57 for the first purchase of books for the library of Iowa Territory. The original paper was presented by  
Mr. Parvin to The Aldrich Collection of Autograph Letters, Manuscripts and Portraits now in the Iowa Historical Department.

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a fine oil portrait of himself by George H. Yewell, N. A. That had been hanging in the State Library, but he recently expressed a strong preference that it should be placed permanently in the Historical Art Room under my charge. I could always ask, and always received, his hearty cooperation and judicious advice. He was as generous as he was uniformly just. If an article reached his collection which the general judgment would say should belong to the Historical Department of the State, he was ready to turn it over at once. Ours was an instance where two of a trade agreed.

At one period, about the years 1891-3, he and his work had many enemies in the Masonic order, and at one of the elections his majority for grand secretary was but a single vote. This was due to two causes—1st, a feud in the order arising out of some question of rites or discipline, not known to the outside world; and 2d, from opposition to the founding and development of the Masonic Library and Museum. The Library and Museum at that time passed through the most critical period of their existence. Many doubted the utility of such a work—having no appreciation of its necessity or uses. Some openly favored largely using the yearly accumulating funds in banqueting and junketing. In this respect the Masonic fraternity did not vary from many other secret or public organizations extant then and afterwards. This social work, the ambition to have “a good time,” absorbs many great energies and prevents more than one association from achieving any high and permanent purpose. I would not decry the social feature, but why not also have in view the accomplishment of permanent purposes, looking to noble and patriotic ends? That idea was evidently Parvin's inspiration at that most critical period, as it had been for more than half a century. I visited him on one of his gloomiest days in that time of doubt and uncertainty. His determination to struggle on was not in the least shaken, but his opposition was so bitter and his election had been achieved with such effort and won by so small a margin that

the outlook was a gloomy one. I know that he had fears that his tenure of grand secretary and librarian might be very brief. He was certainly setting his house in order preparatory to leaving it. Possibilities in that direction could not be ignored, nor did they inspire cheerfulness. The statements in this paragraph I believe to be absolutely correct, though I depend wholly upon my recollection of conversations with Mr. Parvin and others.

But what splendid results came from that majority of a single vote? The Masonic Library and Museum were saved to the order and the people of Iowa, and Parvin was retained to carry forward and develop his wise plans which reach out into the long future. "One majority" had turned the tide, and his opposition faded out and was heard of no more. From that time his great undertaking steadily grew in appreciation and popularity. As his plans and purposes became more distinctly understood, so his own hold upon the confidence of the great fraternity yearly increased. He was re-elected year after year as the unanimous choice of the Grand Lodge. His last election took place when it was known that he had but a few days to live, and a committee was sent to carry the news to him on his death bed. Such positions of implicit trust and confidence, continued for half a century, seldom come to any one. To no other Iowa man has been vouchsafed a career so unique, or in a larger measure useful to the State and the people. Never an office-seeker, he was in public life from the time he crossed the Mississippi until he breathed his last. His life was filled with good works and they live after him.

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JARED FERGUSON died at Decorah, Iowa, September 1, 1895. He was born at Bolton, Conn., February 11, 1794, and was therefore 101 years, 6 months and 19 days old. He was a soldier of the war of 1812, and was believed by his friends to have been its last survivor in Iowa.





*Truly Yours  
Rd Finkbine*

ROBERT S. FINKBINE,

Representative from Johnson county, in the 10th and 11th general assemblies, 1864-'66; member of the board of commissioners in charge of the erection of the new capitol, and superintendent of construction, 1872-'84; member of the board of public works of the city of Des Moines, 1890-'94.

## ROBERT S. FINKBINE AND HIS ASSOCIATES IN THE ERECTION OF THE IOWA CAPITOL.

BY HON. PETER A. DEY.

I have been asked by some of my friends to write out the remarks I made at Mr. Finkbine's funeral. As there are some facts that are probably known only to myself, it will be necessary, to give a correct view of the situation and the relations of parties to each other, for me to go further into detail than was suitable on that occasion. This is my reason for bringing in the early history of the Capitol building before Mr. Finkbine's connection with it.

The General Assembly, by an act approved April 13, 1870, appointed a board of Capitol Commissioners consisting of one member from each of the congressional districts of the State, two commissioners at large—Gen. G. M. Dodge and Hon. James F. Wilson, named in the act—and the Governor, who was ex-officio president of the board. If practicable, the management of the work should be under the charge of an Iowa superintendent, and preference should be given Iowa material. Under this latter clause the board made chemical and physical tests of the building stones of the State, more thorough and complete than had been made before or have been since. As the result of these they adopted for the foundation the oolitic limestone which is found on the Iowa river in Tama county, and which seemed to have successfully withstood all the tests. Some newspaper attacked the oolitic stone, claiming that it would not resist the action of water and frost. This attack was followed by many of the newspapers of the State, and the board losing all confidence in their tests, hastened to undo their work and selected the Bear Creek stone, found in an undeveloped quarry, which had never been tested by use or otherwise. This selection satisfied everybody, and criticism ceased. The Bear Creek stone would seem to have been good, but the quarry



ran out and failed to furnish the requisite amount; the remaining stone put in the foundation by this board were obtained in Van Buren county from Rock Creek. The latter, while possibly good stone, were quarried late in the fall, and being full of water were badly shattered during the severe winter of 1871 and 1872. An investigating committee appointed by the legislature took a great deal of testimony as to the condition of the masonry in the foundations. Among them Guy Wells, an eminent engineer and contractor, after examining the walls, reported that sixty-seven stone should be removed. This unfortunate condition brought more censure upon the commission than was deserved. The Democratic papers attacked them bitterly because they were selected on purely partisan lines. The Republican papers failed to defend because the proof of a lack of either knowledge or capacity was evident.

The general assembly of 1872 retired the old board and selected four commissioners, two from each political party. The act amended and approved April 10, 1872, read as follows: "There shall be established a board of commissioners consisting of the Governor, who shall be ex-officio president of the board, John G. Foote of Des Moines county, Maturin L. Fisher of Clayton county, and R. S. Finkbine and Peter A. Dey of Johnson county." The members of this board were required to give bonds in the sum of \$50,000, and were charged with the execution of the provisions of law in respect to the erection of the capitol. Their first important duty was to inspect the work already done and remove any part thereof, that, in their judgment, did not conform to proper standards of material and workmanship. They were limited to the expenditure of \$1,380,000, which was appropriated, and were required to direct their action with a view of the completion of the building for the sum of \$1,500,000—\$100,000 to be expended in that year, and \$125,000 annually thereafter.

As I am the only one left of the men selected, I feel that

I can speak freely, for there is no association of my entire life that I look back to with more satisfaction. John G. Foote was a merchant who had been reasonably successful in the management of his personal matters, and had practically retired at the time he came upon the board. Strictly honest and conscientious, he treated every matter that came up as he did his own affairs, and although liberal within the lines of strict justice, he never allowed sentiment or friendship to warp his judgment. He was early made chairman of the finance committee and held that position uninterruptedly until the commission was discharged by legislative enactment. So accurately were his accounts kept, (all payments going through his hands,) that the experts appointed by Gov. Wm. Larrabee, after months of examination, found a discrepancy of about two dollars, which Mr. Foote always insisted was their error, not his. He did not claim any special knowledge of mechanical construction, nor what material it was best to use under various conditions, but had an abiding faith in Mr. Finkbine's judgment. He rarely made any mistakes. I happened to be in Burlington a day or two before his death and saw him. He said, "I can live but a short time; it is best that I should go. During my illness I have thought a great deal about the capitol and my associates, and it has been a special source of satisfaction to me to know that an expenditure of nearly three million dollars was made and that there was no criticism from any source on the board. I shall die happy in the thought that the building of the capitol was an honest and wise expenditure of public money and that ours was a trust faithfully carried out."

The next member mentioned in the law was Maturin L. Fisher of Clayton county. Mr. Fisher had been president of the senate and a prominent figure in political and educational matters in the State. To the study of architecture he had devoted much time and attention. With all the classic orders he was familiar; he had studied the gothic and the renaissance architecture. He knew the quarries from which the

stone in all the great buildings of Europe were taken, and was familiar with the analysis of all building stone prominently in use. Strictly honest in thought and deed and with the learning of the scholar, Mr. Fisher was an encyclopedia from which the board drew information. Like Mr. Foote he had to depend to a certain degree upon others for the application of what he knew to existing circumstances. His death occurred to his own and our regret before the building was sufficiently advanced to give him the full idea of what it would be. Mr. Foreman, his successor, was a lawyer, a man of considerable ability, and well fitted for the position. The difficult questions were, however, generally settled before he came on the board, so that his action did not impress itself as strongly as that of the earlier members.

Gen. Ed Wright was early elected secretary, and afterwards, assistant superintendent. He devoted himself to the duties of his position with an energy and industry that made him invaluable. He had not the mechanical or technical knowledge of Mr. Finkbine, but the fidelity with which he discharged the trust gave him the full confidence of the board. No truer man ever held a public office.

The original board in their final report made the recommendation that, in the opinion of the board, it was the best policy for the State that the board of capitol commissioners should consist of not to exceed three persons, in which both parties should be represented, who should be appointed for the time occupied in building the capitol, subject to removal by the governor or legislature, for cause only, and that they should be paid a salary that would justify them in giving their whole time to the discharge of their duties during the continuance of the work.

The general assembly had learned by experience that it was not wise to continue the construction of the capitol by a purely partisan commission, and divided the members between the two political parties, retaining the governor as chairman of the board. Messrs. Foote and Finkbine were selected by

the Republican caucus; Mr. Fisher and myself by the Democratic caucus. My selection was due to the influence of the Hon. John P. Irish, a member of the house from Johnson county, who had been largely instrumental in securing the passage of the law and the appropriations. His brilliant addresses on the subject always filled the hall. Among the friends of the measure he was clearly foremost.

Shortly after the passage of the amended act the governor called a meeting of the board. Mr. Finkbine and I went to Des Moines on the same train. For the first time we talked over the duties imposed upon us, and discussed the best methods of managing the work. We agreed that we needed a superintendent who was more than capable. Before reaching Des Moines Mr. Finkbine said, "I would like to be superintendent of the building. Will you vote for me?" My reply was, that I would rather not answer that question now, but if insisted upon would do so. I had known Mr. Finkbine about fifteen years, but only slightly; for some reason, possibly political, I was prejudiced against him, and in addition had grave doubts as to his experience and capacity to fill the place, which we all recognized as a difficult one. In fact I knew no one whom I thought quite up to it. Mr. Fisher had this feeling in a greater degree, and expressed it to me in strong terms.

After one or two meetings it was agreed that Mr. Finkbine and I should examine the foundations already in and report what repairs were deemed necessary. This we did thoroughly and carefully, and at the end of the second day he asked what my conclusions were. To my answer that every stone must come out, he replied, "I had not gone as far as that, but perhaps you are right. Whether the capitol costs the State fifty thousand dollars more or less is a matter that will soon be forgotten, but any failure in the foundation will be a source of regret as long as the building stands."

As stated above, the commissioners were limited in the cost of the building to an expenditure of \$1,500,000. The

plans adopted by the former board were not changed except in detail, and it is but justice to say that for the purpose designed it would even now be difficult to better them. Mr. Finkbine and I were designated a committee to determine whether the plan adopted could be built for that amount. Most of the estimates he made. We reported against any changes in the plan already adopted, but thought the building could be put under roof by using cheap material, iron columns, wooden floors, and common glass, and that, leaving off domes and ornament generally, it might be made habitable.

The next general assembly gave the commission \$250,000 in addition to the \$1,500,000 already appropriated and instructed them to put in proper material. It soon became apparent that the people of the State wanted about as good a building as could well be constructed, and for this were willing to pay what it was worth. From that time the question of cost was largely eliminated when good work entered into competition with inferior.

It was necessary to remove and replace the defective walls and to get ready for future operations. Mr. Finkbine proposed to take charge of this work, as a member of the board, at the *per diem* fixed in the law. This was agreed to. The removal of the old walls showed such a condition of disintegration that the board had no fears of criticism as they dumped off the grounds the refuse of what had cost the State \$52,000. In arranging and organizing his forces, and in the selection of stone and the testing cements, Mr. Finkbine showed a knowledge that belonged to an expert, and, I think, favorably impressed every member of the board. It was not long before he was elected superintendent by unanimous vote, and from that time he had no more hearty support than from the Democratic members, who gave him their fullest confidence. This was not personal friendship, but a thorough conviction that no better man could be found. Until that time it was thought that the experience in large

buildings in the west had not been sufficient to produce competent men here. As time passed on, new questions arose, but I do not recall a single emergency that he had not planned to meet. He knew the value of iron work and iron framing quite as well as wood work and made his figures on contract material and labor that were always reliable. He was as familiar with the strains of thrust and tension as a bridge builder, and at the same time knew the cost of quarrying, dressing and laying stone, and the relative values of all cements in use. Mr. Piquenard, the architect, died during the progress of the work. Shortly afterward I called Mr. Finkbine's attention to what I feared was a miscalculation of weight on certain columns. He said, "I will figure this. You are an engineer and I a builder. The public would justly hold us responsible for any failure." It was found that additional supports were necessary. This defect was remedied, but under conditions that detract somewhat from the symmetry of the corridors.

Mr. Finkbine never attempted to belittle the acts of others, simply because opportunity offered. He was always desirous of stating their positions fully, and if he differed, he combatted their strong points fairly stated. I wish to illustrate this trait of his character, as there was at one time some feeling on the part of members of the old commission, arising from a misunderstanding of facts that, in justice to all, should be fully and finally corrected. On the 23d day of November, 1871, the corner stone of the new capitol was laid with due ceremony. Addresses were made by the Hon. James F. Wilson, Governor Merrill and Hon. John A. Kasson, and a poem was read by the Hon. J. B. Grinnell. On the corner stone the names of the commissioners and the architect were carved. When, in removing the defective stone in the foundation, it became necessary to displace this, Mr. Finkbine had it carefully boxed and put it in the back end of one of the warehouses. The reason he assigned was that if it were seen about the grounds, some one would be inclined

to make this excuse for criticising the old board. It lay there for some months. During the code session a member of the house introduced a joint resolution which directed that the names should be removed from the corner stone and that the word "Iowa" and nothing else should be carved upon it. The instructions of the legislature were carried out. This violation of good taste and the obliteration of the marks of an historic event were, by many, charged against Mr. Finkbine, as taking an advantage of the men he had succeeded. In his nature nothing of this kind could exist, and every precaution that he could adopt was taken to prevent just what was done.

He opposed the gilding of the central dome. This was largely copied from the dome of the Invalides in Paris, which was gilded. His idea was that the gilding was suggested by the bad taste and the predilection for tawdry ornament that belonged to the period of the First Empire. When, however, the gilding was determined upon, he did all in his power to have the work well done and seemed to all intents well satisfied. He never afterward criticised it.

I have said he knew accurately the value of labor and material. On one occasion an Indianapolis firm which had done some considerable work about the capitol was asked to bid upon some iron stairways amounting to a few thousand dollars. Mr. Finkbine had calculated the cost. Upon getting their bid, which was extremely high, he wrote them a note in which he stated that their figuring man was probably not at home. Shortly after he received a telegram that their expert would be in Des Moines the next day. As I had seen Mr. Finkbine's figures, I had some curiosity to compare them and found a difference of only twenty dollars.

There was one peculiarity about Mr. Finkbine that I have rarely noticed in anyone else. He had had very good early advantages, and his attainments in scholarship were unusual among mechanics of his day. He had learned by contact the mental processes of the mechanic and day laborer, and he

had the tact to draw out from them what they knew, without seeming to be a learner. He assumed the manners and followed closely the train of thought of the men with whom he mingled and rarely failed to extract something that he might in the future use. He was a student of Miami University, and while there learned how to study, which after all is the great desideratum of institutions of learning. The popular estimate of Mr. Finkbine is, that he was a rough unhewn block, and that out of his inner consciousness he evolved the qualities that made him master of every situation in which he was placed. There never was a greater mistake. He owed more than any man in his line, I ever knew, to mental training and study. This was balanced by that broad common sense that prevented him from being a man with one idea. He was a builder, not an artist, and of the conceptions of the artist he knew little; but the model once made he could construct it in marble, stone, or metal so mechanically that it would be as imperishable as the material in which it was wrought. An example of this occurred in the north and south porticos of the capitol. The entablature between the central columns was of sandstone; the space so great that the stone was hardly able to bear its own weight, much less the mass above. Mr. Finkbine threw an arch from the columns and supported the stone by rods fastened to the entablature by lewises, all of which were so concealed that probably no one has ever questioned the strength of the material. A Chicago architect meeting this same difficulty in the old Chamber of Commerce, supported his entablature by heavy iron girders below and bolted them through, disfiguring the entire front.

In this, as in all contingencies that arose, Mr. Finkbine had thought out his plans and was ready to meet the exigencies. This ability to meet every emergency of life as it arises, is, in my judgment, true greatness.

Fifteen years have passed since the commission was disbanded. Yet Mr. Finkbine's name is as thoroughly associ-



ated as ever in the popular mind with the building of the capitol. For the present generation it is his memorial, and may remain so longer than carved tablet would endure.

IOWA CITY, JULY 20, 1901.

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TO THE REV. WILLIAM SALTER, D. D.

BY REV. CHAS. E. PERKINS.

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Time lays his burden gently on the head  
 Of those high-minded ones who love the truth,  
 And follow her high lead. With stately tread  
 Their feet press forward. Gentleness and truth  
 Their course inspire; sweetness and light,  
 Honor and faith attend their steps each day.  
 So Time, who loves the righteous soul, his flight  
 Makes manifest as softly as he may.  
 And though the hair be silvered, and the flesh  
 Pale to a finer whiteness, in the eyes  
 The clear light shines, while warm and fresh,  
 The heart, with loving fervor ever flies,  
 And year by year the mind grows yet more nobly wise.  
 Thus, thanks to God, life writes an unstained page,  
 And shines most glorious in the gracious youth of age.

—*Congregational Iowa, May, 1901.*

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BEAUTIES OF ABOLITIONISM.—When abolition was preaching against slavery it voted so that Texas should be annexed and slavery extended. It pretended to be in favor of the abolition of the black laws in Ohio, and voted so as to be sure that the friends of these same black laws might get into power. Its political consistency is very excruciating. It punishes where it pretends to heal—tortures where it proposes to soothe. It has a most lively sympathy for the suffering slave and permits the poor to die at its own door. It has a holy horror of wrong, and is quite contented with the social evils in its path. Amiable abolitionism! Verily thou art a contradiction.—*Bloomington Herald, October 30, 1846.*





*Respy,*  
*W. H. Barris.*

*Curator*

REV. WILLIS HERVEY BARRIS, D. D.  
Protestant Episcopal clergyman, geologist, and educator—one of the founders  
and curator of the Davenport (Iowa) Academy of Sciences.

## REV. WILLIS HERVEY BARRIS, D. D.

BY DR. CHARLES A. WHITE.

Professor Willis Hervey Barris, D. D., died at his home in Davenport, Iowa, on June 10th, 1901, full of years and honors and of the loving esteem of all who knew him. His was a life of such usefulness to mankind, such devotion to high principles, and of such value to the State of Iowa, of which he was a citizen forty-six years, that it is fitting **THE ANNALS** should contain a record of at least its principal events and activities.

Dr. Barris was born in Beaver county, Penn., on July 9th, 1821, spent the years of his early boyhood at his father's home and, in 1835, at the age of fourteen years, entered Allegheny college at Meadville, Penn. Upon graduating with the degree of A. B. in 1839, he entered upon a post-graduate course of civil engineering in the same college, which course he completed in 1841. In 1854 Allegheny college also conferred upon him the degree of A. M. At the time of his graduation the study of geology and that of biological sciences were not included in the curriculum of any American college; but as a boy he became deeply interested in those studies and as he grew up to manhood that interest developed into mastery of several branches, of which geology and paleontology were his favorites, and in which he prosecuted original studies with marked success.

Upon completing his secular college studies, at the age of twenty-one years, he entered regularly upon his theological course and related studies, and was graduated, in 1850, from the General Theological Seminary at New York city, the oldest theological institution of the Protestant Episcopal church in the United States. He was ordained priest by Bishop De Lancey of New York on September 19th, 1852.

It was with such an educational equipment, and endowed by nature with a most congenial and catholic spirit, that he entered upon his chosen life work in 1851, when he became

assistant to the rector of St. Luke's church at Rochester, N. Y., the Rev. Henry Lee, who afterward became bishop of Iowa. In the next year he became rector of St. Luke's church at Brockport, N. Y. While engaged in the work of this village parish he yielded to the solicitation of Bishop Lee and also removed to Iowa, becoming rector of Trinity church at Iowa City in 1855. After four years' labor at Iowa City, in 1859, he became rector of Christ church at Burlington, Iowa, where he lived and labored until 1866. He was then called to the Ely professorship of ecclesiastical history (including Greek and Hebrew) in the theological department of Griswold college at Davenport; that chair having been created and endowed with special reference to securing the services of Dr. Barris as its occupant. He accepted that important position and performed its duties with abundant success for twenty-five years.

Although Dr. Barris was eminent as a scholar, a scientist and a citizen, he was above all a churchman; and no doubt his great services to the church at whose altars he ministered so faithfully, whose youth and candidates for its ministry he instructed so thoroughly, and in the management of whose organic and charitable affairs he took so active a part and performed such a multitude of laborious services, will be duly recorded in its special publications. In this sketch, therefore, I will refer to him mainly as a citizen, a scientist, and a personal friend.

At every place to which he was called to labor for the church he immediately applied himself in a hardly less energetic manner to two secular subjects. One was a thorough investigation of the geology of his district, and the other a personal identification of himself with the intellectual interests of the community in which he lived, both within and without the pale of his church. His geological investigations were accomplished by numerous, and often long, excursions on foot, and occasional journeys by conveyance; and the closeness of his observations made all their results of

scientific value. By means of his discreet association with his fellow citizens he became fully acquainted with the educational status and needs of the whole community, from the lowest to the highest grades of instruction, and was always ready to give his aid and counsel toward their improvement. Wherever, within his reach, there were scientific associations or personal material for their formation, he at once became a leading spirit in their organization and spared no pains or labor to make them successful.

These important secular labors of Dr. Barris began in Iowa while he lived at Iowa City. There he studied the Devonian formation of the Iowa river valley, and it was there he became a member of the board of trustees (which afterward became the board of regents) of the Iowa State University, in 1858. Upon his removal to Burlington he found himself in the midst of a geological locality that, because of the richness of its rocks in certain fossils, especially the Crinoids, has become well known wherever geology is studied. He at once began the investigation of these rocks and their fossils, made large collections of the latter and, during his whole residence at Burlington, he contributed largely to the creation of that scientific interest with which the Burlington limestone is now regarded by all geologists. Portions of his collections of the Burlington fossils went to the British museum, and his correspondence shows that the authorities of that great institution made flattering acknowledgment of their value. But the most important portion went to the Museum of Comparative Zoology at Cambridge, Mass., and a letter from its founder, Prof. Louis Agassiz, speaks in the highest terms of the scientific value of the work that Dr. Barris was then doing in Burlington. Furthermore, a large number of the new forms that have been described and published in works by various authors, notably in the great work of Wachsmuth and Springer on the Crinoids, were first discovered by Dr. Barris in the Burlington limestone and other Iowa formations.

Much as he loved Burlington and its rocks and hills, he could not withstand the inducement held out by Griswold college to enter upon educational work there; for the church had no better field of labor to offer any man, and he was known to be peculiarly fitted for the work. But in giving up his rectorship at Burlington and accepting the professorship at Davenport he merely changed the form of his work for the church and gave up only a part of his paleontological studies. Davenport also gave him a broader field for scientific usefulness than he had before enjoyed, and he entered upon his work there with singular devotion. As soon as his college work was well established at Griswold he began to make a careful study of the geology of the region round about Davenport, and from time to time he published valuable articles as results of those and previous studies, mainly in the reports of the Geological Survey of Illinois and the proceedings of the Davenport Academy of Sciences. He was largely instrumental in founding the Davenport Academy and one of its original members. He was made a member of its board of trustees at its first meeting and was elected its president in 1876. He held other important offices in the academy, among which were those of curator and corresponding secretary, the laborious duties of which he performed many years. Indeed, he became so long and thoroughly identified with the executive work of that important institution that the citizens of Davenport, and even the members of the Academy, were accustomed to think of it in connection with his personality.

His establishment in educational work at Davenport together with his previous and continued scientific work, made his name so well known, not only within, but far beyond, the limits of his State that he was made an honorary member of various scientific societies, and in 1869 Griswold college conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. Many efforts were also made to secure his services in other institutions, both ecclesiastical and secular, some of which were so

important that they would have appealed strongly to the ambition of the ablest men. Although these "Macedonian cries" were responsively appreciated by Dr. Barris he saw the line of his duty too clearly drawn at Davenport to justify him in severing his connection with it there. He therefore wisely remained and finished his life work there, where his opportunities were ample and his surroundings congenial.

It would be impossible, except in an exhaustive memoir, to discuss the various ways in which Dr. Barris made himself conspicuously useful as a citizen, or to trace the beneficent influence of his life and teachings upon the people, both old and young, with whom he came in contact. Much of his work and influence must doubtless go unrecorded, but it will be only with death that those who knew him personally will cease to derive practical benefit from them.

Dr. Barris was twice married. His first wife was Miss Caroline M. Harrison of Meadville, Penn., to whom he was united October 7, 1840. She died in 1850, leaving him with two young daughters, one of whom, Mary Elizabeth, survives and is now the wife of Archdeacon S. R. J. Hoyt, D. D., of Davenport. His second wife was Miss Caroline P. Rathbone of Le Roy, N. Y., to whom he was united on May 9, 1854. She was his faithful and helpful companion through all the years of his most successful and abundant labors, and now survives him. Their three surviving children are Carrie Rathbone, the wife of Mr. Edward S. Hammatt of Davenport, and the Misses Amanda Ganson and Bessie Lovering Barris.

The accompanying portrait represents, to a good degree, his personal appearance, and suggests something of his personality to those who knew him. Those who were thus favored, however, will not need this memento to remind them of his genial manner, his frank and kindly speech, and his quickly responsive interest in everything that is good; and he was disposed to see "good in everything." His tact and affability with both the wise and the ignorant were such that no one was ever embarrassed in his company, and his



sincerity and quiet dignity were such that no one ever thought of taking a liberty in his presence. My acquaintance with him began by means of the identity of the subjects of our scientific investigations, and we often met for an interchange of views. It was my good fortune to secure his confidence, and my privilege to call him my friend during more than forty years; and I never had an interview with him, or received a letter from him, that did not add to the sum of my life's enjoyments, to my stock of knowledge, and to my confidence in humanity. He was an ideal friend, an eminently useful citizen, a profound scholar, a most efficient teacher, and a devoted Christian minister. The memory of such a man is a blessing to the State.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, SEPTEMBER 6, 1901.

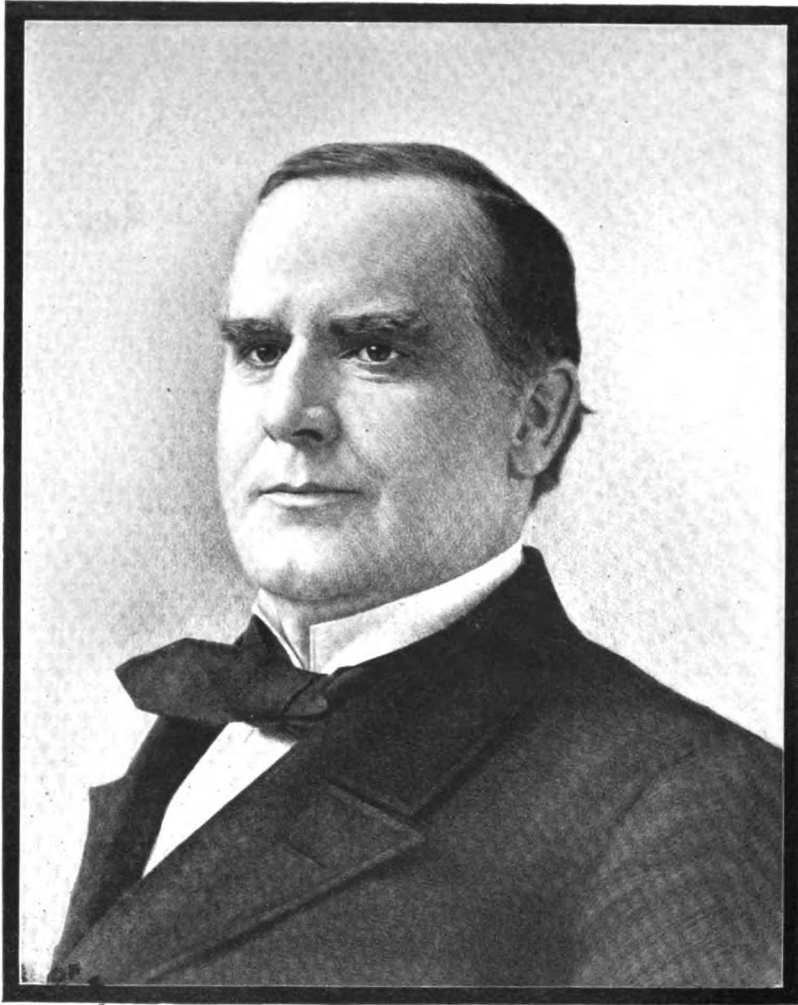
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MR. ABRAHAM SLIMMER of Waverly does not weary in well doing. His latest philanthropic proposal is for a free hospital for Bremer county. He proposes to give his home to the Sisters of Mercy, the same to be used exclusively for hospital purposes, and admission to be free to people of all races and religions. Here is a happy state of affairs; a Jew offers to give his money over to the care of a Catholic order who are to minister to the welfare of a community altogether Protestant.—*Des Moines Leader*, Sept. 7, 1901.

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DEATH OF JAMES G. EDWARDS.—We are pained to hear of the death of that veteran editor and kind-hearted man, James G. Edwards, late of *The Burlington Hawk-Eye*. Mr. E. has been connected with the press of Iowa for thirteen years. In 1838 he established *The Hawk-Eye* in Burlington, where he continued its publication until a few weeks before his death. He was an upright, warm-hearted man; a bold and vigorous writer, and an estimable citizen. . . . —*Keosauqua American*, Aug. 9, 1851.





**PRESIDENT WILLIAM MCKINLEY.**

**BORN NILES, O., JAN. 29, 1843.**

**SHOT AND FATALLY WOUNDED BY AN ANARCHIST, AT BUFFALO, N. Y., SEPT. 9, 1901.**

**DIED SEPTEMBER 14, 1901. .**

# ANNALS OF IOWA.

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## EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT.

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CHARLES MASON AND GEORGE H. YEWELL.

Those who have read *THE ANNALS* during the past eight years have not forgotten the several articles which have thrown a most favorable light upon the character and public services of the illustrious Charles Mason. How he early took his stand upon legal and judicial grounds against the encroachments of human slavery, was set forth in the first case decided in the Supreme Court of Iowa Territory. This decision was copied into *THE ANNALS*, (3d series, Vol. 2, pp. 531-9,) from that rare first volume of Iowa Supreme Court Reports of 1839. With no thought of disparaging the labors of his associates, lawyers and judges of later years seem to arrive at the conclusion that the bulk of the work performed by the Territorial Supreme Court came from the brain and pen of Charles Mason. He was a many-sided, exceedingly able, accomplished man. He entered West Point Military Academy July 1, 1825, and graduated four years later at the head of his class. The next man below him was Robert E. Lee, afterwards commander-in-chief of the Confederate armies. Joseph E. Johnston, O. M. Mitchell, the astronomer, and several others who afterwards rose to eminence, were his classmates. Immediately upon his graduation he was promoted to brevet second lieutenant in the United States engineers, and chosen principal assistant professor of engineering in the Military Academy. He continued teaching until December 31, 1831, when he resigned. The following year he was admitted to the bar at Newburg, N. Y. He was employed as editor of *The New York Evening Post* during the years 1835 and '36. He settled in Burlington, Iowa, then in Michigan territory, in 1837, where he became aide-

de-camp to Gov. Henry Dodge. He was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Iowa Territory July 4, 1838, in which capacity he served until May 16, 1847. In the latter year he acted as attorney for the State of Iowa in the adjustment of its southern boundary. He became one of the three commissioners to draft an entire code of laws for the State in 1848. This is what is known as "The Code of 1851," from the fact that that was the year in which it was adopted. From this time forward until his death, February 22, 1882, at Burlington, he held various state and federal offices, in all of which he gave evidence of the most distinguished ability.

We present in this number of *THE ANNALS* the first of two articles from the pen of Mr. George H. Yewell, N. A., giving his recollections of Charles Mason. From his boyhood Judge Mason was perhaps his closest and most valued friend—certainly one upon whose friendship he could always rely. The reader will agree with us that the writing of these articles was a labor of love upon the part of Mr. Yewell. They become the more valuable because they show a side of Mr. Mason's character—graphically told in his own private letters—of which there has hitherto been little or no public knowledge. He realized instinctively that the struggling boy had real genius in the direction of art, and made it his business to seek his acquaintance, learn his ambitions, and give him early and substantial encouragement in the prosecution of his studies. Aside from such facts as bear upon his own affairs, Mr. Yewell makes reference to a cruel slander which was circulated against Judge Mason. This he entirely refutes. At the outbreak of the rebellion Judge Mason tendered his services to the government in any capacity in which he could be useful. Having been educated by the nation, and graduated with such honors, there would seem to have been little doubt that he was fitted for active service and a high command in the army of the Union. His offer not only received no attention, but he was denounced as a "copperhead," a man whose sympathies were against the

Union and with the Southern Confederacy. He had too much pride to beg government or state officials for a mere position. This slander, as Mr. Yewell shows, was wholly without foundation. Not only was Charles Mason as loyal to the government as any man in our State, but he had distinguished himself by his judicial protection of a colored man who would otherwise possibly have been given up to an alleged owner in Missouri. He had no love for "the peculiar institution," as slavery was called in those days. It is to the lasting honor of the jurisprudence of Iowa Territory that the first decision of its supreme court discharged the alleged fugitive slave, Ralph, "from all custody and constraint," and permitted him to go free. That decision was written by Judge Mason and will remain as long as Iowa has a history.

Readers of *THE ANNALS* will prize the information which Mr. Yewell's recollections present relative to his own career, though he tells the story very modestly. The interest of Judge Mason in the boy arose from seeing his crayon caricatures of men and events in Iowa City more than fifty years ago. Some of those drawings are still preserved on the walls of the State Historical Society, where they are valued beyond price. Mr. Yewell became a student under Thomas Hicks in New York, and later a pupil of Thomas Couture, in Paris. His early pictures included scenes of common outdoor life, with many Venetian and Egyptian subjects, the most of which have found their way into the leading art galleries, but for many years he has given his time to portrait painting, in which he has achieved a national reputation. The State of Iowa now owns nine of his portraits, all of which possess very great merit. These include the following names: Governors Chambers, Lowe and Kirkwood, Gen. G. M. Dodge, Hiram Price, Theodore S. Parvin, and Judges Charles Mason, John F. Dillon and George G. Wright. The Historical Department is in possession of four of his etchings and several of his original drawings.

The articles and references to Judge Mason which have

heretofore appeared in our pages were directed more especially to his career as a jurist. They are now admirably supplemented by these most interesting chapters by Mr. Yewell. Altogether they present a record of public services, of loyalty to country, and of warm sympathy for those needing encouraging words and assistance in the path of youthful effort, of which Iowans will always be proud.

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### TRANSPORTATION IN WAR TIMES.

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In his article on "The Battle of Athens," which appeared in the last ANNALS, Gen. Cyrus Bussey referred to Mr. Joseph Shepard, assistant general manager of the western division of the United States Express, who aided him in his hurried distribution of arms. This reference brought a letter from Mr. Shepard from which we extract the following:

No doubt Gen. Bussey refers to a shipment from Keokuk to Council Bluffs, Iowa, for the Fourth Iowa Infantry. I had charge of this business from Keokuk, and at Eddyville the entire shipment was transferred to the Western Stage Company's coaches and transported through from there via Des Moines. The time consumed was from four to five days, and there were eighteen coach loads of arms. I was superintendent of our company during the war, and everything in Iowa that went by express was carried on the stage company's coaches. I remember Gen. Bussey very well, and remember making a trip with him across Iowa about that time, when he was on his way to join some regiment in the south.

This was a still later shipment of arms, which had been sent by Gen. J. C. Fremont to take the place of those which had been appropriated by Gen. Bussey to arm the companies along the border. Owing to the unsettled condition of that section of the country no effort was made by Gen. Bussey to have the arms returned. Col. D. B. Hillis, who succeeded him as aide-de-camp to the governor, took charge of them.

Mr. Shepard is still actively engaged in managing the large affairs of the U. S. Express Company at Chicago, though he is not far from 73 years of age. Forty years ago few pioneers in Iowa were more widely known. He could

count among his personal friends such names as those of Gov. Kirkwood, Gen. G. M. Dodge, Judges George G. Wright and Caleb Baldwin, and other leading men of that day. When he left the old farm in Cattaraugus county, N. Y., where he was reared, he started to learn the trade of a printer. He was a clean, well-behaved country lad, his heart overflowing with kindness and good humor, bright and jovial, seldom or never at variance with his juvenile associates in the little old-fashioned country printing office. His raiment, however, was after a style which the effusive reporter of these days would describe as "way back." The shirt, for instance, was made of home-grown wool, by no means remarkable for fineness, colored "madder red," with a wide turn-down collar. But in those days "we boys" were glad to get those stout woolen shirts, spun and woven by our good mothers, even when we went to the county seat to learn to be printers. He wrought at his trade for several years, becoming widely known as a rapid pressman. He could print "a token"—240 sheets—on a hand press, in much less time than any other man in Cattaraugus, Chautauqua or Erie counties, N. Y., or in Erie county, Pa. One traveling in that region may even now hear aged printers speak of "Joe Shepard," the fast hand-pressman of fifty years ago. He "still lives" thereabouts in the legends of the craft. But he gave up printing for a humble place in the employment of the U. S. Express Co. From this starting point, through industry, undivided attention to business, and fidelity to the interests of his employers, he rose steadily step by step until he became the assistant general manager of the company's western department.

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#### "RED DOG" MONEY—ANOTHER WORD.

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The two following paragraphs were accidentally omitted from our comment on Maj. Sherman's article on the State Bank of Iowa, which appeared in the last number of *THE ANNALS*. We print them here because they contain certain



interesting facts bearing upon the condition of Iowa money matters prior to 1858.

Some instances of the common experiences of men at that day will plainly indicate the character of the famous "red-dog" currency. Mr. Robert McNulty, an old soldier of the Fourth Iowa Infantry, relates that he once started from Des Moines, as one of four drivers of ox teams, bound for Burlington or Keokuk for merchandise for Mr. William Moore—better known about the "Raccoon Forks," where he still abides, as "Billy Moore." There were four wagons in the expedition, each drawn by three or four yokes of oxen. The party in charge, when about fourteen miles from the capital, learned that the "red-dog" money which he was taking with him to pay traveling expenses was worthless out of sight of home. The farmers would not take it in exchange for corn for the oxen. A halt was therefore called and he returned to Des Moines, where Mr. Moore furnished him with different, if not better, money. This delay caused the "expedition" to lose two days.

Maj. Sherman also states that when he went east in those days, he was compelled to carry three kinds of currency. That which was good to the Mississippi was worthless from that point east. Another lot would pay expenses from the river to the states of Ohio and Pennsylvania. From there on to New York City eastern currency alone could be used.

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#### COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

In THE ANNALS for July (p. 154-5) we gave a summary of the effort in Washington, Pa., to found a county historical society, heartily commending the movement. Since the appearance of that article commencements have been made in at least two Iowa counties. The pioneer in this movement is the county of Lucas, where the effort had the hearty sympathy of that good man and eminently useful citizen, Col. Warren S. Dungan, so well known as state senator and lieu-

tenant governor. This organization dates from June 10, 1901, when a constitution and by-laws were adopted and officers elected. The officers are as follows: President, Warren S. Dungan; vice-president, Thomas Gay; secretary, Miss Effie M. Dungan; treasurer, B. F. Bates; curator, Miss Margaret W. Brown. The object of the society is "to collect and purchase books, papers and records, writings and relics, legal, military and other materials, relating to the history of Lucas county, Iowa, but may include such material as is illustrative of the history of the State and Nation." This pioneer society starts out with every prospect of success. Col. Dungan is a collector of historical data, and has himself had occasion to make many researches in genealogy and local history.

The next society to perfect its organization was that of Decatur county, the location of which is the town of Lamoni. The officers are as follows: President, Fred M. Smith; secretary, Ed. L. Kellogg; assistant secretary, Carrie Judd; curators, K. C. Kellogg and P. A. Smith.

Such a society is much talked of in Boone, but as yet no action has been taken. Some preliminary steps have also been taken in Scott county.

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### IOWA SCIENTISTS.

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Dr. Charles R. Keyes, of Des Moines, published a highly suggestive article in *The Arena*, New York, for July, 1901, on "Geology in the Twentieth Century," in which he sums up the progress made in the past, and outlines to some extent the problem which confronts investigators in this great and constantly expanding field of knowledge. This article was written with such wide information, and is so complete in itself, that it would not be just to attempt to copy any brief portion of it. It should be read as a whole. We mention it, however, for the purpose of stating that he enumer-

ates eight "names most prominently associated with glacial work." These names are those of Penck, Giekie, Croll and Schmidt in Europe, and Chamberlain, McGee, Dawson and Leverett in this country. "As long," writes Dr. Keyes, "as geology lasts the works of these scientists will remain classics." Our readers will share the pride of the editor of THE ANNALS, when we state that Messrs. McGee and Leverett were born in Iowa. The first named is in the prime of life with the promise of many years of scientific study before him. Mr. Leverett is still a young man, whose residence is Denmark, Lee county, Iowa. Each has made a world-wide reputation as an original investigator.

In this connection—as a scientist of the same distinguished class—we may also include the name of Hon. Frank Springer, now of Las Vegas, N. M. He is a paleontologist of the highest rank, the author of original work which is known and recognized in all enlightened countries. He also was born in Iowa.

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### REVOLUTIONARY HEROES HONORED.

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A very commendable disposition exists on the part of many people besides the Sons and Daughters of the Revolution to do honor to their illustrious ancestry, and this in numberless instances has been productive of results which meet with widespread approval. Several years ago Mr. Kendall Young, the founder of the library at Webster City which bears his name, while on a visit to the state of Maine, ascertained that the monument erected at the grave of his grandfather—one of the famous Boston Tea Party of 1773—had nearly disappeared through the natural decay of its material. He immediately ordered the erection of a monument of solid Maine granite at the patriot grave, with an inscription setting forth the memorable service of his ancestor. Quite recently Mrs. George White Potter of Burlington, Iowa, has succeeded in establishing the genealogical record, from the

immigrant ancestor, of her great-grandfather, Silas Aldrich, a soldier of the revolution, The place where he was buried being well known, Mrs. Potter wrote the secretary of war, suggesting the removal of the remains of Silas Aldrich to the military cemetery at West Point. Secretary Root at once ordered this to be done, and the removal and reinterment were carried out under his direction. The military history of Silas Aldrich runs in this wise: he joined Washington's army as a water boy at the age of nine years, but as soon as he was old enough he enlisted and served under Col. Humphrey Greeton, as a soldier, until the close of the war. He was at Valley Forge during the terrible winter of 1777-8 when the army endured such terrible hardships, of which he had his full share. The official records show that he participated in many battles.

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#### DISCOVERY OF MINERAL COAL IN AMERICA.

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The most important factor in the recent unparalleled advancement of our industrial activities is the existence, under easily accessible conditions, of exhaustless quantities of cheap fuel in the form of mineral coal. The discovery of this substance in America has been commonly ascribed in time to the latter part of the seventeenth century, and in place to Pennsylvania. We now know that there are still earlier records.

It is therefore a fact that deserves more than passing mention, that the first discovery of mineral coal in this country did not take place in regions first settled by the white man, in districts where it is now most extensively mined, and known to be widely distributed, but in the very heart of the American continent. Among the very earliest discoveries are those in the Mississippi valley, very close to the present boundaries of our own State. This was nearly fifty years before coal was recognized in the Pennsylvania region.

The earliest record of the existence of mineral fuel in the form of coal in this country appears to be that of the Jesuit missionaries in the Assiniboine country. As early as 1659, in referring to the Poulak (Assiniboines), mention is made of mineral coal as follows:

As wood is scarce and very small with them nature has taught them to burn coal (*charbon de terre*) in its place, and to cover their wigwams with skins.

Coming nearer home, that illustrious and determined French explorer and Jesuit missionary, Father Louis Hennepin, states in the *Journal* of his travels, and in an English edition gives the location on a map,\* that on the Illinois river above Fort Creve Coeur, which was situated not far from the present town of Ottawa, coal exists. That he was not mistaken is clearly shown by subsequent accounts.

This discovery was eight years later also considered by La Salle, in his letters regarding the natural products found along the Illinois river. In the recent reprint of these letters by Margry† the following passage is of great interest:

Il y a aussy quantite d'ardoisieres et de charbon de terre; quatre lieues plus bas, a droite, on trouve la rivier des Pestigonki dans laquelle j'ay trouve un morceau de cuivre et une espece de metal que j'envoyay, il y a deuxans, a M. de Frontenac dont je n'ay point eu de response, et que je croy de la bronze, si elle se trouve en mine.

Coal was not mined in Pennsylvania until the beginning of the eighteenth century, the earliest record being 1704, twenty years after the privilege was granted to William Penn. The anthracite was known in the Wyoming district in Pennsylvania as early as 1766; and it was discovered in the Lehigh region in 1791. The Virginia coals near Richmond were mined for the first time in 1750; and at the close of the Revolutionary war were shipped from this district to Philadelphia, New York and Boston.

C. R. K.

\**New Discovery of a Vast Country in America, etc.*, English ed., map, 1688, London.

†*Mem. et doc. pour servir la l'histoire des origines Francaises des pays d'outre-mere*; t. II, *Lettres de Cavalier de la Salle et correspondance relative a ses entreprises (1676-1686)*, p. 175. Paris, 1879.

## NOTABLE DEATHS.

CONRAD YOUNGERMAN was born in Hesse-Cassel, Germany, December 15, 1833; he died in Des Moines, Iowa, September 10, 1901. The name of his family in the old country was spelled Jungermann, but changed in America to the present form to preserve the correct pronunciation. When his schooldays were over he was apprenticed to learn the trade of a stone-cutter, at which he served a term of years, becoming a practical and expert workman. He came to America in 1854, worked awhile in the vicinity of New York, and then went on to Illyria, Ohio, where he still followed his trade. On the 11th of September, 1856, he was married to Miss Minne Stark, who survives her husband. She was born in Mecklenburg, Germany, in 1835, and immigrated to this country with her parents. Immediately after their marriage the young couple came to Iowa and settled in Des Moines, where he established himself in business as a stone-cutter, taking his first building contracts in 1857. Four years later he began to manufacture brick, increasing his facilities until he was able to put upon the market from 2,000,000 to 6,000,000 per annum. Meantime his work as contractor and builder constantly increased. He erected scores if not hundreds of buildings, and among them some of the largest and most important structures in Des Moines. Like the dutiful and affectionate son he always was, he visited the fatherland in 1873 for the purpose of bringing back his aged mother, who had been left a widow in his boyhood, and who thenceforth lived with him to the end of her days. One remarkable fact in relation to Mr. Youngerman was this, that he never forgot a friend who had stood by him in his earlier years. When he came to Des Moines he soon met Gen. M. M. Crocker, then a young lawyer in the first years of his practice. They became well acquainted, and Crocker advised and befriended him at a time when he needed friends. This he never forgot, and he strove in many ways to keep green the memory of that ideal Iowa soldier. One of his largest and most durable structures in Des Moines (corner of Fifth and Locust streets) bears the name of "Crocker Building." It is seldom, indeed, that a man in the rush and worry of an active business life has thus paid tribute to the memory of a friend who had been dead nearly forty years. But it attests the abiding steadfastness of Mr. Youngerman's friendships. He was to the end of his days an important factor in the business interests and development of the capital city. "In all his business dealings with hundreds of tenants, business firms and individuals, he was known as a man whose word was as good as gold, as a man who would not misrepresent anything, a man who was never selfish and never unkind." "He started in an unknown land without a penny to his name, and by his own industry and thrift worked his way to the top." The Des Moines daily papers paid the highest tributes of respect to the memory of this exemplary man and useful citizen.

ROBERT S. FINKBINE was born at Oxford, Ohio, July 9, 1828; he died at Des Moines, Iowa, July 8, 1901. He was married at Oxford, Ohio, in 1852, to Miss Rebecca Finch, who survives him. Mr. Finkbine came to Iowa in 1850 and settled in Iowa City, where he resided until 1880, when he removed to Des Moines. He had, however, been a member of the board of capitol commissioners from 1878. The appreciative tribute paid to Mr. Finkbine's memory upon the occasion of his funeral, by Hon. Peter A. Dey, of Iowa City, obviates the necessity of any extended notice in this place. Mr. Dey's remarks appear elsewhere in this number of *THE ANNALS*, and very clearly set forth the services of his deceased associate upon the capitol commission. In 1890 Mr. Finkbine was appointed a member of the board of public works by the mayor of Des Moines and served four years.

He was at an earlier period connected with the building of the blind asylum at Vinton, and with two or three of the university buildings at Iowa City. He was also occasionally employed in the erection of county buildings elsewhere in the State. The people of Johnson county sent him to the Iowa house of representatives, where he served two regular terms—1864 and 1866. As a law maker he was at once alert, courageous, clear-headed and honest. Always courteous, never posing, doing nothing for mere show or effect, few men have ever so thoroughly commanded the respect and confidence of their associates in legislation. It was greatly due to his experience and energetic, judicious action, that the commissioners were able in the next decade to secure the large appropriations necessary to carry forward the capitol to completion. No suspicion of seeking self-aggrandizement in legislation, or in awarding public contracts, ever attached to his reputation. As a man of affairs, possessing rare executive ability, and the most exact knowledge of every department of his profession as a builder, Mr. Finkbine proved himself equal to the great responsibilities which devolved upon him. His knowledge was both minute and extensive, and he was able to meet every exigency that arose in the construction of our beautiful capitol. No structure ever erected in the State has evoked to such an extent the spontaneous pride of our people. It is the proud boast of everybody that not a dollar was wasted or stolen during the construction of that great work.

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CAPT. J. E. WILKINS was born near Canal Fulton, Wayne county, Ohio, April 5, 1830; he died at Carl Junction, Mo., June 9, 1901. He and his wife made the overland journey to California in 1853, where they remained three years, after which they returned to Geneseo, Ill. During the civil war Mr. Wilkins enlisted in the 112th Illinois Infantry, in which he served three years as a private soldier. He was captured at the battle of Riceville with a part of his regiment and sent to Libby prison. He was one of the famous party of ninety-seven who tunneled out of the prison and escaped, but before he reached the Union lines he was recaptured and sent to Macon, Ga. On the way thither he leaped from the train with other prisoners and again escaped. This time he was successful and reached the Union lines, but was so emaciated and broken in health that he was sent home on sick leave. After some months he returned and was promoted to a captaincy. He was one of the last Union soldiers mustered out of the service. He removed to Iowa in 1870, and settled first in Victor, a few years later coming to Des Moines which was afterwards his residence. He established "The Fair Store" on the east side of the river in company with C. B. Dockstader, another soldier of the civil war. The partnership lasted seventeen years, and at its expiration he established a department store on West Walnut street, which was mainly in charge of his sons. Capt. Wilkins had made investments in certain zinc deposits near Carl Junction, Mo., and was visiting that point when he met with an accident which caused his death. In coming from the train he fell or stumbled over some obstacle from which he received injuries that rendered him insensible and from which he died the second morning afterward. Capt. Wilkins was a man of wide acquaintance and highly esteemed by all who knew him. He was a member of Kinsman Post, G. A. R., of Des Moines, and also of the Iowa Commandery of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion. At the time of his death he was president of the Union of American War Prisoners. His sudden death was widely deplored. The public journals of Des Moines published elaborate notices of his life and patriotic services.

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DR. A. C. ROBERTS was born in Queensberry township, Warren county, N. Y., January 15, 1830; he died at Ft. Madison, Iowa, July 27, 1901. As a boy he spent much of his youth in hard work on his father's farm, obtain-

ing his education mainly from the common schools. Later he attended a high school at Adrian, Mich., but most of his study was at home. He taught in the common schools previous to entering upon his medical studies. He graduated from the medical college at Ann Arbor, Mich., in 1854. He came to Iowa in 1859 and settled in Ft. Madison where he resided until his death. He was employed as a contract surgeon in 1862 in the government hospital at Keokuk, afterwards receiving the appointment of surgeon in the Twenty-first Missouri Infantry. He was mustered out with his regiment in 1866. While in the army he also served as brigade and division surgeon. He was present at the battles of Tupelo, Nashville, Fort Blakely and Mobile. He left the army with a proud record. Since the war he has also served as pension surgeon. He founded in 1869 and was thenceforth the owner and editor of *The Ft. Madison Democrat*. *The Keokuk Gate City* speaks of him as follows: "Dr. Roberts was one of nature's noblemen. His stalwart frame was the abiding place of a brave, generous, loyal spirit, the strength of which gave him his commanding place in the community. He was absolutely fearless in his editorials, making no compromise with what he believed was wrong, and never faltering in his battle for what he believed to be right, no matter what the odds against him. His was a kindly nature and he viewed the world with kindly eyes. He was devoted in his loyalty to his friends and to his doctrines, though sometimes it may have worked to his disadvantage. Yet his nature was such that he forgot personal considerations where honesty with his own conscience was involved. His style was dignified and scholarly, and in person he was a fine type of the courtly gentleman of the old school. He leaves behind as a priceless legacy the fragrant memory of a noble life well spent."

M. T. V. BOWMAN was born at Waterville, Maine, July 6, 1838; he died in the city of Des Moines, August 26, 1901. He attended Waterville and Hallowell academies and other institutions of learning, fitting himself for the profession of teaching. He taught in Ohio and Virginia, and was so employed in the last named state at the time of the John Brown raid. Returning to Maine he taught for a short time in the Hallowell grammar school. At the outbreak of the civil war he enlisted at once and was mustered in as a corporal in the First Maine Cavalry. He served in several non-commissioned offices, but was mustered out in 1862 or '63. In December of the latter year he re-enlisted and was at once promoted to first lieutenant and regimental commissary. His muster-out occurred at Petersburg, Va., August 1, 1865. Col. Bowman's service was active from the start. He was present in many of the great battles in northern Virginia, notably those of Winchester, the second Bull Run and Gettysburg. He was often detailed to the command of scouting parties, and was once for three weeks a prisoner in the hands of guerrillas. After the war he came to this State and settled (1866) in Newton, Jasper county. In 1870 he removed to Des Moines, since which time he has been engaged in the business of insurance and banking. He was one of the charter members of Crocker post, Grand Army of the Republic, and its second commander. He also belonged to the Iowa Commandery of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, of which he was many years treasurer, and had served on the staffs of Governors Gear and Sherman. He always took a lively interest in educational matters, and for eleven years was a member of the executive board of Des Moines college. He was a man of the highest personal character, a brave and most useful soldier in the civil war, and a genial Christian gentleman whom it was always a pleasure to meet.

NATHAN HOTT BRAINERD was born in Bridgewater, N. H., January 11, 1818; he died in Iowa City, Iowa, July 31, 1901. He was married in 1840 to Miss Eliza Hatch, of Blanford, Mass., who survives him. After Mr.



Brainerd's school days he became an employe of one of the greatest axe-making plants in the world—that of Collins & Co., of Hartford, Conn. He served in this work for eleven years and was at the head of the axe-forging department. Mr. Brainerd came to Iowa in the year 1856 and settled in Iowa City, where for a time he was engaged in the grocery business. In 1861 Gov. Kirkwood appointed him his military secretary, a place of much importance, which he held until 1864. In December, 1868, he purchased *The Iowa City Republican* which he edited until 1874. Mr. Brainerd was an able and independent editor who became widely known throughout the State. He was appointed postmaster of Iowa City in 1872, which position he held four years. He was also a leading member of the Congregational church in Iowa City. As an editor he became a powerful force in the advancement of the industries and enterprises of that locality, and was universally esteemed as a liberal and public-spirited citizen. He was especially endeared to Gov. Kirkwood and their relations were close and confidential for many years.

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EDWIN MANNING was born in South Coventry, Conn., February 8, 1810; he died at Keosauqua, Iowa, August 16, 1901. He came to Iowa in 1836, settling first at St. Francisville, Lee county. The following year, in company with John J. Fairman, John Carns and James Hall he laid out the town of Keosauqua. The place was named for the local Indian name of the Des Moines river. He attended the first land sale held at Burlington, purchasing for himself and others several thousand acres. He entered into the mercantile business in which he was very successful, owning stores at Keosauqua and several other points. His business operations, though widely extended, were very successful, and at his death his estate was estimated at \$3,000,000 to \$5,000,000. For many years after he opened his store in Keosauqua merchandise was brought from Keokuk either by steamboat or by wagons over the pioneer roads. He became one of the best known citizens in southeastern Iowa. While most energetic and active in all his diversified business operations, he was throughout his long life a man of great personal popularity. It will be remembered that his portrait in oil was presented to the Historical Department of Iowa on behalf of his family, by his long-time neighbor and friend, the late Judge Geo. G. Wright.

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REV. MILO N. MILES was born at Sharon, Conn., March 24, 1807; he died in Des Moines, Iowa, July 4, 1901. His early years were spent on his father's farm where he labored and attended the common schools like other New England boys of that period. After these early years he was fortunate enough to take a four years' course at Yale college, where he graduated in 1831. He also studied at the Divinity school at Princeton, New Jersey. He was licensed to preach, and throughout his long life, until worn out with age, acted as teacher, missionary and pastor, in various localities in Michigan, Nebraska and Iowa. His second wife was Mary, daughter of Major Royal Keyes, of Jamestown, New York, with whom he lived fifty-five years. Mrs. Ada North, who served ten years with great distinction as State librarian, and almost an equal period as librarian of the State University, was his daughter. His sons, Albert H., and Carroll reside in Des Moines, and Clarence in Nebraska. Mr. Miles' last sermon was preached in Iowa City on his 90th birthday. His life was long and useful, and he enjoyed the highest respect and confidence throughout a wide circle of friends and acquaintances.

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MRS. MARTHA CALLANAN was born in Albany, N. Y., May 18, 1826; she died at the Callanan farm in Dallas county, Iowa, August 16, 1901. Her death resulted from injuries received from being thrown out of a carriage

at the farm a couple of weeks previous. Mrs. Callanan was one of the most widely known women in Iowa. During many years she had given almost her entire time to works of charity and reform. She edited and published *The Woman's Standard*, with which she was associated at the beginning as business manager. The foundation of this enterprise was due to her efforts and she was its mainstay from 1886 to the time of her death. She has held different offices in the local charitable organizations, seldom missing a meeting, and giving liberally of her time and money. For more than thirty years she was an active member of the Iowa Equal Suffrage Association, and especially active and influential in its efforts to secure favorable legislation. With her large native ability, her earnest zeal and untiring energy, and the wide and active influence given to the movement through her wealth, her loss to the equal suffragists is well nigh irreparable.

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Mrs. NETTIE SKIFF SANFORD-CHAPIN was born in Portage county, Ohio, March 28, 1830; she died at Marshalltown, Iowa, August 20, 1901. She came to Iowa with her father's family in 1856 and settled in Malaya township, Jasper county, where she was at once employed as a teacher in the common schools. She helped organize the first society for the purpose of sending sanitary supplies to the Union soldiers in the field. She was the first secretary of that local organization as early as the spring of 1862. She was twice married, her first husband being Daniel Sanford, her second E. N. Chapin, who was widely known as an Iowa pioneer journalist. Mrs. Chapin was also a well-known writer, her first literary venture being a history of Marshall county. She was prominent in the woman's movement for equal suffrage. She also became quite active in the work of securing the Soldiers' Orphans' Home, and was for some time president of the local organization. Mrs. Chapin was an active and useful woman throughout her busy life in Iowa, becoming widely known through her ability as a writer.

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Mrs. MARY NEWBERRY ADAMS was born in Peru, Ind., October 17, 1837; she died at Dubuque, Iowa, August 5, 1901. She graduated from the Cleveland public school and later from the Willard Female Seminary. She was married to the late Judge Austin Adams in 1857, after which time she resided in Dubuque. Mrs. Adams was one of the prominent reformers of this State, belonging to many societies and clubs, in all of which she was an earnest, devoted worker, especially in the promotion of equal suffrage. She contributed many essays, lectures, and reviews to the publications of the associations with which she was connected, and had among her friends and correspondents some of the leading thinkers of the country. She had entertained at her home Ralph Waldo Emerson and many others of the first reformers and literary people of the times in which she lived. No woman in Iowa was more widely known and none more universally esteemed. Both Mrs. Callanan and Mrs. Adams were valued contributors to the treasures of the Historical Department of Iowa.

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WM. H. CLAGETT was born at Upper Marlboro', Md., September 21, 1838, he died at Spokane, Wash., during the first week in August, 1901. He was a son of Judge Thomas Clagett of Keokuk, Iowa. Writing of himself he said that "he was early educated to a knowledge of the rod and not much else." However, he studied and practised law. He emigrated to the far west about the year 1860. In 1862, 1863 and 1865 he was a member of the legislature of Nevada. Changing his residence to Montana he became a delegate in the Forty-second congress, serving from March 4, 1871, to March 3, 1873. During his public life he was a pronounced Republican, while his father, Judge Thomas Clagett, might truthfully have been set down as a pro-slavery Democrat. The son was often mentioned in connection with the

United States senatorship from Montana. Personally, he was a quiet, modest, highly intelligent gentleman, who became very popular with the pioneers in the territories of Nevada and Montana.

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HARVEY WILLIS was born in Wayne county, Ind., April 15, 1831; he died in Perry, Iowa, April 27, 1891. In 1859 he removed to Iowa, settling in Dallas county near the present site of the town of Perry, where he became a large land owner. In 1868 he laid out the town of Perry. Mr. Willis had quite an adventurous career. He went out to California in 1850, making the overland trip of over 2,000 miles. His party consisted of six others as adventurous as himself. Their means of locomotion were six yokes of oxen and two wagons. They started on their long journey just as the grass began to look green in April, going by the way of St. Joseph on the Missouri. He became a miner, but his health failed and he returned to his eastern home, where he resided until his migration to Iowa. The newspapers of his town and the correspondents of Des Moines papers spoke of him at length upon the occasion of his decease, and in terms of high compliment and appreciation.

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THOMAS KIMBALL was born at East North Andover, Mass., January 20, 1846; he died at La Moille, Marshall county, Iowa, May 30, 1901. Mr. Kimball settled in La Moille in 1869, and entered into active business as a general merchant and dealer in lumber, coal and live stock. His capital at the start was only \$600, his savings at the end of five years of hard work in a Boston machine shop. His business in Marshall county became at once, and continued until his death, to be very prosperous. At the election of 1899 he was chosen to the Iowa house of representatives for the current term, and served during the session of 1900. He stood high in the confidence of the people, and it is the best evidence of this general regard to say, that he was elected without opposition. His health had been gradually declining since a severe attack of pneumonia in 1896.

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EZRA VAN FOSSEN was born in Allegheny county, Pa., May 28, 1817; he died at Adel, Iowa, April 26, 1901. He studied medicine in Columbiana county, Ohio, whither his parents had removed, but finished his studies at Rush Medical college, Chicago, about the year 1850. In 1852 he removed to Adel where he settled permanently. As a pioneer physician he had visited the homes of most of the early settlers in the region of Adel, to whom he had proved a friend in many a time of trial and distress. He was a man of generous impulses and his life had been a pure and useful one. He represented Polk, Dallas and Guthrie counties in the Fifth general assembly (1854-56).

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HENRY H. DAY was born in Washington, Ohio, February 8, 1824; he died in Chariton, Iowa, August 24, 1901. He removed to Lucas county, settling in Jackson township, in 1857, and for the ensuing forty-four years was identified closely with the progress of the county. In 1863 he was elected as a representative in the Tenth general assembly, where he served one term. He was also a member of the board of county supervisors with which body he served twelve years. In 1866 he was chosen chairman of the board.

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JAMES D. MCKAY died at Frankville, Winneshiek county, Iowa, in April or May last, at the age of 87 years. He served as prosecuting attorney of the county or district sometime in the early fifties, and was the first Republican representative in the State legislature (1854-56) from the counties of Allamakee and Winneshiek.





Yours Very Truly  
*W. H. Kinsman*

WILLIAM H. KINSMAN,  
 First lieutenant and captain of Co. B, Fourth Iowa Infantry, and lieutenant-colonel  
 and colonel of the Twenty-third Iowa Infantry, who was killed at the  
 battle of Black River Bridge, Mississippi, May 17, 1863.

# ANNALS OF IOWA.

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## COLONEL WILLIAM H. KINSMAN.

BY GENERAL GRENVILLE M. DODGE.

William H. Kinsman was born in Nova Scotia, Kings County, in the town of Cornwallis, in 1834. His father was Theodorus Kinsman, a small farmer, and his mother the daughter of an old sea captain. Young Kinsman went to sea, shipping as cabin boy at the age of 15. He remained at sea for over four years, saving his money. Soon after his return home he came to Columbia County, N. Y., where he attended an academy for two years, and then went to Cleveland, Ohio, where he engaged in writing local editorials for a newspaper, attending a law school during the time he remained in that city, in which he took a full course of lectures. In the spring of 1858 he entered the law office of Clinton & Baldwin, Council Bluffs, to complete his studies. On the motion of Judge Baldwin he was admitted to practice at the October term, 1858.

In 1859 he caught the gold fever, and took his knapsack and all the rations he could carry, and tramped from Council Bluffs to Pike's Peak, some six hundred or more miles, where he engaged in any kind of labor he could find to do. He located a placer mine, which he worked for a short time. During his tramp to and stay in Colorado, he corresponded with *The Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, writing very sensible, practical letters, under the *nom de plume* of "Jack Taffrail". In the winter of 1859 he returned to Council Bluffs, and taught a short term of school in that city. He then visited Washington City as the correspondent of sundry news-

papers, but remained only a few months. Returning to Council Bluffs, he formed a co-partnership with the Hon. D. C. Bloomer. In July, 1860, he commenced the practice of his profession.

I first became acquainted with Kinsman when he entered the law office of Clinton & Baldwin. I soon discovered he was a young man of energy, intelligence and great ambition, and that he took a lively part in political and all other matters that interested the city and State. I induced him to join the Council Bluffs Guards, which he entered as a private, taking a great interest in the Company. His stay with them, of course, was short, but as soon as he returned to Council Bluffs in 1860 he again joined, and, if I recollect rightly, was made second lieutenant. It was uphill work maintaining an independent military company of fifty or more members in a small town, without any aid from the State, or local encouragement whatever. The company was kept alive through patriotism and the desire of those who belonged to it to become drilled and efficient soldiers. It took a good deal of urging to get many young men to join the company, as they had to furnish their own uniforms, which many of them could not afford to do, and many of the older citizens, instead of encouraging, opposed it. It was the only company in the western part of the State. Perhaps there was one, certainly not more than two, in the eastern part of the State. The effort was looked upon as foolish, and it was difficult to raise funds necessary to maintain the company. Kinsman, in his enthusiasm, induced many to join it.

In the political campaign of 1860 Kinsman was also very active. It fell to my lot to take part in the thorough organization of the Republican side of politics on the Missouri slope. The party there was unorganized; in fact, a Republican was looked upon rather as an outlaw than a citizen, as that portion of Iowa was settled mostly from the south and by the Mormons. The Baldwins, Mr. Bloomer, Kinsman and other prominent citizens, took an active part in the cam-

paign, thus giving us a creditable standing. Kinsman was very aggressive and got into personal conflicts, saying things that brought upon him considerable criticism. He was absolutely devoted to me, and ready to do anything I asked him, no matter what the result might be, or the consequences to himself, and I therefore became very much attached to him before the war.

In 1861, as soon as it became evident that the South would secede, I called the Council Bluffs Guards together, and informed them that in case of war I proposed to take part, and that I thought it was our duty to make known our decision in the matter, also to offer our services to the Governor. Kinsman very eloquently seconded my little talk, being aggressive and determined, and absolutely demanding of every loyal person present that he take up arms for his government. When the vote was taken the entire company authorized me to offer their services to the Governor, and I think Kinsman was about the happiest man at their action that I ever met. This, I think, was the first company offered to the Governor, although it is possible that one in the eastern part of the State was offered first. The records show that the Governor declined to accept us, stating that as it was the only company in western Iowa, and located near two frontiers, Missouri on the south and the Indians on the north and west, he felt that the settlers there needed its protection. The action of the Governor induced me to offer my services personally to the United States government, being determined to enter the service. Learning this the Governor placed me on his staff, and sent me on special duty to Washington and other places. When I left the Bluffs I promised the company, especially Kinsman, that I would use all my endeavors to have it accepted as part of one of the regiments being raised in the State. As soon as I was made Colonel, and authorized to raise the 4th Iowa, I immediately notified Lieuts. Craig and Kinsman, and gave them authority to fill out the roll for Company B and recruit it to its full strength. In a



short time I heard that they had it full, and when I returned to the Bluffs the company was ready to be mustered in. Kinsman was mustered with his company (B) as second lieutenant, but soon rose to become its captain, the first lieutenant, P. A. Wheeler having been made regimental quartermaster, and Captain S. H. Craig, on account of physical disability, having been compelled to resign. Kinsman was promoted to the captaincy October 10, 1861, at Rolla, Missouri. He was a very efficient officer, very sanguine, and rather restive under strict discipline. He thought if a soldier could shoulder a musket and shoot it, that was about all that should be required of him. He had not then learned what was necessary to prepare a man for battle, and he felt that my severe drilling and disciplining of the regiment was uncalled for, as did most of the regiment; but none of the men ever protested openly. Kinsman, who probably was as near or nearer to me than any other man in the regiment, often talked to me about it, and always arrived at the conclusion that I must be right, but still he could not understand the necessity. He moved along in the campaign from Rolla to Pea Ridge, doing his full duty, and always anxious to aid me. I could call upon him for any work, whether it was that of a soldier, clerk or correspondent, and I think he watched me more carefully and took more interest in me than I did in myself. He could not well stand the slow movements of Fremont, or the great delay in obtaining the proper equipment, clothing, etc., for the regiment. He wanted to take the short road to everything, which, of course, would have been the long one. In the preliminary fights on our march south, up to the great battle of Pea Ridge, I noticed that he was very active, very anxious to get to the front, and that the sound of a cannon or a gun stirred him immediately.

During all this time he kept in correspondence with the home local paper, *The Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, giving every movement, every detail and every item that would be of interest to the people at home. He was especially sympa-

thetic over the great amount of sickness and the many deaths that occurred in the regiment at Rolla. The 4th Iowa was mostly made up of country boys, and they had almost every known disease while in camp that winter at Rolla. At one time nearly half the regiment was down.

At the battle of Pea Ridge I was instructed to make a detail of three companies to hold the extreme left of Col. Carr's division, which was the Pea Ridge mountain. This ridge divided Gen. Curtis' army, Col. Carr's division occupying ground to the east and north of the mountain and facing Gen. Price's army—Gen. Davis with his division occupying the west and south sides of the mountain, fronting Gen. Van Dorn. This mountain made a division of Van Dorn's army, and he made a fatal mistake in dividing his force and sending part under Price to attack our rear, giving us the short interior line, while his line was so long and his divisions so far apart that he could not reinforce either division of his army by details from another. They were not in close touch throughout the battle. Van Dorn's army was fully double that of Curtis, and if he had attacked with his whole force from the west, there is no doubt that we would have had a much harder struggle and probably a different result. As that detail was to be away from me, out of my reach, and it was necessary to depend upon the judgment of the officer commanding, I selected Capt. Kinsman with his own company and two companies of the 24th Missouri. Kinsman in his report says that his command was stretched out across the south end of the mountain as skirmishers, and the enemy thought they were a whole regiment, and when opposed they were opposed only by skirmishers. They held their position throughout the first day and had only one man wounded. Going over their front the next day he found eleven dead, shot with musket balls. There were some Indians with the enemy who shot arrows. Like all the rest of the officers and men of the 4th, he had no sleep for the two nights. I find in my official report the following on his action that day:

Company B, under Capt. Kinsman, with two companies of the 24th Missouri, were on the 7th ordered to the extreme left of the division, to hold our left flank and check the enemy upon the high hill—Pea Ridge. He did this very effectively that day and rendered very efficient service.

He joined the regiment again about 5 o'clock that evening and took part in the final charge that day ordered by Gen. Curtis in person. Gen. Curtis speaks of this charge as follows:

As I came up the 4th Iowa was falling back for cartridges, in line, dressing on their colors, in perfect order. Supposing with my reinforcements I could entirely regain our lost ground, I ordered the regiment to halt and face about. Col. Dodge came up, explaining the want of cartridges, and informed of my purpose, he ordered a bayonet charge, and they moved again with steady nerve to their former position, where the gallant 9th was ready to support them. These two regiments won imperishable fame.

The 4th Iowa had held its position all day, but the 2d brigade posted at Elkhorn tavern had been driven back early in the afternoon leaving my brigade unsupported on either flank, and the enemy had passed clear around me and into my rear, and I did not discover it until out of ammunition. My adjutant, Gen. James A. Williamson, in going for ammunition ran into a rebel regiment in my rear, where the 1st brigade had been posted. This, of course, forced me to withdraw my brigade and join our line in our rear, and it was while on this movement that I met Gen. Curtis, and the action described in his report took place. The regiment heard the conversation between Gen. Curtis and myself, and when I gave the order they started as one man, cheering, and regained our former position, but the enemy had retired from the field in our front.

After this battle Capt. Kinsman came to me and called my attention to the fact that the regiment next morning was intact, with not a man missing except its killed and wounded, and in a very friendly and complimentary way said that he now appreciated all the work they had had to do in the past year, and what it meant. In fact the whole 4th Iowa learned then the value of discipline and drill. They saw other regiments, when they lost their officers, melt away, but the 4th Iowa, with

not a field officer left, never had a straggler. As I left the regiment soon after the battle of Pea Ridge, I had no further personal contact with Kinsman, though he kept up an occasional correspondence with me, showing a great regard for and interest in me until his death. Soon after I left the regiment, upon my application, he was made an Assistant Adjutant General, it being my intention to place him on my staff, but he declined this, and December 1, 1862, accepted a commission as Lieut.-Colonel of the 23d Iowa Infantry. I have no personal knowledge of his services in that regiment, except as gathered from his letters. He unfortunately had a difference with his brigade commander, Gen. Davidson, when they were in Missouri. It came from his allowing his men to forage when they had been without rations for several days on the march to West Plains, Mo. In February, 1863, he was summoned before a court martial, which convened in St. Louis in March, and did not return to his regiment for duty until after it had reached Raymond on the march to Jackson. This was a great disappointment and regret, and he felt it very keenly, and it no doubt was the cause of his determination, when he rejoined the regiment, to atone for it by his daring and bravery, as shown in the battles that followed. Concerning his services with the 23d regiment, I take the liberty of quoting a letter from a chum of his before the war, who was a school teacher, correspondent and lawyer, like himself, and who was his comrade in the 23d, and whose brother was a member of Capt. Kinsman's company, B, 4th Iowa—Lieut. J. A. Straight. He writes:

On the death of Col. Wm. Dewey in December, 1862, Lieut.-Col. Kinsman was promoted to the colonelcy, and became the idol of the regiment. He never had an enemy in the organization. A most thorough disciplinarian, and a hale and hearty friend to every soldier, he, of course, was popular. He always led his boys—never followed. In a long and exceedingly hard marching campaign in Missouri, in the winter of 1862-3, owing to the distance from supplies and no forage or supplies in the sparsely settled country, the regiment was on slim rations for over two weeks, and reduced to parched corn for two or three days. Some of the Co. E boys discovered some hogs near camp and they were captured, also a very poor cow, which

went into the camp kettles. Gen. Davidson sent for Col. Kinsman and said some very wrathful things about his Iowa boys, and their jayhawking ways, which Kinsman resented with such fervor that Gen. Davidson ordered him under arrest, and on the return of the command to Arcadia, Mo., he was called before a court martial at St. Louis in March, and after a dragging trial of two weeks or longer he was restored to duty, the sentence, as I now recollect, being a reprimand by Gen. Curtis for conduct unbecoming a subordinate officer. The regiment had gone down to Vicksburg, and Col. Kinsman rejoined it while on the march from Bruinsburg, Miss., to Jackson, the first week in May, 1863, near the battlefield of Port Gibson, in which his regiment had taken a prominent part. He marched with the regiment through mud and slush to Jackson, commanded it at Champion Hill, where they captured many prisoners by a succession of charges under heavy artillery fire, and double-quickened from Champion Hill battleground to Edwards' Station, where we bivouacked the night of May 16, 1863.

That night, while the dashing rain was drenching us to the skin, and we huddled close together, we talked long after the middle of the night, and he said, "I have orders to march at daylight and attack the enemy (Johnnies) whenever and wherever we find them. I may be killed but if I live and the 23d will follow me, and I know it will, we will show the people at home (in Iowa) that it is one of the best and bravest regiments that ever left the State, and I shall wear a star. But something tells me that I shall be severely wounded, and I want you, if I should be, to see that my sword and watch and other things are sent to Mr. Bloomer, who will know what to do with them;" and while resting next morning under the river bank, to which point he had been ordered by Gen. Lawler, brigade commander, he again said to me: "I expect to be shot down right up on this bank," pointing behind him to the high bank which sheltered us, but added in a tone of voice heard for several feet around us, "but the 23d will get there just the same—don't stop for the dead and wounded; you must take those breastworks." The 23d was lying with bayonets fixed, and loaded guns, stripped to the lightest running weight, under the bank of Black River, which at that point coursed east and west. Company A was on the right wing, and had orders, at a given signal, to mount the bank without firing a gun and double-quick across an open cotton-field to a point in the breastworks about 500 yards distant, where a bayou some 20 yards wide passed through the line of rifle-pits. This subjected the regiment to a flank and enflading fire from Generals French and Bowen's Missouri divisions, which occupied the line of field works on our right flank. From the time we mounted the bank we were subjected to a murderous fire from 6,000 veteran Missouri and Arkansas troops, and the artillery fire of 12 guns in our front supported by two brigades of Tennesseans and Alabamians. The order of Col. Kinsman was by signal (removing his hat), and he was stripped of everything except his sword-belt and revolver, ready to mount the bank, which was a perpendicular rise of four to five feet, and when the order from Gen. Lawler came, without a moment's hesitation he raised his

hat and was the first man to mount the bank, the balance of his regiment following an instant later. There was no noise or confusion; every man knew what was expected of him, and not an order was issued. The regiment formed a passable line and moved off on a double-quick without firing a gun. The first volley fired from the works on our right found Col. Kinsman about 30 feet from the top of the bank. He had turned around facing the regiment as he was aligning it by motions, and urging it forward, and he was struck with a minie ball in the left side, piercing the sword-belt, near the center of the belt, and fell, turning completely around. I stopped by him a minute or less, gave him a canteen of coffee, and some cotton to staunch his wound, and left him lying in a cotton row, which was a slight protection from the bullets of the enemy, but he impatiently ordered me to leave him and go to the regiment. I overtook the regiment as it was wading across the bayou, running over ground strewn with the wounded and dead of my regiment. As we were firing our first volley into the enemy after gaining the rifle pits, Col. Kinsman came rushing by us, shouting, "Give 'em hell, boys!" waving his naked sword and looking very pale, as if he were making a death struggle with his wound. The enemy was retreating pell mell in great disorder, and the very last volley I can remember as fired by them in our direction caught our colonel once more while he was shouting on the top of the enemy's rifle pits—this time on the right side and about two inches higher than the first shot, both shots having passed through his body and out. He fell upon the enemy's breast-works, and as they had ceased firing and were surrendering to our forces all along the line, and the balance of our division were passing over the breast-works to cut off the retreat across the river, several of the slightly wounded members of the 23d gathered around him. He was tenderly borne to the shade of a tree close by until stretchers could be procured, when he was carried to the hospital tent near the railroad track in the rear of Gen. Hovey's division. He was shot the second time about 11 A. M. and it was between 12 and 1 P. M. when he was examined by the surgeons at the hospital tent or tree, and during this time he shook hands with the boys as they came to see him, asking after the wounded, and when told of Sutler John Lyon having been killed, he said, "I am so sorry; I told him not to go with the boys, but he was a brave man and would go." When the surgeons told him he had only a slim chance to live, he said, "I'll take that chance, as I don't want to leave my brave boys," and then added, "didn't they surprise the Johnny-rebs? and didn't you see them run up the cotton-batting on their bayonets?" and thus he talked at times as the pain increased. Finally, about midnight the 17th of May, he began to grow worse, and about 10 A. M. next day passed away. He asked us to bury him under the live oak tree, where he was lying on a cot under a tent-fly, and on the evening of the 18th of May, 1863, about sundown, with a few of his nearest friends present, he was laid away to his final rest, within about 100 feet of the railroad track.

Gen. McClelland, commander of the 13th Army Corps, said in his re-

port of the battle: "Among the killed is Col. Kinsman, 23d Iowa, who fell mortally wounded while leading his regiment upon the enemy's works." Gen. Carr, commanding the 4th division of the corps, and an eye-witness, said: "A murderous cross-fire was opened on our men as they moved forward on the run. It was here that the gallant Kinsman of the 23d Iowa lost his life. He received a fatal wound in the abdomen, but still kept on until another through his chest brought him to the ground."

His last words, as I now remember them, were: "Tell the boys I died happy. I fell at the head of my regiment, doing my duty. Bury me here on the field of my last battle."

Kinsman's comrades of the 4th and 23d Iowa, and his friends in Council Bluffs, were very desirous that his remains should be brought back to his home in Iowa, and considerable correspondence occurred. The difficulty seemed to be to find some one who knew and could designate the spot where he was buried. Finally, in the spring of 1884, Lt. N. E. Ride-nour, of the 23d, editor of *The Page County Democrat*, who had taken great personal interest in the matter, and who had appealed to the State legislature in that behalf, but they not acting, he, together with the Rev. A. G. Barton, went to the Black River Bayou battle-ground, east of Vicksburg, with the view of bringing back to Iowa Col. Kinsman's remains; but the changes in the country since the war made it impossible to locate it. They returned greatly disappointed, and their disappointment was shared by all of Kinsman's friends who had looked forward confidently to their bringing his remains with them. Lieut. Straight in his letter to me says he thinks he can find the grave, and during the coming autumn I shall try to have one more effort made to bring his remains to Iowa to be buried at his home with his comrades, where he can be properly honored, and the memory of his deeds perpetuated.

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NOTE.—We copy Gen. Dodge's statement of the finding of Col. Kinsman's remains, with his announcement of the reburial, to take place May 17, 1902, and his appeal to old comrades-in-arms for funds with which to erect a monument, on a subsequent page.—EDITOR OF THE ANNALS.







**CHARLES MASON, CHIEF JUSTICE OF IOWA (TERRITORY AND STATE), 1838-47.**  
This portrait with the facsimile of Judge Mason's oath of office were published  
in Vol. II, 3d series of THE ANNALS. They are reprinted here as  
illustrations to Mr. Yewell's article, by request of  
the friends of Judge Mason.

## REMINISCENCES OF CHARLES MASON.

BY GEORGE H. YEWELL, N. A.

### PART II.

During the four years that passed between the last letter and the following, my home, with the exception of a short visit to the United States in the winter of 1871-2, had been in Italy. The summer and autumn months had been passed, part of the time in Perugia and part in Venice, in the making of studies in color of architectural interiors, and sketches of the picturesque material abounding everywhere in that magical country, to be made into pictures in my Roman studio during the remaining portions of the year. I had looked forward to a day when I might have the pleasure of welcoming Judge Mason and his family to Rome, knowing well with what interest he would view its surrounding landscape and the ruins of its mighty temples and palaces.

In the last sentence of the following letter there is an indication of a possible passing away of the "gloomy apprehensions" regarding the future of his country. A faint gleam of hope seems to have arisen in his mind that the future might have better things in store than had been discerned through his fears.

BURLINGTON, Nov. 26, '72.

*My Dear Sir:* I have allowed your esteemed favor of April 14th to remain long unanswered; at first because I was under a mistaken impression that I had replied to it, and afterwards when satisfied that this was an error, and I commenced a letter to you some weeks ago, I was prevented from completing it by having mislaid your address. Dr. Ransom told me he thought he could furnish it to me, and finally yesterday he did so.

We are all at home and very well. We remained in Burlington through the summer except that I had to make two journeys east and shall probably have to make a third one in a very few weeks. We found our house so airy and comfortable that we did not feel disposed to leave it to go pleasure-seeking elsewhere. We all have a desire to travel—though my wife's

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NOTE.—Through inadvertence the name of Stephen Whicher was given in the first article as one of the commissioners to revise and codify the laws of Iowa. It should have been Stephen Hempstead, of Dubuque County.

ambition in that respect is very limited. But the inconveniences and obstacles to be overcome in leaving our house have thus far proved insurmountable. I do not know that I shall ever attempt to cross the ocean but hope at least to cross the continent at no distant day, which will be a much less arduous undertaking. In fact, if it was more difficult of accomplishment than it is, I should perhaps be more likely to attempt it, for those undertakings which require comparatively little effort are often longer postponed than those which call forth more planning and greater energy.

I suppose you are back again in Rome for the winter. I should like for one season to breathe the same balmy air as that inhaled by the stalwart old republicans and patriots who have long been the theme of my admiration. Our winters are too severe, but then they are our own. A few days ago our thermometer indicated three degrees, and a year previous at about the same date it was three or four degrees below zero. It is now pleasant and mild again, but I rather dread the severe cold that I know is in store for us before many weeks.

I was in Iowa City for a few days in June in attendance upon a convention of the Episcopal Church and passed my time very agreeably. It is becoming a delightful city with many pleasant people, and they seemed very desirous to make our stay agreeable. I met with several of your acquaintances who spoke kindly of you and your good wife. Mrs. Morrison, whom I think you knew, is now on a visit to her friends in Burlington.

Our city is feeling its importance and is beginning to take on airs. We are having a large opera house to be completed in the spring. The walls, are now nearly completed. We expect to enjoy the luxury of water works and horse railways in the streets within a year, and it will I hope at no distant day become somewhat of an attractive place, especially for those who have long regarded it as their home.

The result of our election disappointed me very considerably. At least I had hopes of a very different result six months ago. But as the decisive day drew near I saw the indications of a new defeat so unmistakably that I was gradually prepared for the result which I have some faint hope will not prove as fatal to the cause of true republican liberty as I have anticipated in case a military executive was again placed over us. It seems to me that our civil war is to be followed with the same fruits as those of Rome. When a republican people lay aside the weapons of intellect for those of force, power usurps the realm of reason, and imperialism in some of its forms predominates to the overturning of all the safeguards that serve as barriers against oppression. I look upon the future of the republic with gloomy apprehensions, but still I shall be glad to find myself mistaken.

Truly Yours,

GEO. H. YEWELL, Esq.

CHAS. MASON.

A great and ever-abiding sorrow came into the life of Judge Mason when, as far back as 1853, or it may have been

a little earlier, two young daughters died within a short time of each other, of diphtheria, if I remember rightly. I shall never forget the expression upon his face when he told me of his loss, during a visit to New York shortly afterward. He was a very tender-hearted man, and his affections strong and lasting. The second great sorrow came late in March, 1873, with the death of his wife. When that occurred he seemed almost to have reached the limit of his interest in worldly things. He lived only for his remaining daughter, Mary, whose devotion to him was untiring. In the following July she was married to Captain George C. Remey, now Rear Admiral Remey, of the United States Navy.

GENEVA, Switzerland, September 15th, '73.

*My Dear Sir:* You will probably be surprised to receive a letter from me dated at this place, and to be told that we expect to be in Rome toward the end of next month, when I suppose we may safely visit that city. We left home the 17th of July, landed at Queenstown, passed through Ireland, Scotland and England, crossed over to Belgium, visited Amsterdam and other places in Holland, passed up the Rhine through Cologne, Mayence and Strasburg, and then on by way of Basle to this place. We have just returned from an excursion to Chamouni and the glaciers, coming back by Montigny and around by the lake.

Perhaps you have not yet heard of the changes which have taken place in our family within the last six months, one of which you doubtless expected. Mrs. Mason died the last of March, and Mollie was married a few days before we left on our journey. She and her husband are with me. It is only on her account that I am in Europe. For myself I would have much preferred remaining at home. But she had been for a long time calculating on this journey on the occasion of her marriage, and when her mother was dead, she determined not to go at all unless I would accompany her, and rather than disappoint her, I concluded to go.

Our journey has been as pleasant as we had any reason to expect. I lost my appetite for two days in crossing the Atlantic, but on the whole we had a very favorable time. Since landing in Ireland it has rained almost every day till we started on our excursion to Chamouni. But it has so happened that the weather has been comparatively pleasant and the rains, if any, very light when we were most needing pleasant weather, with but one or two exceptions.

On our trip to Chamouni the weather was as fine as we could have desired it, and the atmosphere perfectly clear until yesterday, after we had started in the cars for this place.

We shall remain here today and leave tomorrow for other towns and places in Switzerland and Germany, expecting to reach Vienna about the

last of the month or early in October. From thence we shall probably visit the towns in northern Italy, and gradually wend our way towards Rome, which we shall not expect to reach before the 20th of October.

Should you receive this before the end of September, please write me at Vienna, giving information and suggestions as to our best course in reaching Rome. Please direct to me to the care of the Anglo-Austrian Bank, Vienna, where I shall obtain my letters.

My daughter unites with me in love to you all. Her husband sends his regards.

Yours Truly,

GEO. H. YEWELL, Esq.

CHAR. MASON.

The foregoing letter reached me at the picturesque old city of Perugia, where many of our Italian summers were spent. I wrote to Vienna and invited them to visit us at Perugia on their way to Rome, which they did. The re-union was pleasant, and there was much in the beautiful Umbrian mountain country surrounding us, and in the old Etruscan city itself, to interest Judge Mason and draw him out, for a time, from the cloud of sadness that enveloped him. Their stay was short, but we saw more of them later at Rome. Here he found abundant material to occupy his time and attention. Judge Mason had always seemed to me like a noble Roman born into the nineteenth century, and his presence in Rome was as that of one come to see the ruins of the home of his ancestors.

His active mind became at once interested in many things that concerned the welfare or hindered the progress of the growth of the modern city. The condition of the Roman Campagna and its malarious atmosphere at once claimed his attention, and his mind was busily occupied with searching for the underlying causes of its poisonous exhalations and the means to be employed in destroying the fever-breeding miasma that covered, like a funeral pall, a most interesting and beautiful stretch of country.

In my early days in Rome I kept a journal until, like all journal-keeping, it became a burden. I wish now that some record had been made of what happened during the visit there of Judge Mason and the Remeys, as the greater part has faded from my memory. There is one incident, however,

that I shall never forget, in connection with a visit made one afternoon by the Judge, Captain Remey his son-in-law, and myself, to St. Peter's church.

In the many galleries of pictures by celebrated old masters in the cities he had visited, Judge Mason's attention had been directed, in the paintings of religious subjects, to the representations of the face and figure of God the Father. He had criticised unfavorably the general tendency to represent the Almighty as a very old man in the decline of life. In examining the mosaics in St. Peters, he had discovered, away up in the top of the lantern of the great dome, a mosaic representation of the Father, which he was examining intently by means of a large opera glass. As he was obliged to stand immediately under the lantern, it was neck-breaking work. Some minutes later I found him lying at full length upon the marble floor, near the high altar, viewing the mosaic more comfortably. As the church was nearly deserted, it was some little time before one of the guardians saw him, and smilingly tapped him upon the shoulder. The Judge arose and apologized, only then realizing for the first time into what a droll position his pursuit of knowledge under difficulties had led him.

My American friends in Rome were interested in him and did many things to make his visit pleasant, which he remembered afterwards with gratitude. He was an example of a noble type of American republicanism, which was of interest when seen with such different surroundings.

Early in December we bade them farewell with regret. The following extracts from a letter by Mrs. Remey, dated Paris, Dec. 14, 1873, will give some account of their movements up to the time of their sailing for home:

Our first day's ride was delightful; we enjoyed the sandwiches, and found a good hotel in Pisa. The following morning was very crisp, and the ride to the Duomo anything but comfortable. We enjoyed the group of beautiful buildings very much, and especially the echo in the Baptistry. We went on to La Spezia that day, and the next morning started in a carriage for Sestri. The first part of the day was enjoyable, but later we became very much chilled, and by the time we reached Genoa, were thoroughly

tired. I had hoped to travel several days in a carriage over at least a part of the route from Genoa to Nice, but we concluded the season was too far advanced. We found Nice very pleasant and mild; in the afternoon of the day we spent there we went to Monaco, and were interested in the novelty and brilliancy of the surroundings. If one could forget the object for which the display is made it would be a most charming spot. We spent nights at Marseilles and Lyons, but as we arrived at both places after dark, and left before sunrise, there was not much rest. The last day was very wintry; the carriage windows were so covered with ice we could not see through them, and there was every indication of snow. The sun has not shone since we have been here (Paris), and the air is so raw and chilly there is little temptation to go outside the hotel. Even under these circumstances we can realize the superiority of this beautiful city. \* \* \* We think now of applying for passage in the Russia, which sails on the 3d of January. This will give us only two weeks more in Paris, but by an industrious application of time, I think we can get ready. Father is getting anxious to be at home, and if the weather continues as at present, we shall all be willing to start.

PARIS, December 14, '78.

*My Dear Sir:* As Mollie was writing I concluded to give you some of the results of my observations relative to the malaria that afflicts the Campagna as well as the city of Rome, leaving it to her to post you in relation to all matters of news.

I have no doubt as to the true cause of this unhealthfulness during the hot season. It does not arise from the dry uplands, but wholly from the marshes which are spread to so great an extent over the river bottoms and the alluvial soil along the Mediterranean. These marshes were frequent and often very extensive. I saw hundreds of acres in a body, which were covered with stagnant water, and numberless patches of smaller dimensions scattered in all directions. These, putrifying in the broiling summer Italian sun, suffice to account for all the sickness which renders the Campagna so nearly useless.

But it is said very truly that in former times the Campagna was healthy and that the effects of malaria were only felt when the country ceased to be cultivated. I reply that when the uplands became neglected the same was true of the bottom lands. They ceased to be drained and were converted into marshy grounds as we see them now. The mischief all comes from that source. There is no more reason why the neglect of the dry uplands should produce disease than that the natural prairies which had lain uncultivated for thousands of years should have been unhealthy. Our own observation proves that our prairies were just as healthy before the plow had disturbed them as they ever have been since. In fact, it is generally supposed that the breaking up of the soil was at first a cause of unhealthfulness, but this at most was only temporary. In like manner the breaking up of large portions of the Campagna might for a year or two cause some sickness to those who were exposed to its effects, but that would be the only evil that need be apprehended.

It is a well settled fact that the malaria that results from stagnant water is often more fatal in its effects to persons inhabiting the higher ground in the neighborhood than to those on a more immediate level. The malaria arises to a certain height which can only be ascertained by observation. If the Campagna is found unhealthy in any particular portion, it shows that the malaria from the marshes rose to that height. Where there is an abundant and well known cause for such an effect, I do not think it philosophical to be casting about for others that are unnecessary and improbable.

The manifest remedy for this evil is a removal of its cause. I do not think it at all necessary that this should all be done at once. There are several months in every year when men can with safety work on any portion of those marshy grounds. If all cannot be reclaimed in one year, let as much be done as practicable. What is thus effected one year may be so protected as to suffer no injury till all is done.

If the low grounds are sufficiently above the Tiber or the sea, nothing but drains will be needed to effect the desired result. But where this is not the case, something farther will be necessary. Dikes should be thrown up along the sea or the rivers with ditches on the inner sides and the water from within could be pumped over these dikes, as is done so extensively in Holland where the difficulties are greater and the motive far less than is the case with Italy. The salt lakes thus drained to a great depth in Holland would not have caused pestilence. The great purpose was to obtain land for cultivation. The latter result is but a subordinate inducement in your case. I have no doubt that it would be entirely practicable to drain all the Pontine marshes in this manner, and that the soil thus reclaimed would be vastly more than sufficient to defray all the expenses of the work. There were several places passed by us as we traveled along the coast where a like course might be advantageously pursued, thus not only reclaiming a large amount of most fertile and valuable soil, but also rendering the surrounding country salubrious and vastly more valuable and pleasant.

Such a work must necessarily be done by the public authorities. If the lands thus improved are private property, local taxation would furnish the means of meeting the expenses necessary. Such a course would be permissible even in a popular government, much more under a monarchy. But I will not enlarge on this subject further at present.

I always feel an inclination to give a practical application to any information I acquire, and this prompts me to write as I have now done. It may come in your way to communicate these suggestions to some one who will follow them up to a useful result. At all events I have endeavored to show my good will to a portion of the human family among whom I have spent a few weeks very pleasantly, though I never expect to see them or their country again.

We shall probably take passage home in the *Russia*, which sails from Liverpool on the 3rd of January. Should this be the case, we shall hope to see our own shores by the middle of that month.

Yours Truly,

GEO. H. YEWELL, Esq.

CHAS. MASON.



The next is a most precious letter, revealing at the close, a part of his inmost soul. In giving his words to the public, especially of Iowa, I feel that I am not overstepping the bounds of a trusted friendship, but revealing a priceless heritage of character, of which every citizen of his beloved state will be glad to become possessed.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 7, '74.

*My Dear Sir:* We left Paris on the 26th of December and London on the 1st day of January, Liverpool on the 8rd and reached New York on the evening of the 14th, came to Washington on the 16th and shall probably remain here for several weeks to come. It was the intention of the Captain and Mollie to remain in Washington only a few days, and then to return to Iowa, to remain till the last of March, as his leave of absence expires the first of April. The next day after our arrival here, however, the officer at the head of one of the bureaus in the Navy Department proposed a situation to the Captain which he would be very glad to accept, but in order to do so it would be necessary to enter upon duty by the middle of this month. He had resolved to waive the remainder of his leave of absence rather than fail to secure the situation here, and inasmuch as the journey to Iowa and back would hardly be compensated by the brief period that they would be permitted to remain at home, it was concluded not to go to Iowa at present, but to enter at once upon duty here, which was done accordingly. We are all comfortably situated at a private boarding house where we expect to remain till spring, when Mollie will probably accompany me to Iowa, though that is not settled yet.

In the meantime I am kept busy with various matters, chief among which is my plan for the resumption of specie payments in such a way as to create no disturbance in the relations of money and property, and to secure all the most essential advantages of a convertible currency from the date of the passage of the law on that subject. This seems to be promising too much, but not more than can be accomplished, as I can demonstrate to any man of sense whose mind is not preoccupied with some antagonist's hobby. You expressed a wish to see a pamphlet I had prepared on this subject in 1872. I have sent home for a number of copies I still have there and expect them now daily. I will send you one if they arrive as expected, from which you will see the general plan by which I expect to attain my object. I know I understand this matter better than any man in Congress. It has been a study with me for many years, and I have made many improvements in the manner of elucidating it since the pamphlet was printed.

This matter was a chief reason for my coming home earlier than I should otherwise have done. I do not know that any ground has been lost by my absence. Plans for resumption are as plenty as blackberries, but they generally suit only their respective projectors. I have, I think, suc-

ceeded in placing mine in a condition in which it will be considered and I hope fairly weighed. If I shall succeed in successfully solving the most important problem of the day, I shall be tolerably well satisfied with myself. And if I can follow this up by other measures equally important which I have long had in view, and which will flow naturally from this, I shall feel that I have made a reasonably good use of the talent that was committed to me by the Great Father, and shall be willing, as far as this matter is concerned, to render my final account. I have long been conscious of possessing powers that have never been exercised, and I feared opportunity for such exercise would ultimately fail me; but if I can secure to my country the objects I have in view I shall envy no man the laurels gathered by the bloody hand of war.

We had a somewhat boisterous passage home, but not more so than was to have been expected at that season of the year. A gale was just dying away as we sailed, leaving the ocean writhing and tossing like a thing of life. Before this uneasiness was at an end another gale sprung up which continued till we were half way across. Mollie and I were so sick that though our state rooms were not forty feet apart we did not see each other for nearly three days at one time. Oh, the horror of those long, dismal nights! The lights were extinguished at midnight. Having to keep my berth most of the time, I slept much by daylight and therefore was always wakeful at night, especially during the latter portion of it. And then to be hour after hour wishing for the time to arrive when the blessed light of day should again make its appearance, and often fancying I saw indications of its approach, but only to be disappointed—was perfectly dreadful. What would induce me ever again to cross the Atlantic—especially in the winter? I do not regret having gone to Europe, but am very glad the journey is finished and that I am safely again on shore in my own country.

When the spring opens I shall return home, but how long I shall remain there is uncertain. Our street railway is in operation one mile, and another mile, extending some 850 feet along the east line of our farm is to be finished by the first of June. I shall remain till that time, probably. I believe that I once told you that I was having our family burial vault improved and completed. It stands some three hundred yards from our country home, on the opposite side of a valley through which flows a stream of water, and on a declivity which looks directly over the grounds where we were all once so happy that, whenever I think of Heaven as a material habitation, I connect it with a vision of that home, with my children all around me. I am having that vault finished in such a way that I hope it will not be looked upon as a gloomy habitation. My own place is there prepared by the side of my wife, in the middle, with one of our blessed children on the left of her mother and the other upon my right. And I think with equanimity upon the time when we shall all be sleeping together there. And when, at no very distant day, you shall learn that the dreaded passage which interposes between you and the unseen world has been accomplished by me, let no dismal thoughts take possession of your

mind, but waft me your kind congratulations that apprehension and agony have been exchanged for that rest and happiness which faith teaches us have been prepared for us on the shores of a happy hereafter. My thoughts are often with my wife and children. I wonder how they communicate with each other without the use of the material organs of speech and hearing. Perhaps they have to go through an infancy and learn a new mode of exchanging ideas; and who can tell but that those little children who were taught the language of this world by their mother, have since been repaying their obligations, in this respect, by giving her the benefit of their education during the more than twenty years that they preceded her in the other.

Did you ever see the pretty lines of Mrs. Barbauld, which are often present to my mind?

"Life! we've been long together,  
Through pleasant and through cloudy weather;  
'Tis hard to part when friends are dear;  
Perhaps 'twill cost a sigh, a tear;  
Then steal away, give little warning:  
Choose thine own time.  
Say not Good-night, but in some brighter clime  
Bid me Good-morning."

But I shall make you sad with my reflections, and will draw to a close. We are all in very good health and spirits. If it were not for our new house in Burlington, we should all remain here for some years to come. As it is, the future in this respect is somewhat uncertain.

All join in sending love to you all. Remember us to the friends with whom we became acquainted in Rome. Yours Truly,

GEO. H. YEWELL, Esq.

CHAS. MASON.

There is less of sadness in the next letter. A new interest in life had been awakened by the birth of a grandchild, and the weight of loneliness was being, in a measure, lifted from his heart.

I had shown a former letter, in which he gave his opinion concerning the cause and the removal of the malarious condition in the Campagna of Rome, to some Roman friends interested in the same subject, and had subsequently written to him regarding criticisms made by them, backed up by certain facts which seemed to work against his theories.

WASHINGTON, June 2, 1874.

*My Dear Friend:* Your very welcome letter of March 20 was duly received, and all the kind feelings and sympathies therein expressed were fully appreciated. I now sit down to give you some leaves of our own history since my last letter.

And first let me tell you that we have a fine healthy boy baby at our house in Iowa. It was born May 15th, weighed at first but six pounds but is as lively as a cricket, and makes the house ring occasionally with its voice. How pleasant seems the sound of a child's voice in our house, if it is a crying one. It has long been unheard there, and is something for which my heart has been pining.

We remained in Washington till the 15th of April, when I started for Iowa with Mollie, and reached home on the 17th, at about the same hour that we had left Burlington on the 17th of July on our way to Europe. I remained at home till Monday, the 25th, when I thought it necessary to come back to complete some unfinished business here. I shall probably not remain more than about a week longer when I shall again start for home by way of New York, stopping for a week at my old home, which I have not seen since July, 1872, but which I generally visit every year. I hope to reach home about the 20th instant.

The Captain is quite well, and is looking anxiously forward to an expected leave of absence for a month or more, when he will visit us in Iowa, which will probably be in July next.

Thus we see that in the shifting scenes in the panorama of life, our successors are entering at the one side, while we are advancing in midway, or going out at the other. How brief seems the space that separates the two extremes! But I somewhat doubt whether that space would not appear equally brief were it really ten times as great. The proportion would only be increased, but the general effect about the same.

I am afraid you have undertaken too great a task in endeavoring to master the subject of the pamphlet I sent you. It seems like setting myself to study and fully appreciate the merits of one of your own productions. I sent you the pamphlet not intending to impose a task, but that you might obtain a general idea of the views I have entertained on this subject, which at the present time is of transcendent importance to our country. I have the most entire confidence in the correctness of my own conclusions, and all I see and hear on the subject confirms me in my opinions. The world is slow in receiving new ideas. Hume tells us that when Harvey promulgated his theory of the circulation of the blood, there was hardly a physician of forty years of age that ever believed it. There are many converts to my ideas, and I am not without hope of final success in inducing their adoption; but it will hardly be done this session. I do not think, however, that any other plan can be adopted that will prove satisfactory or that will work so successfully as to be continued in operation till we reach the solid ground of specie resumption. One of the members of the cabinet is fully convinced of the correctness of my views on this subject, and proposes that I have a conversation with the President in relation thereto, which I shall probably do before I leave Washington. I have a very carefully prepared article on the subject which I hope to have published in one of the leading reviews, and shall visit New York partly with that intent.

I am not yet convinced of the error of my notions in relation to the

cause of malaria in the Roman Campagna. When I see one sufficient cause for any effect, I do not think it philosophical to seek after those which are extraordinary and unnatural. Were I told of the exact condition of the river bottoms and marshes along the coast, I should have come at once to the conclusion that in such a climate virulent diseases might be expected to prevail, not only in the immediate neighborhood of these breeding places of malaria, but also along the higher grounds in places that could only be fixed by experiment. That the Borghese Villa is more unwholesome than the region around the railroad station of about the same elevation does not prove the incorrectness of my opinions. In Burlington within 500 yards of my house and at substantially the same elevation, malarial diseases are believed to exist which do not visit our immediate neighborhood, but this circumstance never caused me to doubt that the cause of these diseases proceeded from the stagnant water along the river bottoms. A skirt of trees intervening between the source of malaria and any given locality, is believed to intercept that malaria, but on the other hand the overshadowing of grounds or residences renders the places thus overshadowed unhealthy. The Borghese Villa, if I remember rightly, is all surrounded by shade while the vicinity of the railroad station is comparatively free from such shade. May not this account for the difference in healthfulness in the two localities? I will not attempt to account for the unhealthfulness that prevails all the year except a few weeks in the spring. Is there no mistake in this respect? Does malaria manifest its presence there in winter? The causes which produce these effects are often inscrutable. You have seen fogs or smoke assuming the forms of horizontal strata at different elevations. May not malaria assume like positions—sometimes higher, and then again lower, so that at one elevation diseases may manifest themselves while above or below there may be entire healthfulness?

Whether malaria consists of a microscopic fungus which floats in the air or rises from the earth, I know not, but I have a strong belief that whatever the cause of the diseases they produce they spring mostly, if not entirely, from putrefaction and generally from stagnant water. I doubt whether a well drained country is ever unhealthy.

I suppose you will think that I ought to fix myself down in my comfortable home and leave the world to take care of itself, but I cannot endure inaction. An overpowering feeling of loneliness renders it necessary that I should not be idle for an hour. Our street railway is in operation in the direction of our farm and will probably be completed about 40 rods along its east line by the time I return home. When that is done, we shall perhaps attempt the construction of water works in our city. On some accounts I should prefer residing in Washington but Mollie is unwilling to dispose of our home in Burlington. It seems a pity that so much property should remain so nearly useless to us. Many years ago, when Mollie was a little girl, her mother used to tell her that she would not probably live to see her grow up to womanhood and she then enjoined upon her that she must never leave me, which she promised. This promise she is now per-

I, Charles Mason, do solemnly  
swear that I will support the con=  
stitution of the United States, and well  
and faithfully execute the trust com=  
mitted to me, as Chief Justice of  
the Supreme Court of the Territory  
of Iowa.

Charles Mason

Sworn to & Subscribed  
before me this 23<sup>d</sup>  
of July A.D. 1838,

Wm Bleonway  
Sec of the Territory  
of Iowa.

DEPT. OF AGRIC.

Facsimile of Judge Charles Mason's oath of office. The original is in the possession  
of the Historical Department of Iowa.



forming. She expects to remain in Burlington till fall, and then that I should accompany her back to Washington for the winter. This almost deprives us both of any permanent home, but she has no idea of any different arrangement while her husband is stationed here.

By the special request of the ladies of our parish I delivered a lecture for the benefit of our church, shortly before I left home, on the subject of our European tour. I took my hearers across the ocean and through Ireland. I may be induced to continue my journey at some future time. I kept a pretty full journal and by preparing a course of lectures I shall be reviewing my journey and impressing many of its incidents more lastingly upon my recollection.

Remember me kindly to Oscar and any of our other friends who added so much to the pleasantness of our stay in Europe.

Yours truly,

CHAS. MASON.

GEO. H. YEWELL, Esq.

At Rome, Judge Mason saw in the studio of the American sculptor, William H. Rinehart, a beautiful group in marble of two sleeping infants, which he greatly admired. It was a subject that would naturally appeal to him, owing to the loss of his two young children. I had written to him of the death of the sculptor, and in a Washington letter of December 23, 1874, he wrote: "I was sorry to hear of the death of poor Rinehart. What has become of his sleeping infants? I should like to own them if I could afford it. About what would they cost delivered in New York? I have no intention of purchasing them unless some enterprises in which I still venture to engage to keep up an interest in the affairs of this world should prove more beneficial than they probably will."

In the same letter Mrs. Remey says of the little boy: "He is a merry little fellow, and is on the best of terms with his grandfather. It would please you to see them together. Father says he has made him feel young." She adds: "We recall our European trip with great pleasure; one of our evening occupations is to listen to extracts from father's journal."

In December, 1875, I wrote to Judge Mason a few days after reaching Cairo, in Egypt, whither I had gone to spend the winter in making studies for pictures. His reply from



Washington in the following April reached me in Rome.

WASHINGTON, April 9, 1876.

*My Dear Friend:* Your welcome letter of December 19th was duly received. I certainly was taken by surprise to learn that you were sojourning in the land of the Pharaohs. I very much hope that you may derive all the benefit therefrom that you have desired.

We came to Washington the 20th of last November, and shall probably remain here until near the end of the present month—perhaps longer. We intend then to return home for the summer. We were so comfortable there last year that we make no calculations about going to any cooler place this year. I have for a long time intended to make a journey to California, and may gratify my wish in that respect the present year, but this is still uncertain.

Our little boy is doing nicely. He looks delicate, but is healthy and exceedingly active and mischievous. I indulge him more than I ought, and am trying to correct myself in that respect, but it is so difficult to refuse him any gratification that is not detrimental to his health, and I humor him more than I should.

We have as yet received no intelligence of the arrival of Mrs. Mason's portrait, but I trust no mischief has befallen it. I shall endeavor to institute some inquiries in regard to it when I get home.

You ask about the prospects of resumption. They are very slender. Nothing will probably be done that will be of any avail. A year ago last January a bill was passed, declaring that full resumption should take place January 1, 1879, but without taking the intermediate steps necessary to bring that event about. It has only wrought evil thus far, and will do nothing else hereafter. The premium on gold is to-day higher than when that bill passed. It has been so on the average during all the intermediate time. I tell them I will consent to be burnt at the stake on the first of January, 1879, if by that time resumption can be effected in any way without producing the most dreadful financial troubles. Many of the best minds in Washington believe in my doctrine. The President himself is one of these, and also several members of Congress.

But the great mass of that body is composed of two classes. A vast number of them have hobbies of their own on this subject, and nearly all the remainder feel incapable or unwilling to grapple with a new idea. Their thoughts on the subject run in the old changeless channel. Besides—as is very natural—no one likes to adopt and urge onwards the ideas of another person, and this has, I believe, been the chief cause of the slow progress my ideas have been making.

But I am not discouraged. With the implicit confidence that I have struck upon the true philosophy of this subject I shall not abandon the effort while there is a possibility of success. I believe I am right in my notions and that they would bring about the results sought, with as much confidence as I subscribe to the Copernican doctrine of the universe, or the Newtonian theory of universal gravitation.

You ask if I have published anything further on the subject. I forget whether the pamphlet I sent you was that of 1873 or that of 1874. I think it was the former and will send you a copy of the latter of which quite a number remain on hand. It was an effort to condense into more limited space, but I had to omit many of the details of the predecessor. I have recently written a much more condensed presentation of the subject, with some modifications to meet new objections. Nearly two weeks since, I placed it in the hands of the correspondent of *The New York Tribune*, under a promise that it would soon appear in that journal. It has not yet made its appearance. I will send you a copy of that when it is obtained.

We were much in hopes of seeing you both this coming season and felt a great disappointment in hearing that such would not be the case. We expect to visit the [Centennial] Exposition at some time during the season, and may possibly remain here till the opening, a month hence. Or Mollie may remain while I go home and afterwards return for that purpose. She is, however, so firmly resolved not to be separated from me that it is doubtful whether she will consent to the arrangement.

I wish I could have visited Egypt while I was in the east. It must have been a feast for one of your intellectual tastes and appetites.

You must have been greatly astonished and mortified at the developments that have been taking place here within the past few months. I have long been as fully confident of the existence of such frauds and speculations as I now am, but they seem to present a different appearance when laid open to the light of day. The developments are not ended yet, and no one can yet predict exactly when they will terminate or who will be implicated.

Remember us kindly to our artist friends we met when American friends had such a peculiar value. Tell Mr. and Mrs. Vedder how sincerely I can sympathize with them in their great loss. It is now the twenty-fourth year since our two little girls were snatched from us by the same merciless destroyer, but the anguish of that occasion lives fresh in my memory still, and will do so till I go to join them beyond the dark valley.

I hope the Egyptian climate has restored Mrs. Y. to that health so indispensable to the full enjoyment of life. Give her our warmest regards. Remember us also to our friend Oscar. I hope to hear from you as soon as you find it convenient to write.

Yours very truly,

CHAS. MASON.

GEO. H. YEWELL, Esq.

P. S. Mollie returns her sincerest thanks for the portrait you have sent. She and her husband unite in warmest regards to you among the others.

A letter from Burlington, February 10, 1877, gave me an account of a very severe and dangerous illness that kept him in bed for twenty-five days and nearly terminated his life.

He never entirely recovered from its effects. In the same letter he writes: "I have another little grandson who will be four months old on the 19th of this month. He is a fine little fellow and is named George for his father. He is much more quiet than his elder brother and will have blue eyes." Of this child he became exceedingly fond, and his early death was another heavy blow that came near severing the few remaining ties that bound him to this life. He further writes of national matters: "You have doubtless watched with some interest the stirring events connected with our presidential election. At one time I felt appalled at the threatening prospect presented. But the danger is now past. Whoever is elected president under the compromise arrangement will be peacefully inaugurated. I have no doubt in the world that Tilden was justly elected, and I still believe he will be our president. But I would much prefer the inauguration of Gov. Hayes, to a disputed succession which might result in violence."

After a residence in Rome of eleven years, I returned, in 1878, and settled permanently in my native land, which had grown dearer to me during the long absence. The next of Judge Mason's letters that I have preserved is a sad but interesting one:

BURLINGTON, December 26, 1880.

*My Dear Friend:* We are all in the deepest affliction. Our little George died of croup a week ago last evening after an illness of less than three days. Wednesday, the 15th, he was full of life, and health, and joy. Before bed-time he showed symptoms of croup, and the remedies which we always keep on hand were promptly administered. The doctor was called on Thursday but he was not relieved. Saturday morning I telegraphed his father, though we had by no means lost hope. He died a little after 7 p. m. His father started Saturday afternoon, missed the connection at Chicago and did not reach home till Tuesday morning. . . . We are overwhelmed with sorrow. For four years and two months he had been a sunbeam in our household. I can hardly reconcile myself to his loss. On some accounts this is the severest affliction I have ever suffered. To be busy, and to take exercise freely, have always been the remedies to which I have resorted in times of bereavement, and in which I have found relief. The state of my health has been such that I have been in a great degree de-

prived of these remedies. Still, I submit without repining to this terrible chastisement. Mollie has quite as much fortitude as I can pretend to exert.

We concluded to spend the present winter here. My health hardly improves much. I made a short trip to Colorado and New Mexico last October,—encountered a railroad accident which, though it did me no material injury, produced a pretty severe shock and caused me to return home much sooner than I intended. Capt. Remey accompanied me, and we then intended to return with him to spend the winter in Washington, which purpose was afterwards changed. . . . We hope to hear from you soon. Let us know of your intentions and prospects.

Yours very sorrowfully,

CHAS. MASON.

GEO. H. YEWELL, Esq., 51 West 10th St., New York.

WASHINGTON, January 21, 1881.

*My Dear Friend:* You will probably be surprised at reading the date of this letter. As the time approached for Capt. Remey to leave us (his leave of absence expired last Monday) the idea was suggested that we should all accompany him with the intention of remaining here until about the middle of April. The suggestion found a ready response as well on my part as on that of my daughter,—we both believing that a change of scene and of situation would be for our mutual benefit. We therefore started from home last Friday morning and came directly through to this city. It proved to be the coldest morning of the year, the mercury standing at 22° below zero, but we came through very comfortably.

We feel a good deal more reconciled to our dreadful bereavement than we should have done at our lonely home where everything was calculated to remind us at every moment of our irreparable loss. We feel greatly obliged to you for the kindly sympathy expressed in your letter, and hope we may have the privilege to express that obligation to you personally before many months either in Washington or at our home in Burlington.

Yours sincerely,

CHAS. MASON.

GEO. H. YEWELL, Esq., 385 Fourth Ave., New York.

BURLINGTON, November 27, 1881.

*My Dear Friend:* . . . I have another little grandson, born Oct. 23, who will probably be named William B. after his paternal grandfather and his uncle. We are waiting to hear from his father on the subject before fixing upon the name. He does not yet fill the void left by the loss of our dear little Georgie, but will perhaps do so in time. His father sailed for the Mediterranean on the 10th of October, and has not been heard from since. He sailed first to Madeira, and thence to Cadiz in Spain, where he expected to arrive about the 10th of November; so that we are now in daily expectation of a letter from him. He might have remained in Washington another year, and we were in favor of his doing so. In that case we expected to spend the winter with him in Washington.

But Admiral Nicholson tendered him the post of chief of staff on board of his flagship, the Lancaster, and the opportunity was too inviting to be rejected. What he dreaded most was that at the end of another year he might be picked up and sent on a three years' cruise to China or some other out-of-the way and unpleasant station; whereas, he is now to be on the European station, which is the pleasantest of them all, and, what is more, Admiral Nicholson is to be retired April 1, 1883, so that his chief of staff will then return home. This reconciles us to his absence for eighteen months.

My health has not been very satisfactory during the past summer. . . . I went to Minnesota in July but was there taken quite unwell and returned home in fifteen days, much worse than before I went north. I have since spent a month in Chicago in the pursuit of health with little or no benefit. . . . I was seventy-seven years of age on the 24th of last month, and cannot expect to remain much longer with my little grandchildren. But for them I should care very little how soon I was laid by the side of my wife and two children. Still I keep myself busy in reading and writing a good share of my time, and hope to do so to the last. Hoping to hear from you soon, I remain.

Yours sincerely,

CHAS. MASON.

GEO. H. YEWELL, Esq., 335 Fourth Ave., New York.

The end was now fast approaching. The next letter was the last I ever received from his hand. In the winter of 1881-82 his health broke down and he took to his bed reluctantly. He died on the morning of February 26, 1882. Following his last letter to me is one from his faithful daughter, dated March 27, giving me the details of his last days and a touching account of the sad days that followed. To him, in an especial manner since her mother's death, she had given intimate companionship and tender watchfulness and sympathy. Death ended all these loving cares, and with her husband far away across the seas, the hours were filled with lonely thoughts.

BURLINGTON, December 9, 1881.

*My Dear Friend:* We were very glad to receive your letter of Dec. 1, and I write this promptly in order to send the draft to pay for the frame for Mrs. Mason's portrait and boxing the same to be sent forward. Please have it sent by express or by a freight line as you may think best.

We are having fine winter weather now, and I am feeling the beneficial effects of it. I am rather inclined to risk staying here through the winter inasmuch as from present appearances we are likely to have a much milder season than usual.

We have had two letters from Capt. Remey since he crossed the Atlan-

tic. The last was written from Gibraltar, and we look for another daily. He expects to spend the winter in the Mediterranean. I wish we could all be there, too. But the way is too long. Even the journey to Florida looks so formidable that I am hardly willing to undertake it. We are very comfortable here, and should we go south it would all be on my account. I think I shall take the chances of remaining where the other members of the family can be made so much more comfortable, and I must keep myself within doors in rough weather.

Capt. Remy's youngest brother, Edward, is now with us, but expects to remain only a few days longer. He is a thorough sailor and feels most at home when at sea. He is only a lieutenant, and, having graduated since the war, while promotion has been slow, he will be fifty years old before he attains the rank of his eldest brother. The captain does not expect to be at home again before the spring of 1883, when he may expect to be many years on shore again. This reconciles us to his absence now.

We shall hope to see you in the west next season. I am glad to hear that you are getting quite a number of orders which will give you occupation, and profit also, as we hope. We have heard good accounts of you in this respect through the Brevoorts, and are always glad to learn of your welfare.

Mollie joins in the kindest regards.

Truly your friend,

CHAS. MASON.

GEO. H. YEWELL, Esq., 578 Fifth Avenue, New York.

BURLINGTON, March 27th, 1882.

*My Dear Friend:* Your letter was most gratefully received, and should have been answered sooner, but as you foresaw I have had many demands upon my time. In my loneliness your sympathy is warmly appreciated, for it comes from the heart. I have often wished for your presence to minister to my father's enjoyment, for you are one of the few whose society would have been acceptable to him. Knowing that you were bound elsewhere, it did not occur to me to propose to you to come, but I frequently regretted that it was not possible for you to be with us. After my husband went to sea there seemed to be no one but myself to attend to the numberless little duties required by an invalid. It became fatiguing for him to write or sit long in his arm-chair, consequently much of his business was transacted while lying on the lounge, with me as an amanuensis. I was always at hand to assist, my father steadily refusing the services of a servant. It was only during the last few days of his life that he was willing to avail himself of the help of a professional nurse.

I have marked the failure in my father's strength for many months and felt assured that the end was not distant. Physicians agreed that there was little special disease but a general breaking down and wearing out, which was most discouraging. I knew if he once took to his bed he would never rise from it, and when on the 17th of February he decided that he was more comfortable in bed than elsewhere, I felt that the time was short.

For several weeks he had been harassed with an intensely sore throat, caused by the panting breath. That was the most trying feature of his illness. He had several turns of faintness induced by physical exertion, which I am convinced were caused by spasms of the heart—several times I thought him dying, while I was alone with him. These, however, were not experienced during the last days of his life, as he then was too weak for any effort to move himself. His intellectual faculties remained unimpaired until the last—he spoke but a few minutes before the last change—expressing his satisfaction at having me near him, and passed away as if he were falling asleep. Gov. Gear was with me at the time—and the nurse who has been in our family so much that we regard her as a friend.

My father's mortal remains were laid away in the receptacle he prepared for that purpose several years ago, and by his direction the burial casket was made from the wood of a walnut tree grown from a nut he had planted at the home farm.

Although my father's death was neither sudden nor unexpected, it is none the less a sad loss to me. I miss him as I would a child from the household, and at the same time he has been such a constant and intimate companion that it seems like losing both parents at once. I have mourned over his failing health, and felt how sad it was to witness a mind, active, energetic and interested in intellectual and scientific pursuits, weighed down by the infirmities of the body. I do not doubt the blessedness of the change for him, and I think of him as restored to youth and strength. We have had many interchanges of thought respecting the future life, and his unwavering belief in immortality and the reunion with loved ones is a consoling remembrance to me now.

My last letter from my husband was mailed at Smyrna—he had been to Egypt, but the weather had been too stormy to permit a stop at the Holy Land. I do not know whether the death of my father will hasten his return—otherwise he had not expected to come home until a year from this month. I am trying to take care of the children until he comes, but I sometimes lose courage, for I am alone with them, except the assistance of rather indifferent servants.

I hope to see you whenever you come west, for as long a visit as you can spare the time. I shall remain here for the present—I may spend a part of the summer among my father's relatives in central New York. Had he lived it was so planned, and now my friends are urging me to come with the children. I am so busy during the day that I have little time for reflection, but when the children are asleep, and I sit alone in the library, I realize the dreariness of that favorite spot. I intend to have the portraits of my parents placed there, to cheer the solitude in some measure.

The picture frame came safely, and was in every respect satisfactory except it was a little too broad. That defect was remedied by placing a strip of wood so as to cover the crack. The portrait is greatly improved in effect by the frame, and every one remarks upon the strong resemblance to my mother.

Yours very sincerely,

MARY J. REMMY.

MR. YEWELL.

Judge Mason always impressed me as an eminently just man, fearlessly doing that which his judgment and conscience approved as the right thing, at the same time carefully respecting the rights of others. Judge George G. Wright, of Des Moines, said of him that "he was honest as a man and as a judge; of the cleanest habits; had an utter abhorrence of the dissolute and intemperate, and exercised a most beneficial example on the side of morality."

In conclusion I will partially reproduce some words of mine written about him several years ago.

He was a man over six feet in height, thin and somewhat angular. His movements were energetic, and he carried himself erect, a habit formed during his military education at West Point. His mind was by nature a judicial one. He was an attentive listener; arranged his thoughts carefully before clothing them in words; not much given to talking; rather reticent than otherwise, yet capable of being very interesting when he did talk, and having a quick sense of humor that brought with it a cheery smile and a twinkle of the eye. He was merciful and kind-hearted, and never any but pure words came from his lips. He had no bad or useless habits; used no tobacco or spirits, and, I believe, never drank coffee or tea until he was quite advanced in life. He was careful of money, economical and self-denying, and yet very few people knew of the many young men he befriended and assisted with money. I know of one for whom he did that and more, for to me he stood in the place of a father, giving me not only advice and money, but that which was better and more precious,—affection.

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IN JUNE, 1854, four colored people—long-time residents—were arrested in Galena, Ill., for the purpose of expelling them from the state, under a law then existing. A writ of habeas corpus, however, set them free again, and the movement was denounced even by pro-slavery people in Iowa, and presumably also in Illinois.



## IOWA AT VICKSBURG AND THE VICKSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK.

BY COL. J. K. P. THOMPSON.

The National Military Park at Vicksburg, Mississippi, is the outgrowth of "The Vicksburg National Military Park Association," a corporation organized and existing under and by virtue of the laws of Mississippi. It was organized October 23, 1895, and incorporated November 22, 1895. The incorporators included both northern and southern gentlemen, but only those who had served in the Vicksburg campaign.

The officers and directors are as follows:

### OFFICERS.

President, Lieutenant-General Stephen D. Lee, Mississippi.  
Vice-President, Hon. W. O. Mitchell, Iowa.  
Secretary, Captain W. T. Rigby, Iowa.  
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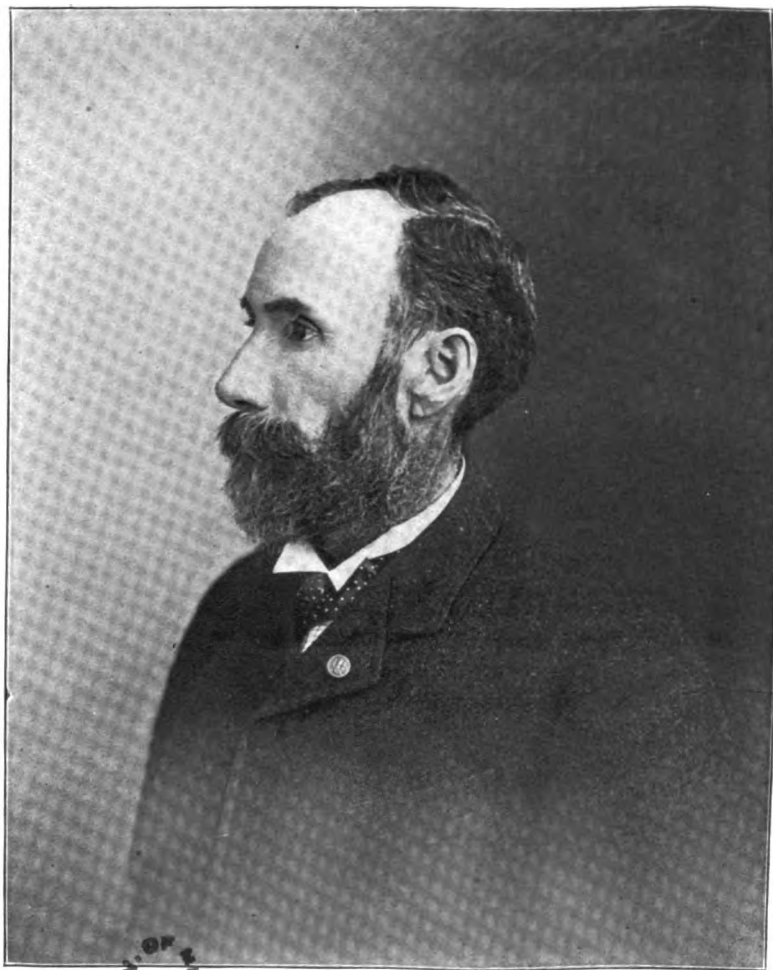
Colonel J. K. P. Thompson, Iowa; Captain W. W. Stone, Mississippi; Governor W. D. Hoard, Wisconsin; General A. Hickenlooper, Ohio; Captain E. S. Butts, Mississippi.

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Capt. W. W. Stone, Mississippi.	Gov. W. D. Hoard, Wisconsin.
Gen. A. Hickenlooper, Ohio.	Hon. Wm. Olin, Massachusetts.

Bear Admiral George Brown, U. S. N., (retired).

When the writer was elected commander of the Department of Iowa, Grand Army of the Republic, in 1895, it was understood that his administration should be signalized by an unyielding and persistent effort to establish a Military



UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN  
*Faithfully Yours,*  
*J. K. P. Thompson*

COL. J. K. P. THOMPSON,  
Commander of the Department of Iowa, Grand Army of the Republic, 1895-'96, and  
a member of the Board of Directors of "The Vicksburg National  
Military Park Association."



Park at Vicksburg. His compeers were Capt. J. F. Merry, Capt. W. T. Rigby, Maj. C. L. Davidson, Col. D. J. Palmer, Dr. C. C. Bradley, Hon. W. H. Norris, and many other distinguished Union soldiers of Iowa.

As a result, a resolution favoring the establishment of the park was introduced by the Department of Iowa at the National Encampment, G. A. R., at Louisville, September, 1895, which was unanimously adopted, and the park officially launched, with the endorsement of the National Encampment. At a meeting of the association, November 22, 1895, on motion of Gen. Lucius Fairchild (a member of the first board of directors, but since deceased), it was decided that "The proposed park should include the lines of earthworks of the opposing armies, and the land included within those lines, with such additions as are necessary to include the headquarters of Generals Grant and Pemberton, such of the water batteries as it may be desirable to designate, and other historical spots;" and on motion of Col. Thompson, "The executive committee of the board was instructed to urge upon congress the establishment of a National Military Park on the grounds outlined by the motion of Gen. Fairchild, and where practicable to secure options on the lands included within the lines of the proposed park." Shares of stock were placed at \$5.00, and one hundred shares reported sold and paid for. Gen. Stephen D. Lee, Maj. C. L. Davidson, Col. C. C. Floweree, Capt. E. S. Butts, and Capt. W. T. Rigby, were appointed a committee charged with the duty of preparing a bill for the establishment of the park, of presenting the same to congress, and of obtaining and presenting to congress accurate information as to the cost of the land included in the bill for the proposed park. Pursuant to these instructions, a survey of the premises was made, a map prepared, and options on a large part of the land secured. A bill was prepared and in due time was presented to congress by Gen. Catchings, representing the Vicksburg district. As a result of several weeks of arduous labor, the committee was

enabled to announce a favorable report of the house committee on military affairs, and the bill was placed on the calendar, where it was destined to remain, however, for several years.

During the years of 1895, 1896, 1897 and 1898, the friends of the measure were active and unremitting in their efforts to secure the passage of the bill, the secretary, Capt. Rigby, devoting most of his time and energy to its accomplishment. To the indefatigable efforts of Capt. J. F. Merry, formerly of the 21st Iowa, more than to any other person, are we indebted for the establishment of the park. He was untiring and persistent in his efforts, laying railroads, congressmen, legislators, and men of affairs, under constant tribute, till it was truthfully said of him—"What he proposes, that he performs."

In January, 1896, as commander of the Department of Iowa, G. A. R., I issued a circular letter in which attention was called to the measure, and wherein some of the reasons why Iowa should take a leading part in the establishment of the park were set forth. I quote here a portion of the same:

In the reduction of that Gibraltar of the Confederacy, the State of Iowa had so large and distinguished a part—seventy per cent of her total levy being engaged therein\*—that it fell with peculiar fitness to her to take the initiative in this movement. The siege of Vicksburg stands unique and will be memorable in the annals of war. In the science of grand strategy it marked an era. The campaign is without parallel, if we except the picturesque scaling of the Swiss mountains and the descent into Lombardy by the great Napoleon, or his brilliant campaign which terminated at Ulm, and in the opinion of competent military critics, "in boldness of plan, rapidity of execution, and brilliancy of results," compares most favorably with those of the great Corsican. No field of battle ever witnessed greater deeds of valor than those rugged hills.

The capture of this stronghold was big with results, and was second only in importance to Appomattox itself. It severed the Confederacy in twain, opened the Mississippi to navigation, and in the forcible language

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\*The following regiments and batteries were engaged in the siege proper: Infantry—The 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22d, 23d, 24th, 25th, 26th, 28th, 30th, 31st, 34th, 35th, 38th, 40th. Cavalry—3d and 4th. Batteries—1st and 2d. The 2d Cavalry was with Hatch in the famous Grierson raid. The 27th Infantry was with Sherman in Gen. Grant's movement to the Tallehatchie, November, 1862, and the 29th, 33d, and 36th were in the famous Yazoo Pass expedition, or 71 per cent of the whole number furnished by the State of Iowa.

of President Lincoln, "The Father of Waters rolled unvexed to the sea." The loss to the enemy of at least *sixty thousand soldiers, one hundred and seventy-two cannon, and sixty thousand stand of arms, was at that time the largest capture of men and material ever made in war.*

To quote from an admirable general order, addressed by Gen. Gordon to the United Confederate Camps:

For forty-seven days and nights those blood-stained and storm-crowned heights raged with incessant conflict, and witnessed by turn the assault upon its heroic and stubborn defenders and the repulse of the gallant and obstinate attacking party. By day, sheeted flame issued from every crest of the hills, around this famous citadel of courage, and by night the deadly and destructive boom lighted the heavens with its lurid and baleful light.

Large numbers of the circulars were distributed, and we trust bore good fruit. During the winter of 1895-6 the legislatures of the states of Iowa, Mississippi, New York, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island, each by joint resolution, endorsed the park bill and asked for its passage by congress, as did most of the Department Encampments of the Grand Army of the Republic, and many of the Commanderies of the Loyal Legion, Society of the Tennessee, and the United Confederate Camps. During the winter of 1896-7 the legislatures of the states of Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, each adopted joint resolutions, asking for the establishment of the park, and requesting their delegations in congress to labor to secure the passage of the bill. The Department Encampments of the Grand Army of the Republic and the National Encampment at Buffalo again approved the bill and named committees to promote its passage.

In December, 1897, through the courtesy of Capt. Merry, five members of the House Committee on Military Affairs, Fifty-fifth congress, namely: Hull, Griffith, Belknap, Lentz, and McDonald, visited Vicksburg with a view to ascertaining facts to enable them to judge of the feasibility of establishing and maintaining the park. In January, 1898, Gen. Gobin, Commander-in-Chief, on behalf of the Grand Army of the Republic, Col. Fred. D. Grant, on behalf of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee, and Capt. Rigby, on behalf

of the Park Association, met in Washington and again urged upon Speaker Reed and the House Committee on Rules the claims of the park bill.

Early in the year 1898 the legislature of the state of Tennessee, by joint resolution, endorsed the bill and asked for its passage by congress. In January, 1899, Capt. Rigby, Hon. W. O. Mitchell, both of Iowa, representing the Park Association, Col. Everest of Illinois, also a member of the association and representing the Society of the Army of the Tennessee, Col. N. M. Hubbard, representing the Department of Iowa, Grand Army of the Republic, again visited Washington in the interest of the park bill, when, being granted an audience with the speaker, Col. Hubbard made one of his characteristic arguments, and a powerful plea for its early consideration. Congressman Henderson (now speaker of the house), Catchings of the Vicksburg district, Griffin, Belknap, Cousins and Hull (both of Iowa), were active and earnest in their support. As a result, Capt. Hull, on February 6, 1899, was recognized by the speaker, the bill called up and promptly and unanimously passed by the house. Four days later it was passed by the senate, and on February 21, 1899, approved by the President.

At the risk of repetition and of being tedious, I have followed the measure, step by step, from its inception, October, 1895, to the passage of the bill authorizing the establishment of the park, February 21, 1899, for the purpose of showing with what tenacity of purpose its promoters clung to it, and what time and means have been expended in the promotion of this work. The bill, as passed, carried with it an appropriation of \$65,000 (which has since been increased to \$250,000) for the purchase of the grounds and improvement of the same. It also provided for the appointment by the Honorable Secretary of War of a commission to consist of three members. The commission, as appointed, consists of Lieut.-Gen. Stephen D. Lee of Mississippi, Capt. W. T. Rigby of Iowa, and Col. James G. Everest of Illinois, with Gen. John







S. Kountz of Ohio as secretary and historian, and Capt. Chas. L. Longley of Iowa assistant secretary.

Section 5 of the act establishing the park reads as follows:

That it shall be the duty of the commissioners named in the preceding section, under the direction of the Secretary of War, to restore the forts and the lines of fortifications, the parallels and the approaches of the two armies, or so much thereof as may be necessary to the purposes of this park; to open and construct and to repair such roads as may be necessary to said purposes, and to ascertain and mark with historical tablets, or otherwise, as the Secretary of War may determine, the lines of battle of the troops engaged in the assaults, and the lines held by the troops during the siege and defense of Vicksburg, the headquarters of Gen. Grant and of Gen. Pemberton, and other historical points of interest pertaining to the siege and defense of Vicksburg within the park or its vicinity.

Authority to mount guns was given by a subsequent act of congress.

It is the purpose of the commission, with the approval of the Secretary of War, to restore substantially the earthworks of the two armies, and to remount all the old guns so far as they can be procured, in their old places. Forts will be restored to their original size and height, ditches opened to their former depth, rifle-pits, parallels, approaches, saps and mines reopened, sap-rollers constructed, placed *and maintained* in position—in fact, it is the intention to restore the theater of operations as nearly as may be to what it was at the close of the siege July 4, 1863. There are 1232.28 acres within the limits of the park. There will be more than twenty-five miles of costly and artistically built avenues and drives constructed, the precipitous hills graded, the ravines spanned with costly masonry and modern steel bridges, thus affording easy access to and perfect views of what is expected to be the greatest Military Park in the world. There will be an avenue just in the rear of the line of Confederate earthworks eight miles long, one along the main line of the Union earthworks through the main body of the park about five miles in length; one from Union avenue to Gen. Grant's headquarters, and one along the public roads running through the park or along its boundaries.

Historical tablets, markers and monuments of the Confederate organizations engaged in the defense will be placed on the line of the first named points, and those of the Federals along Union avenue.

The reasons why this famous battlefield should be converted into a great Military Park are various and potent. It was the first really great and determining victory achieved by the Union forces, and was second only in importance to Appomattox itself. It severed the Confederacy in twain, opened up the Mississippi—the great artery of commerce—to navigation, inspired new hope in the north and corresponding gloom in the south, and brought the first great relief to President Lincoln and the loyal millions of the north. The loss to the enemy was at that time unparalleled in the annals of war. Gen. Grant, in his official report, says:

The results of the campaign were: The defeat of the enemy in five battles outside of Vicksburg; the occupation of Jackson, the capital of the state of Mississippi, and the capture of Vicksburg and its garrison and munitions of war; a loss to the enemy of 37,000 prisoners, among whom were fifteen general officers; at least 10,000 killed and wounded, among the killed, Generals Tracy, Tilghman, and Green, and hundreds, and perhaps thousands of stragglers who can never be collected and reorganized. Arms and munitions of war for an army of 60,000 men have fallen into our hands.\*

But Gen. Grant was evidently generous to his enemy, for Gen. Badeau, in his "Military History of Gen. Grant," on page 398, Vol. I, states the total loss to have been 60,000.† When it is remembered that three Confederate divisions did not report, viz.: Baldwin's, Vaughn's, and Dockery's, and that the losses in Loring's division, which was cut off at Cham-

\*Official Records, Vol. 24, Part I, page 58.

†The records of the Commissary General of Prisoners show a total of 42,069 prisoners captured during the Vicksburg campaign after the 1st of May. As Grant lost during that time nearly 9,000 men in killed and wounded, it is fair to suppose that Pemberton and Johnson, so repeatedly and disastrously beaten, lost 12,000. Any one who has seen war is aware how small the estimate, 6,000, is for stragglers in an unsuccessful campaign. The calculation is simple:

Prisoners.....	42,000
Killed and wounded .....	12,000
Stragglers.....	6,000
Total .....	60,000

pion's Hill and wandered about for several days and nights before joining Johnson at Jackson, and whose losses were necessarily large, are not given, the discrepancy in the report is easily accounted for.

We doubt if the hardships endured in this campaign, and the exceeding mental and physical strain that was placed upon all, are fully realized by the present generation; drawing two days' rations, which were destined to last many weeks;\* marching day and night; bivouacking at night in the rain; wading many inches deep; sleeping upon rails, boards, logs, or anything or anywhere that would afford any kind of protection from the drenching rain and water-covered earth. The fatigue and strain upon the troops thus for more than ninety days, was almost unprecedented. Gen. Hovey says:†

The strain upon my forces was extreme. For more than forty days they were under constant fire, casualties happening daily in the midst of their camps. *Men were killed and wounded in their beds, at the table, and in the rifle-pits.*

Col. G. W. Clark, of the 34th Iowa, says:

One-half of my men who were able for duty were on duty all the time. Not unfrequently I was compelled, in order to fill the details, to send men who had just been relieved, thus keeping the same men out in the ditches for forty-eight hours without rest.

L. D. Ingersoll wrote:

Out of fifty-six days in those two months the "effective force" of the 4th Cavalry was in the saddle fifty-two.‡

Col. Grierson says:||

We marched over 600 miles in less than sixteen days (forty miles per day). The last twenty-eight hours we marched seventy-six miles, and had four

\*Gen. Grant says in his *Memoirs*, Vol. I, page 329: "Most of the army had now been for three weeks with only five days' rations issued by the commissary."

Col. Ashbel Smith of the 2d Texas, not always reliable, however, says that his command was "tired, ragged, dirty, barefoot, hungry, covered with vermin, with scanty supply of ammunition; rations reduced to a little more than enough to sustain life, *five ounces of musty corn meal and pea flour were nominally issued daily. In point of fact this allowance didn't exceed three ounces.*"

In an appeal for help addressed to Gen. Pemberton, June 28, 1863, signed "Many Soldiers," it is stated, "Our rations have been cut down to one biscuit and a small bit of bacon per day,—this army is now ripe for mutiny unless it can be fed. Just think of one small biscuit and one or two mouthfuls of bacon per day."

†Page 241, Vol. 24, Part II, Official Records.

‡Ingersoll's "Iowa in the Rebellion," page 422.

||Vol. 24, Part I, page 528, Official Records.

engagements with the enemy. During this time the men and horses were without food or rest.

Gen. Grant says:\*

Since leaving Milliken's Bend they (the troops) have marched as much by night as by day, through mud and rain, without tents or much other baggage, and on irregular rations.

And on page 35 says—

Privations have been endured by men and officers as have rarely been paralleled in any campaign.

The strain upon the Confederate forces was even greater than that on the Federal. Gen. Stephen D. Lee says in his report:†

The enemy had also from fifteen to thirty pieces of artillery in front of my lines, which kept up a heavy fire during both day and night. There was no relief whatever to our men who were confined for forty-seven days in their narrow trenches without any opportunity of moving about, as there was during the day a perfect rain of minie balls.

There must have been a perfect rain of cannon balls also if we are to believe the report of Gen. John C. Moore, C. S. A.:

Some idea may be formed of the artillery fire to which we were exposed when I state that a small party sent out for that purpose collected some 2,000 shells near and in the rear of the trenches occupied by our brigade. This was soon after the siege began, and it was but a portion of those that failed to explode. Only those who have tried it can tell the effect produced on men by keeping them forty-seven days and nights in narrow ditches, exposed to the scorching heat during the day, and often the chilly air and dews of night.‡

Gen. Louis Hebert says:

Forty-eight days and nights spent in trenches, exposed to the burning sun during the day and the chilly air of night, subject to a murderous storm of balls, shells, and war missiles of all kinds, cramped up in pits and holes not large enough to allow them to stretch their limbs; laboring day and night; fed on reduced rations of the poorest kind of food.||

Sufficient has been said, I think, to establish the fact of the extreme hardships of the campaign and of the privations endured.

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\*Vol. 24, Part I, page 33, Official Records.

†Vol. 24, Part II, page 351.

‡Ibid, page 332.

||Vol. 24, Part II, page 377, Official Records.

Now, let us look for a moment upon the percentage of loss, which in many of the engagements will compare favorably with those of the most sanguinary European battles, either in ancient or modern times.\* Gen. Dodge, of the U. S. army, in his "Caesar,"† gives a table of casualties in some ancient battles, citing twelve engagements in which there were engaged from 5,000 to 50,000 by the offensive party, in which the average percentage of loss is given at 27+ per cent. At Waterloo the French lost 21+ per cent,‡ and in the famous charge of the Light Brigade at Balaklava the loss was but 67+ per cent, and this was but a cavalry dash of a few hundred.||

The 17th Iowa at Champion's Hill lost in killed and wounded 25 per cent of the number engaged (report of Col. Hillis). Col. Holden Putnam, 93d Illinois, states the strength of his brigade to have been 1,700 men, and his loss at Champion's Hill 510, 30 per cent. Col. E. S. Sampson, 5th Iowa,§ reports his loss to have been 27 per cent. Gen. McGinnis reports his loss at Champion's Hill to have been, in the 11th Indiana 36 per cent, 24th Indiana 40 per cent, and an average per cent of the whole infantry force engaged, 26.20 per cent.

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\*In Fox's "Regimental Losses," page 46, the percentage of losses in some of the greatest wars and famous battles of the world are given. In the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 the German loss is stated to have been 3.1 per cent. In the Crimean war the allied armies are said to have lost 3.2 per cent—but in the American civil war the loss of the Union forces is given at 4.7 per cent, and the Confederate 9 per cent.

At the battle of Gravelotte, the Germans lost in killed and mortally wounded 14+ per cent, while Meade's loss at Gettysburg was 28 per cent, and Lee's considerably more. All the historians, we believe, agree that Borodino was the bloodiest battle since the introduction of gunpowder; the most credible statement of the losses sustained places the French loss in killed and wounded at 21 per cent, and the Russian loss at about 22 per cent.

Assuming that Pemberton had but 41,074 men at Vicksburg, his loss being 10,074 would make his percentage of loss (not including those surrendered) at 25+ per cent. Gen. Stephen D. Lee, in "Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society," says Pemberton's March (1863) returns, show, present for duty, 41,829, which agrees with his total losses and the number surrendered. Grant had 45,000 men when he began the campaign and about 70,000 at the close of the siege; his loss was 10,014, or 14+ per cent.

†Dodge's "Caesar," page 781.

‡Bourrienne, Vol. 4, page 180.

§McCarthy's "History of Our Times," Vol. 2, page 576.

§Vol. 24, Part II, page 316, Official Records.

The 21st Iowa lost 113 in killed, wounded and missing in the assault on the Confederate works May 22, 1863.\* I am unable to determine satisfactorily the number engaged, but assuming it to be the same as the 22d Iowa, to-wit: 200, its loss would be 56+ per cent. Lient. Cooley of Company D of the same regiment, in a recent letter states: "When we left for Jackson we had for duty about 160 men. Company D left Vicksburg with 12 men and during the siege of Jackson was reduced to 6 men."

Sergeant E. B. Snedigar, of the same company in a recent letter says: "In the record kept by Capt. Boardman I find 'our regiment lost fully one-half in killed and wounded on the 22d of May.'"

Geo. Crooke, adjutant of the regiment, says in his "History of the Twenty-first Iowa," on page 112, "The regiment numbered for effective service less than 200 men and officers, and arrived at Jackson mustering only 158 men for duty."

In a letter received recently from Wm. Fobes, a private in Company D, he states that he was the only private soldier in the company reporting for duty at that time.

Lient.-Col. Harvey Graham, of the 22d Iowa, says in a communication addressed to Maj. Gen. McClelland, Sept. 1, 1863,† that the strength of his regiment in the assault upon the Confederate works May 22, 1863, was 200. The loss of the regiment‡ was 164 or 82 per cent, far exceeding the loss of the Light Brigade made famous by Lord Tennyson.

A useless and criminal loss occurred at Jackson, Miss., July 12, 1863, in the brigade commanded by Col. I. C. Pugh, of the 41st Illinois, through the incompetency and criminal negligence of Gen. Lauman. The brigade went into action with 880 officers and men and lost 465 or 53 per cent. Thus the estimate placed upon his ability by C. A. Dana was verified.||

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\*Vol. 24, Part II, page 161, Official Records.

†Vol. 24, Part I, page 178.

‡Vol. 24, Part II, page 161.

||"Lauman is a brave man, but an ox is just as fit to command." Official Records, Vol. 24, Part I, page 108.

The 3d Iowa lost on that day 47 per cent of those engaged.

Col. Waul, of the Texas Legion, reports a loss of more than one-third of his command.\* Maj. Gen. John H. Forney a loss in his division of 24 per cent. Gen. S. M. Barton† says the loss in his brigade at Champion's Hill was over 42 per cent.

The troops marched from 12 to 28 miles per day; the 5th Iowa, 16 miles for six consecutive days; Gen. Ewing's brigade, 85 miles in three days—28 miles per day. Gen. Bowen says that "Gen. Tracy's brigade marched 100 miles, fought for twelve hours an army of five times their number, and all in the space of five days."

When it is remembered that these men carried not only their weapons and probably an average of forty rounds of cartridges, their rations, such as they had, knapsacks, and in fact furnished the transportation as well as the fighting machines for the army, it will readily be seen to what extreme fatigue they were exposed, and to what a trial their endurance was subjected.

By an act of the General Assembly of the State of Iowa, approved March 29, 1900, the governor was authorized to appoint a commission "To ascertain and exactly determine the positions of the Iowa troops in the campaign and siege of Vicksburg." Under the provisions of this act the governor appointed a commission, of which the writer was elected chairman. The commission visited Vicksburg in November, 1900, and duly located the several positions of the Iowa troops. Commissioners from the states of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Ohio, Minnesota, Missouri and Mississippi, have also visited the park and located the positions of their troops. Commissioners from the states of Texas, Tennessee and Illinois will perform their work at an early date. It is

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\*Vol. 24, Part II, page 353, Official Records.

†Ibid, page 100.



expected that commissions will be authorized and appointed from every state which had troops in Grant's, Pemberton's and Johnston's armies. The State of Iowa was the second state to locate positions, having been preceded a few days by Massachusetts.

The following statement shows the Union military organizations in the Vicksburg campaign:

Illinois—Infantry, 52; Cavalry, 10; Artillery, 15; total ...	77
Indiana—Infantry, 24; Cavalry, 2; Artillery, 2; total .....	28
Iowa—Infantry, 28; Cavalry, 2; Artillery, 2; total .....	32
Kansas—Infantry .....	1
Kentucky—Infantry, 8; Pioneers, 1; total .....	4
Massachusetts—Infantry .....	3
Michigan—Infantry, 7; Artillery, 2; total .....	9
Minnesota—Infantry, 8; Artillery, 1; total .....	4
Missouri—Infantry, 17; Cavalry, 8; Artillery, 7; total ....	27
New Hampshire—Infantry .....	3
New York—Infantry, 8; Artillery, 1; total .....	4
Ohio—Infantry, 26; Cavalry, 1; Artillery, 11; total .....	38
Pennsylvania—Infantry, 4; Artillery, 1; total .....	5
Rhode Island—Infantry .....	1
Regulars—Infantry, 2; Artillery, 1; total .....	3
West Virginia—Infantry .....	1
Wisconsin—Infantry, 13; Cavalry, 1; Artillery, 3; total ..	17

This makes an aggregate of 192 regiments or parts of regiments of infantry, 19 regiments of cavalry, and 46 batteries of artillery—257 organizations, not including eight regiments of negroes in process of enlistment.

The Confederate strength under Gen. Pemberton at Vicksburg was as follows:

Alabama—Infantry, 9; Artillery, 3; total .....	12
Arkansas—Infantry, 5; Cavalry, 1; Artillery, 2; total ....	8
Georgia—Infantry, 10; Artillery, 1; total .....	11
Louisiana—Infantry, 7; Artillery, 18; total .....	25
Missouri—Infantry, 5; Cavalry, 2; Artillery, 5; total ....	12
Mississippi—Infantry, 13; Artillery, 9; total .....	22
Maryland—Artillery .....	1
Tennessee—Infantry, 7; Cavalry, 1; Artillery, 8; total ....	16
Texas—Infantry, 3; Cavalry, 1; Artillery, 1; total .....	5
Virginia—Artillery .....	1

This including "City Guards," and "Partisan Rangers," credited to Mississippi, and, in the total, three companies "paroled" as "Signal Corps," with no state named, makes an aggregate of 62 regiments or parts of regiments of infantry, 5 of cavalry, and 49 batteries of artillery—116 organizations. At the same time Gen. Johnston appears to have had with him 85 regiments or parts of regiments of infantry, 3 of cavalry, and 14 batteries of artillery—102 organizations.

The following compilation of "Classified Casualties" in Iowa troops during the siege of Vicksburg and connected with the campaign from November, 1862, to the beginning of the siege proper, and after the close of the same, July 4, 1863, to the evacuation of Jackson, Miss., July 18, 1863, was furnished me by Adj. Gen. Melvin H. Byers, and is the work of Major T. F. Stephens, that most efficient, painstaking and obliging record clerk of the Iowa adjutant general's office. It is made from the written record of each regiment participating and will be found, I think, substantially correct. It differs, however, in several particulars from the table furnished by the United States Park Commission. This is notably true in the 21st, 23d, and 24th Infantry. It will thus be seen that Iowa lost 422 killed and 44 missing (who were doubtless among the killed), 151 captured, and 1,816 wounded, a total of 2,433.

## IOWA AT VICKSBURG.

Casualties classified in Iowa organizations during the siege of Vicksburg, Miss., from May 19 to July 4, 1863, and in battles, raids, scouts, and skirmishes prior to the siege and closely connected therewith, from November, 1862, and in the operations against Jackson, Miss., and its siege and evacuation, July 17, 1863, as taken from the records and Adjutant General's Reports of 1867.

Organization	Battles and Dates	Killed	Wounded	Captured	Missing	Total
2D CAV.	Holly Springs, Miss., Nov. 2, '62 ....	....	....	1 ....	....	1
	Holly Springs, Miss., Nov. 20, '62 ...	....	....	....	1	1
	Linnville, Tenn., Nov. 24, '62 .....	1	....	....	....	1
	Water Valley, Miss., Dec. 4, '62 .....	1	1	....	....	2
	Coffeeville, Miss., Dec. 5, '62 .....	....	5	2	1	8
	Oxford, Miss., Dec. 5, '62. ....	....	1	....	....	1
	Oxford, Miss., Dec. 30, '62 .....	....	1	5	....	6
	Grand Junction, Miss., Jan. 13, '63 ..	1	....	....	....	1
	Grand Junction, Miss., March 23, '63 ..	....	1	....	....	1
	Pale Alto, Miss., April 21, '63 .....	....	....	6	....	6
	Near La Grange, Tenn., April 25, '63. ....	....	1	....	....	1
	Wall's Hills, Miss., May 14, '63 .....	....	2	....	....	2
	Gibson's Plantation, Miss., May 18, '63 ..	....	2	....	....	2
	Santahoba, Miss., May 20, '63 .....	....	....	2	....	2
	Santahoba, Miss., May 23, '63 .....	....	1	....	....	1
	Totals .....	8	15	16	2	36
3D CAV.	Clinton, Miss., July 8, '63 .....	....	1	....	....	1
	Jackson, Miss., July 5, '63 .....	....	....	....	1	1
	Totals .....	....	1	....	1	2
4TH CAV.	Raymond, Miss., May 12, '63 .....	1	3	....	....	4
	Raymond, Miss., May 25, '63 .....	....	....	1	....	1
	Mechanicsburg, Miss., May 24, '63 ...	....	1	....	....	1
	Mechanicsburg, Miss., May 29, '63 ...	....	6	....	....	6
	Mechanicsburg, Miss., June 6, '63 ...	....	....	1	....	1
	Mechanicsburg, Miss., June 29, '63 ..	....	1	....	....	1
	Black River, Miss., June 22, '63 .....	2	2	24	....	28
	Bear Creek, Miss., June 22, '63 .....	7	2	....	....	9
	Rear Vicksburg, Miss., June 27, '63 .	....	....	1	....	1
	Totals .....	10	15	27	....	52
	Grand totals, 8 regiments cavalry .	18	31	43	8	90
3D INF.	On board steamer "Crescent City," near Island No. 82, July 18, '63 ....	....	14	....	....	14
	Vicksburg, (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63 .....	1	10	....	....	11
	Jackson, Miss., July 12, '63 .....	17	62	13	8	100
	Totals .....	18	86	13	8	125

Organization	Battles and Dates	Killed	Wounded	Captured	Missing	Total
4TH INF	Vicksburg or Chickasaw Bayou, Dec. 28, 29, '62 .....	6	111	....	....	117
	Arkansas Post, Jan. 11, '63 .....	....	1	....	....	1
	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63 .....	2	82	....	....	84
	Totals .....	8	144	....	....	152
5TH INF	Coffeeville, Miss., Dec. 5, '62 .....	....	1	....	....	1
	Jackson, Miss., May 14, '63 .....	....	4	1	....	5
	Champion's Hill, Miss., May 16, '63 ..	15	77	1	....	93
	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63 .....	4	28	....	....	27
	Totals .....	19	105	2	....	126
6TH INF	Black River Bridge and Jones Ford, July 8 and 6, '63 .....	1	12	2	1	16
	Jackson, Miss., July 10, 11, 15, 16, '63	4	27	8	5	39
	Near Jackson, Miss., May 18, 14, '63.	....	....	2	....	2
	Totals .....	5	39	7	6	57
8TH INF	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63 .....	....	7	....	....	7
	Jackson, Miss., July 10, 11, 12, 16, '63	....	4	11	....	15
	Totals .....	....	11	11	....	22
9TH INF	Chickasaw Bayou, Dec. 29, '62 .....	....	3	....	....	3
	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63 .....	33	95	....	....	128
	Totals .....	33	98	....	....	131
10TH INF	Champion's Hill, May 16, '63 .....	35	137	2	1	175
	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63 .....	2	27	....	1	30
	Totals .....	37	164	2	2	205
11TH INF	Vicksburg (siege of) May 4 to July 4, '63 .....	1	1	....	....	2
	Totals .....	1	1	....	....	2
12TH INF	Jackson, Miss., July 11, '63 .....	....	....	6	....	6
	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63 .....	1	4	....	....	5
	Totals .....	1	4	6	....	11
13TH INF	Raymond, Miss., May 16, '63 .....	....	1	....	....	1
	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63 .....	....	1	....	....	1
	Totals .....	....	2	....	....	2
* 15TH INF	Mechanicsville, Miss., Haines' Bluff, Miss., Vicksburg (siege of) Black River, May, June, July, '63 .....	....	....	....	....	....

\*Record does not show any casualties in this regiment in the Vicksburg campaign.

Organi- zation	Battles and Dates	Killed	Wounded	Captured	Missing	Totals
16TH INF	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63 .....	....	1	1	....	2
	Totals .....	....	1	1	....	2
17TH INF	Jackson, Miss., May 14, '63 .....	17	64	1	1	83
	Champion's Hill, May 16, '63 .....	5	47	4	1	57
	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63 .....	5	24	1	....	30
	Totals .....	27	135	6	2	170
19TH INF	*Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63 .....	....	....	....	....	....
	Yazoo City, Miss., about July 14, '63 .....	....	1	....	....	1
	Totals .....	....	1	....	....	1
20TH INF	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63 .....	1	5	....	....	6
	Totals .....	1	5	....	....	6
21ST INF	Port Gibson, May 1, '63 .....	1	13	8	....	17
	Black River, May 17, '63 .....	7	53	1	1	62
	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63 .....	25	72	3	1	101
	Jackson, Miss., July 11, 17, '63 .....	1	7	....	1	9
	Totals .....	34	145	7	3	189
22D INF	Port Gibson, May 1, '63 .....	2	15	....	....	17
	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63 .....	34	131	10	1	176
	Jackson, Miss., July 17, '63 .....	....	7	....	....	7
	Totals .....	36	153	10	1	200
23D INF	Port Gibson, May 1, '63 .....	7	16	1	....	24
	Black River, May 17, '63 .....	10	80	....	....	90
	Milliken's Bend, June 7, '63 .....	24	19	....	....	143
	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63 .....	1	3	....	....	4
	Totals .....	42	118	1	....	161
24TH INF	Milliken's Bend, April 27, '63 .....	....	1	....	....	1
	Port Gibson, May 1, '63 .....	....	4	....	....	4
	Champion's Hill, May 16, '63 .....	45	104	7	....	156
	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63 .....	....	7	....	....	7
	Jackson, Miss., May 14, '63 .....	....	1	....	....	1
	Totals .....	45	117	7	....	169

\*Record shows no casualties.

†The U. S. Commissioner's figures, Art. 217.

‡See Official Records, Part I, vol. 24, page 96. Loss 86.

§The U. S. Commissioners' figures, Art. 229.

¶The U. S. Commissioners' figures, Art. 200.

Organi- zation	Battles and Dates	Killed	Wounded	Captured	Missing	Totals
25TH INF	Arkansas Post, Jan. 11, '63.....	7	47	3	9	66
	Raymond, May 15, '63.....	....	....	1	....	1
	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63.....	13	42	....	4	59
	Jackson, Miss., July 12, 13, '63.....	1	1	....	....	2
	Totals .....	21	90	4	13	128
26TH INF	Arkansas Post, Jan. 11, '63 .....	18	73	....	....	91
	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63.....	7	28	1	1	37
	Totals .....	25	101	1	1	128
28TH INF	Port Gibson, May 1, '63 .....	1	18	....	....	19
	Champion's Hill, May 16, '63 .....	23	69	10	4	106
	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63.....	3	7	....	....	10
	Jackson, Miss, July 11, 20, '63.....	....	1	1	....	2
	Totals .....	27	95	11	4	137
30TH INF	Chickasaw Bayou, Dec. 29, '62 .....	....	2	....	....	2
	Arkansas Post, Jan. 11, '63 .....	4	38	....	....	42
	Champion's Hill, May 18, '63 .....	....	1	....	....	1
	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63.....	12	62	....	....	74
	Totals .....	16	103	....	....	119
31ST INF	Arkansas Post, Jan. 11, '63 .....	....	12	....	....	12
	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63.....	4	20	....	....	24
	Totals .....	4	32	....	....	36
34TH INF	Arkansas Post, Jan. 11, '63 .....	1	7	....	....	8
	On steamer "Nebraska" Jan. 25, '63 .....	....	1	....	....	1
	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63.....	2	4	....	....	6
	Totals .....	3	12	....	....	15
35TH INF	Black River, July 4, '63.....	1	....	....	....	1
	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63.....	....	2	....	....	2
	Jackson, Miss., July 12, 14, '63.....	1	1	10	1	13
	Totals .....	2	3	10	1	16
38TH INF	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63.....	1	1	....	....	2
	Totals .....	1	1	....	....	2
* 40TH INF	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63.....	....	....	....	....	....
	Grand totals 28 regiments infantry	406	1766	99	41	2312

\*Ordered to Haines' Bluffs May 31, '63, to take part in Vicksburg campaign, but had no casualties. In "Army of Observation"—so called.

Organiza- tion	Battles and Dates	Killed	Wounded	Captured	Missing	Totals
Lt. Artill						
1st Bat	Port Gibson, May 1, '68 .....	....	8	....	....	8
	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '68.....	1	5	....	....	6
	Totals .....	1	8	....	....	9
2d Bat	Jackson, Miss., May 14, '63 .....	....	1	....	....	1
	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '68.....	1	4	....	....	5
	Totals .....	1	5	....	....	6
	Grand totals, 2 batteries artillery..	2	13	....	....	15

## SUPPLEMENTARY TABLE.

27TH INF	Near Waterford, Miss., Nov., Dec., '62	....	2	2	....	4
29TH INF	Yazoo Pass, April, '63.....	*1	....	....	....	1
33d INF	Yazoo Pass, Feb., '63 .....	....	....	7	....	7
36TH INF	Yazoo Expedition, Feb., '63 .....	....	4	....	....	4
	Grand totals, 4 regiments infantry	1	6	9	....	16

## SUMMARY.

Cavalry, 3 regiments .....	18	31	43	3	90
Infantry, 28 regiments .....	406	1766	99	41	2312
Artillery, 2 batteries .....	2	18	....	....	15
Infantry, 4 regiments (supplementary table).	1	6	9	....	16
Grand totals .....	422	1816	151	44	2433
Casualties at siege of Vicksburg (proper), May 18 to July 4, 1863.....	154	619	16	8	797
Casualties all other engagements in the Vicks- burg campaign from Nov. 1862, to July 18, 1863, aside from siege proper .....	268	1197	135	36	1636
Grand totals .....	422	1816	151	44	2433

\*Drowned in Tallehatchie river.

ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,  
DES MOINES, IOWA, October 16, 1901. }

Col. J. K. P. Thompson, Rock Rapids, Iowa:

DEAR COLONEL: Replying to your inquiry of October 15, I beg to submit the following list of organizations and troops furnished by the State of Iowa during the War of the Rebellion, as taken from Adjutant General N. B. Baker's Report for 1865.

M. H. BYRNS,

Adjutant General.

Organization	Men	Organization	Men
1st Infantry, 8 mos.....	915	34th Infantry, 3 yrs.....	953
2d " " 8 yrs.....	1247	35th " " ".....	984
3d " " ".....	1074	36th " " ".....	986
4th " " ".....	1184	37th " " ".....	914
5th " " ".....	1037	38th " " ".....	910
6th " " ".....	1013	39th " " ".....	933
7th " " ".....	1138	40th " " ".....	900
8th " " ".....	1027	41st " " " *battalion	294
9th " " ".....	1090	1st Cavalry, 3 yrs.....	1478
10th " " ".....	1027	2d " " ".....	1394
11th " " ".....	1022	3d " " ".....	1360
12th " " ".....	981	4th " " ".....	1227
13th " " ".....	989	5th " " ".....	1245
14th " " ".....	840	6th " " ".....	1125
15th " " ".....	1196	7th " " ".....	562
16th " " ".....	919	8th " " ".....	1234
17th " " ".....	956	9th " " ".....	1178
18th " " ".....	875	*Sioux City Cavalry, 3 yrs...	98
19th " " ".....	985	Co. A 11th Penn. Cavalry 3 yrs	87
20th " " ".....	925	1st Battery, 3 yrs.....	149
21st " " ".....	980	2d " " ".....	123
22d " " ".....	1008	3d " " ".....	142
23d " " ".....	961	4th " " ".....	152
24th " " ".....	979	1st Iowa African Inf. or 60th	
25th " " ".....	995	U. S.....	908
26th " " ".....	919	Dodge's Brigade Band.....	14
27th " " ".....	940	Band of 2d Iowa Infantry...	10
28th " " ".....	956	44th Infantry, 100 days....	867
29th " " ".....	1005	45th " " ".....	912
30th " " ".....	978	46th " " ".....	892
31st " " ".....	977	47th " " ".....	884
32d " " ".....	925	48th (battalion) ".....	346
33d " " ".....	985		
		Total.....	56,344

Enlistments as far as reported to January 1, 1864, for the older Iowa regiments.....	2,765
Enlistments of Iowa men in regiments of other states.....	2,500
Re-enlisted veterans for different regiments.....	7,202
Additional enlistments.....	6,664
Brought forward.....	56,344

Grand total men furnished..... 75,475

NOTE—The 42d and 43d regiments of Infantry were ordered raised and numbers assigned (42 and 43) but they were never filled. Those (few) enrolled for these numbers were distributed as recruits among old regiments.

\*Afterwards consolidated with 7th Cavalry.



General summary of casualties in the Union forces during the operation against Vicksburg, May 1 to July 4, 1863, as shown by the Official Records:

The aggregate loss, including the battles of Port Gibson, Raymond, Jackson, Champion's Hill, Black River, Milliken's Bend, and Vicksburg, and numerous skirmishes in the meantime, was 10,014.

Summary of the casualties of Confederate forces in the Vicksburg campaign, as shown by the Official Records:

Port Gibson, Smith's and Stevenson's divisions .....	832
Raymond.....	514
Jackson, May 14 .....	845
Champion's Hill .....	3,624
Black River Bridge.....	1,024
Vicksburg (Baldwin, Vaughn and Dockery not reporting).....	2,872
Milliken's Bend.....	725
Partial report of Baldwin and Vaughn.....	40
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>10,476</b>
<b>Federal loss .....</b>	<b>10,014</b>
<b>Excess of Confederate loss.....</b>	<b>462</b>
Surrendered at Vicksburg .....	29,491
Captured by expeditionary armies.....	1,147
Killed, wounded and missing (as above).....	10,476
<b>Total Confederate loss .....</b>	<b>41,114</b>

Add to this those not reported and those who died in hospitals before paroling could be completed, and those who escaped or concealed themselves, together with the stragglers, and one can readily reconcile the numbers with those given by Gen. Badeau.\*

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\*Official Records, Vol. 24, Part I, page 53.

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IN A word, we may gather out of history a policy no less wise than eternal, by the comparison and application of other men's forepassed miseries with our own like errors and ill-deservings.—*Sir Walter Raleigh.*

## THE PRESERVATION OF IOWA'S PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.

BY FRANK I. HERRIOTT, PH. D.

We appreciate a thing most when we come seriously to want it and then learn that although once obtainable in abundance it can not be had for love or great price. Not long is it going to be before the people of Iowa, or rather the reading public, students and investigators, realize with surprise and unspeakable regret the force of this observation as regards the documentary records of the State.

It is no less astonishing than it is shameful, yet it is unquestionably true that, with the possible exception of the library of the State Historical Society at Iowa City there is not a library in Iowa that has a complete set of all our printed State records or public documents. The State Library does not possess them, nor does the Historical Library. But what is worse and most deplorable is the fact that these records, many of them, especially the earlier ones and not a few of those of later years, are not in our State document room, and it is difficult to secure them elsewhere even with the assistance of collectors of rare books, who charge us handsome prices for obtaining them. It is with chagrin that Iowa scholars are compelled to admit that in Madison, in the Wisconsin Historical Library, there are more complete files of some of our State records than we can boast of here in Iowa.

But stranger still, there is not an office or department in the capitol of Iowa, whose history dates back thirty years, that possesses a complete file of its printed reports to the governor or to the legislature. The Treasurer's department has a bound volume containing his reports as far back as 1856, but of few, if any, other departments can as much be said. Governor C. C. Carpenter's message in 1876 can no longer be obtained, In fact, all of the legislative documents of that year are gone.

It cannot be said that we have not been forewarned and repeatedly urged to take suitable measures to preserve our public documents. But the anxiety of the student and investigator, who especially appreciates the inestimable value of original public records, counts for little with a busy public that usually can see only waste paper in an old House or Senate journal or committee report that may be covered with the dust and mould of a fifty years' sojourn in an attic or cellar.

In 1858, three Commissioners appointed by Governor Ralph P. Lowe under the Act of 1858 (Ch. 160, 7th G. A.), made a searching investigation of the files and the methods, work and accounts of the several State offices and reported their findings to the governor, June 1, 1858. The chairman of that commission and the author, no doubt, of the report was no less a person than our distinguished diplomat and scholar, Hon. John A. Kasson, who has always shown his keen appreciation of the value of historical data and documentary sources and the best means for their preservation. Reporting upon the results of their investigations in the governor's office the committee said:

No papers or records of the Executives of the Territorial Government are now to be found in the possession of the State Government. None of the papers or records of the Governors of the State prior to Governor Grimes, now remain in the possession of the State, so far as we can ascertain. The correspondence of this office during the term of Governor Grimes, has been preserved; but no other papers of his term, nor books, are found in the office.

Governor Lowe has instituted efforts, which promise to be successful, to obtain the official letters and papers of Governors Lucas and Clarke, and at least a part of Governor Chambers, of the Territory. It is expected that these will contain important facts respecting the Missouri boundary question, arising from which this State has a claim on the General Government. It is not known that any other executive papers can now be recovered.\*

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\*Report of the Commissioners appointed to investigate the several State offices for the years 1858 and 1859, pp 7-8.

A part of the correspondence of the territorial governors, referred to by the commissioners in 1858, was recently recovered from the files of the General Land Office, at Washington, as a result of the efforts of the Curator of the Historical Library, Mr. Charles Aldrich, with the assistance of Iowa's congressional delegation.

After making some specific recommendations as to the preservation of the records of the executive actions and official papers, the committee continues:

. . . We have elsewhere referred to the need, in other State offices, of a volume of records of reports made by those officers to the General Assembly or to the Governor. The same necessity exists in this office for a manuscript record, well indexed by subjects, of all Executive Proclamations, and communications to the General Assembly. With the lapse of time, the printed copies may be lost: they are even now obtained with difficulty for the earlier periods of our brief history as a State and Territory.\*

The effect of that report, in which facts no matter how disagreeable they might be, were unflinchingly reported and conditions were described without reservation, had a beneficial effect that was immediately perceptible. Many of the officials acted upon the recommendations and took greater precautions to preserve systematically the records of their acts. In the next general assembly a resolution was introduced by Mr. D. D. Sabin, of Mitchell county, February 9, 1860, and adopted, calling for an investigation of the means then available for preserving public records, especially as against fire. On February 18, Mr. S. B. Rosenkrans, of Hamilton county, reported upon the matter, declaring the provisions inadequate for preserving the State's original and printed records, and "further protection imperatively demanded."<sup>†</sup> The result was the introduction of a bill for "An Act providing greater safety for books, papers and records belonging to the State," in the house of representatives, March 9, 1860. It provided for the erection on Capitol square of a building with "fire proof" vaults; but the legislature appropriated only \$3,500 for the structure. The bill passed and was approved by Governor Kirkwood April 13, 1860.<sup>‡</sup>

To students of origins and beginnings of institutions it is an interesting fact that the author of the original resolution that led up to the act referred to above was not its formal

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\*Ibid, p. 8.

†House Journal, 1860, p. 263.

‡Laws of 1860, Ch. 96.

introducer, but the then clerk of the House, who has since become well known for his interests and energetic labors along the same lines indicated in the resolution he drafted nearly forty-two years ago. To his indefatigable labors and generous donations the people of Iowa are indebted for the Aldrich Collection, and because of his industry, tact and perseverance, despite heavy odds, the State can now congratulate herself on the establishment and construction of the present Historical Library, of which he is appropriately the Curator.

Unfortunately the legislature in 1860 was parsimonious and short-sighted in appropriating so small an amount for the "Warehouse," as it was designated. A building for the safe-keeping of the State's records and documents that could be constructed within the limits of the appropriation could be neither safe nor adequate. A wooden frame veneered with brick was built. On the night of November 7, 1884, the warehouse, with its "fire-proof vaults," and the most of a considerable collection of public documents stored within, was destroyed by fire.

Besides that untoward event there occurred a wholesale destruction of State reports that some day will be recited with amazement by librarians deprived of valuable documents and annoyed by the incompleteness of their collections. Although many years ago, the transaction took place within the memory of men now living. The old warehouse became overstocked. Or, rather, the old capitol became crowded; more office room was needed; and it was acquired by poaching on the space of the warehouse. The matter of interest here is that various and sundry in authority came to the conclusion that the most of the documents, at least those of earlier years, stored in the building, especially constructed for their preservation, were simply so much "junk" and were better carted out. So decidedly were they of this opinion that, no one offering to buy them as waste paper, they had a man take them out, leaving a small number of each report on

the shelves for any one who might possibly call for them. It required more than two weeks for the man and his cart or wagon to get the documents out and load them in cars for shipment. Several cars were filled. One of the writer's informants, both witnesses of the transaction, told him that the party doing the job realized a handsome return for his labors in the sale of the documents.

Giving some reminiscences at the second reunion of the Pioneer Law-Maker's Association, in 1890, Hon. C. C. Nourse related his experiences in securing materials relating to the early history of the State in the course of the preparation of his historical address on behalf of the State of Iowa at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, in 1876. Among other things he said:

. . . I want to say here in this connection with that resolution [viz: one urging the legislature to collect and preserve documents and early State records] that was adopted, when you go to find something of the early history of Iowa, and something of the archives of Iowa, do not go to the State Library. You will find in the old capitol building, a dark room in the basement that is full of old papers from the ceiling to the floor, packed away in store boxes, mouldy and full of dust, [and] in pigeon holes. The State of Iowa ought to send some person into that dark hole, if it is there yet full of those papers, to sort out and save whatever is valuable in that subterranean treasury, and probably you will find the Journal of that convention there. [Constitutional Convention of 1846.] I have found some valuable matters in time past. I simply go to the janitor of the building when I want to find out anything there.\*

The completion of the capitol in 1884 gave the State more room and a safe store-house for the annual output of official reports and public records. The inauguration of the Historical Department, in 1892, has since wrought great changes in public sentiment and practice respecting the preservation of records of the State's history. But there still prevails a practice in the distribution or disposal of our State reports that has been almost as deplorable in its results as the fire in 1884.

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\*Proceedings and Papers of the Second Reunion of the Pioneer Law-Makers of Iowa, at Des Moines, February 27-29, 1890, pp. 77-78.

It has long been the custom to ship out all, or as many as possible, of the reports, as fast as possible. "Get rid of them," seems to be the motto. For years past, during the annual State Fairs, or at times when the capitol is crowded with visiting excursionists, one would almost invariably come across piles of documents at various places in the basement corridors with placards thereon with the invitation in bold and staring letters, "HELP YOURSELF!" School children have been seen on the streets of the capital city indulging in sham battles with Iowa documents as missiles of offense and defense. For days thereafter the winds would whisk about the leaves and labels, covers and wrappings, of books destroyed in the melees. A waste, an utter and senseless waste of documents that will be worth, if they are not already worth, their weight in gold to the host of libraries now coming into existence in Iowa.

In defence of such extravagant distribution it will be said that there is not room enough in the basement store rooms of the capitol to keep the annual accumulations of documents. This is more or less true, although the fact does not fully justify the reckless waste of the past. The basement rooms are obviously not adapted for storage rooms and never were so intended. The State's public documents should be placed in a warehouse especially constructed for their reception and storage. Such a building could properly be a part of a Hall of Archives, a matter to be dealt with later.

With the exception of the laws and supreme court reports, and now and then an especially noteworthy document, it has never been the practice of the State Library to have set apart a certain number or proportion of each report published to be reserved entirely for the use of the library in effecting exchanges and assisting other and newly founded libraries in completing their collections. It usually takes ten to twenty years for the managements of new libraries, or their patrons, to learn to appreciate the great importance of public documents. During such time the State Library should act in

*loco parentis* and preserve for them valuable records that otherwise would be lost for most of them. It is not unreasonable to assume that the world, and the State of Iowa in particular, are likely to continue for the next hundred years or more, and we should act in the interim with a view to the needs of the teeming cities and towns of our commonwealth.

If it were made a statutory duty that certain reservations of our State documents be made as suggested and placed under the control of the State Library it would not be long before the law would prove to be an inestimable boon to our young and growing libraries. The past decade has seen a great increase in the number of libraries in Iowa. In 1885 we had 47; in 1895 the number had increased to 153; and in 1900 there were 204 reported. Under the impulse given the library movement since the enactment of the law providing for the present Library Commission, the day is not far distant when the vast majority of our towns and cities will have public libraries and the demand for the completion of sets of our State documents will be urgent, but alack for the most part without avail. Take such a recent publication as the "Official Register." None of the earlier numbers can be obtained except from the second-hand book dealers. Just recently the public has learned that the entire edition of the issue of 1901 has been exhausted.\*

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\*Since the above was written the secretary of the State Library Commission, Miss Alice S. Tyler, has issued "Leaflet No. 2," directing the attention of the librarians of the State, and of those interested in the establishment and equipping of libraries, to various sources of information relative to the history of Iowa, among others, various State publications. She especially urges the early acquisition of these valuable sources or the completion of their files. For the use of librarians there is contemplated, she informs me, a printed check list of all Iowa documents now obtainable. All this means that the libraries of Iowa are soon going to be searching far and wide for the volumes necessary to complete their files, which, but for the senseless waste of them in the past, they would be able for the most part to secure without difficulty or expense.

As a part of its work in promoting libraries the commission receives and distributes files of the current magazines, acting in this way as a sort of clearing house for the libraries and book clubs of the State. If Iowa documents were included in these exchanges many rare and valuable reports could be easily recovered and many libraries would be enabled to complete their files or effect valuable exchanges. In every town and city of the State there may be found numbers of State documents, the possessors of which may or may not appreciate, who, if the matter were properly presented, no doubt would give them to the secretary of the commission for the purposes here suggested.



The rapid exhaustion, waste, and complete loss of so much of our valuable material in the writing of Iowa's history, and the growing demand for the reproduction of much of that original data, make most timely and important the various measures already taken, or urged, to reprint the early laws of the Territory and State and the messages and official papers of the governors. In his second biennial message to the legislature, in January, 1890, Governor William Larrabee advocated the reprinting of the early laws, urging the matter in the following words:

The statutes of the Territory of Iowa, which are now out of print, ought to be compiled and republished, together with those of the territories of Michigan and Wisconsin affecting Iowa. The acts of the first and fifth, and perhaps of some other early general assemblies, are also becoming very scarce, and might be reprinted with advantage. (p. 59.)

Governor Larrabee's suggestion was not acted upon until 1895, when the State Historical Society began, under the editorship of Professor B. F. Shambaugh of the university, the reprinting of selected laws and documents illustrative of early Iowa history. His admirable series is intended primarily for class-room use, and for those who want the chief or most important documentary materials of the early history of Iowa. For those, however, who wish to make exhaustive original researches the entire body of Territorial laws and early State laws should be reprinted and made available for use in every public library in Iowa. A beginning has been made. Last year the Historical Department, under the direction of Curator Charles Aldrich, reprinted all of the laws adopted at the first session of the Iowa territorial legislature of 1838-1839. It is most devoutly to be wished that this is but the beginning of a series of reprints that will include not only those urged by Governor Larrabee, but the Indian treaties affecting Iowa, the letters and papers of the territorial governors, the journals of the first two constitutional conventions and a score of other rare and invaluable documents that constitute the chief sources of our information respecting the beginnings of our State's history.

If the reasons for the preservation of the State's printed records are worthy of our attention, the reasons for the preservation of the official records and papers of the State are imperatively urgent. As Mr. Kasson and his associates pointed out in 1858, it is very important to keep complete records of official transactions and papers, and so far as practicable to keep these records in the form of permanent record books. But such records are not to be discarded or destroyed the moment they pass out of daily or current use. It is just as important to provide for their safe-keeping and permanent preservation. One would think there should exist no need for insistence upon such elemental truths. There is, nevertheless, need of constant emphasis being placed on them. The present facilities for keeping the precious papers and archives of the State of Iowa are very meagre, and some of the methods heretofore pursued are somewhat inadequate.

The leading executive departments are now crowded for office space in the capitol. Not all of the offices possess vaults in which books and papers can be kept safe from fire or theft. This is true of the offices of the adjutant general, attorney general, secretary of the executive council, and to a large extent of the board of control. Their books and papers are packed away on open shelves or in back rooms. The vaults in many instances are full to overflowing. Papers and files are already "jammed" together to gain space. This is especially true in the offices of the secretary of state, auditor, and treasurer of state. With the rapidly accumulating mass of original papers it will not be long before there will be inextricable confusion of valuable papers and more or less loss resulting. As it is the State's archives are not always carefully and systematically catalogued, classified and thus made easily accessible. Those of recent years are, of course, obtainable without much labor; but those of earlier periods usually require a hunt of considerable duration and success may or may not attend the result.

With the changing administrations and the practice of

rotation in the clerical forces that have practical charge of the arrangement of the State's archives for reference and safe-keeping, there is not always assured the utmost appreciation of the value of the State's records, either recent or ancient. They are sometimes regarded as so much lumber, and now and then treated as such. A few years ago a person in search of some information from official sources was permitted to go into the vault of the office having charge of the records he desired. He found the archives of that important office—not on the shelves properly arranged, but in an indiscriminate heap on the floor of the vault! There in confusion and neglect lay a mass of original records of the State government of Iowa covering forty years or more of her history. All sorts and sizes of record books relating to various classes of important matters of the State's business made up the heap. Covers of some of the books had been half torn off, or badly wrenched, and leaves were wrinkled, crushed and torn. The visitor asked the clerk who was assisting in searching for the desired books how long they had been left in that condition, and he replied, "Three months or so. Some men making an examination here awhile back tossed things about this way and no one has taken the trouble since to put them on the shelves, where they ought to be."

Such gross neglect of valuable records is exceptional, of course, yet to a greater or less extent the State of Iowa permits and in a way encourages precisely this sort of indifference respecting the preservation of her archives, since no suitable place is provided for them.

Persons seeking historical data or information bearing upon some claim or legal controversy, which can be obtained only from original official records, should be able to get what they seek without inconvenience or long delay. They should be able to obtain on call the original of any legislative bill or of any report of any legislative committee, with all papers and documents pertaining thereto, introduced in either the house or senate of the general assembly since Iowa became

a State. But it is very doubtful if such is possible for many years back. In some recent researches the writer learned, much to his regret, that the original of an important house bill, introduced in 1870, had not been preserved.

With the present inadequate facilities for preserving the original documents of the State these conditions are not going to improve. From the nature of the case they are bound to get worse. The accumulations are augmenting much more rapidly in these days than was the case twenty-five years ago. The volume of work in each office has increased and there has been a marked increase in the number of offices in the capitol. Take, for instance, the offices of the board of control and of the treasurer of state. In the offices of the board is now done the work formerly done at thirteen State institutions, with much in addition, with an elaborate system of accounting for each several transaction. But besides the records and files of their own separate work there is kept a complete set of records, in duplicate, of the books in use at the various institutions under the board. The volume of work in their offices is immense, and the piling up of records and papers will very soon outgrow their present vault room. The same is to be said of the treasurer's office. The board of control act and the various acts relative to the taxation of collateral inheritances have increased a hundred fold the volume of business in that department, and to take care of his books and papers the treasurer has almost, if not quite, the poorest vault in the capitol. It is a mere "cubby hole." So many records are now in daily use in the department that two years ago it was found impracticable to keep them in the vault and a large steel book-rack with steel curtain cover was purchased and set up in the main office in which to keep them from fire and molestation. He has a large assortment of old receipt and check stubs, covering the transactions of twenty-five to forty years, that he can only pile up like so much cordwood on the topmost shelf of the vault. Should one of these stubs be called for it requires no little disagreeable labor,

high up on a ladder, in the hot, musty air at the top of the vault, to secure the record desired.

The present capitol building is generally assumed to be fireproof, and such, for the most part, is the case; yet the risks of losses of records and documents from fire are very considerable. The furnishings of many of the offices are in wood, and the record and file cases are made of wood. About a year ago this winter, late one night, a fire was discovered in the office of the secretary of the executive council, fortunately in time to prevent any damage; but had it got under headway the records of the council for a quarter of a century would have been lost or practically ruined by water. All of the military records of the adjutant general's office are kept in wooden cases. In 1895 a fire, that started from a collection of cast-off oiled rags, destroyed the back of the case containing all of the muster rolls of our Iowa troops during the civil war. The fire was discovered before it reached the files in the case, but for the merest luck, a very valuable and indispensable collection of the State's archives would have been lost.

This state of affairs is a matter for serious consideration by the legislature. The suggestion, some time since made in these pages,\* and in the recent report of the curator of the Historical Library, that there is need of the erection of a "Hall of Archives," is most timely. For it is only in a building, especially constructed for their reception and storage, that official records can be suitably provided for, where they can be thoroughly classified, labeled, numbered, catalogued, or indexed and filed away in systematic fashion, year after year, safe from fire, theft or negligent care, and at all times easily accessible to any in search of original sources.

It is not alone the historical student and investigator who is interested in the preservation of original documentary records. Every lawyer and every litigant in the State, every man and woman who, in the future, may be involved in liti-

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\*See ANNALS OF IOWA, Vol V, p. 66.

gation to protect or secure their rights, every taxpayer, have a vital interest in their maintenance and security. Life, liberty, reputation, property, when in question may rest entirely upon the authenticity and accessibility of official records. If official records are insufficient or undiscoverable, courts may resort to collateral evidence, namely, contemporary or antecedent records, for information upon which to base their conclusions respecting contested matters.\* If, therefore, constant care is not exercised on the part of the State's officers to secure and keep intact and safe from fire, dampness, decomposition, or theft, all official records and related documentary materials, individuals and corporate bodies, private and public, may suffer serious deprivation because rights assumed or claimed can not be substantiated for lack of the original records. Innumerable instances might be given. Two interesting illustrations will suffice.

From 1872 to 1874 the State of Iowa had a commission to investigate the numerous contested claims to land titles in the Des Moines river valley. The commission examined into hundreds of claims, took an immense amount of testimony, all of which they filed with their report to Governor C. C. Carpenter in 1873. One of the members of that commission informs me that he has since received many inquiries asking for re-scripts of some of the evidence collected at that time for use in legal controversies, but that the papers filed with the reports have disappeared from the office where they were deposited; at least, he has never been able to get at them if perchance they are stored away in some nook or "cubby hole" of the capitol.

At this very time, Hon. J. S. Lothrop, of Sioux City, late State Senator from Woodbury county, is prosecuting an investigation that affords striking confirmation of what has just been said respecting the vital importance of preserving the State's archives. Senator Lothrop believes that the State of

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\*See the case of *Allen vs. Clayton*, decided by the Supreme Court of Iowa in 1884, Iowa Reports, vol. 63, p. 11.

Iowa has a substantial claim against the national government for accrued interest on the funds advanced by Iowa during the civil war in equipping troops for the government and sending them to the front earlier than otherwise they could have been. Iowa advanced large amounts to assist in that work, borrowing \$300,000 and in still other ways extending her credit to the nation. Repayment of the principal of her outlay, although ultimately made, was long delayed and the State was never reimbursed for the interest she paid out on her loans and the other sums advanced. In making his researches for evidence on which to rest his claim, Senator Lothrop experienced some difficulty in obtaining the official records during some portions of the period he was investigating. Prior to 1863 many of the records in both the auditor's and treasurer's offices are missing. The point to be noted here is that the inquiry he has made may mean several hundred thousand dollars to our State treasury. Recent decisions of the court of claims at Washington respecting the claims of other states similarly urged have been adjudged favorably to the claimants. But the State of Iowa must rest her claim upon old and musty records, not always carefully kept. If success attends Senator Lothrop's quest, the State will realize nearly enough to build a Hall of Archives comparable in architectural dimensions and attractiveness with the plan of the Historical Library. This financial phase of the preservation of archives should lessen the size of the obstacle which no doubt looms large in the minds of taxpayers and their representatives, when the erection of such a building is urged.

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THE IDOL of to-day pushes the hero of yesterday out of our recollection, and will in time be supplanted by his successor of to-morrow.— *Washington Irving.*







**THE INDIAN CHIEF KEOKUK—"THE WATCHFUL FOX."**

This half-tone portrait is from a daguerrotype taken in 1847, when the great chief was 67 years of age. THE ANNALS copies it from a photograph from the original, kindly furnished by Dr. J. M. Shaffer of the city of Keokuk. This has been generally accepted by historical writers as a faithful likeness of that celebrated Iowa Chief.

# ANNALS OF IOWA.

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## EDITORIAL · DEPARTMENT.

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### COLONEL KINSMAN.

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Since the civil war few men of his rank have been so well remembered in this State as Colonel William H. Kinsman. True, he was a brave, impulsive and most efficient soldier, who was killed in battle; but this might be said of many others who were quite his equals, but of whom the general recollection is growing dim with the flight of years. His name has lived while "the mould is gathering upon the memories" of so many others. In addition, however, to his high, manly, and soldierly qualities, he was most fortunate in other respects. He was the idol of two famous regiments, the Fourth and the Twenty-third Infantry, the survivors of which may be found in many Iowa counties, and an officer whose characteristics gave him a warm place in the affections of his men. He stood high in the regard of Gen. G. M. Dodge, with whom he was upon terms of close friendship in private life before the war. The friendship of Gen. Dodge greatly aided Kinsman in the early days of his military service, though he possessed the elements which make up the dashing soldier. He would have won higher promotion had his life been spared.

In the pages of this number of THE ANNALS Gen. Dodge gives to history his recollections of his friend and fellow soldier, paying a generous tribute to his many high qualities. This article was written nearly a year ago, long before the recovery of Col. Kinsman's remains. Gen. Dodge sometime since determined that the remains of the gallant soldier should be brought home to Council Bluffs for final burial, with such honors as people so spontaneously pay to the illustrious dead. Two expeditions were set on foot by him and carried through at his expense. The last was successful and the

grave was located by men who had helped bury the soldier, and his remains were sent home. Upon their receipt at Council Bluffs, Gen. Dodge published the following open letter to his old comrades in arms. It explains itself:

TO MY COMRADES.

COUNCIL BLUFFS, IOWA, Nov. 26, 1901.

*To My Comrades of the Fourth and Twenty-third Iowa Infantry:*

The remains of W. H. Kinsman of Council Bluffs, Iowa, who was a lieutenant and captain in Company B, Fourth Iowa Infantry, and lieutenant-colonel and colonel of the Twenty-third Iowa Infantry, have been recovered by Lieut. J. A. Straight and Jesse Truitt of the Twenty-third Iowa, and are now deposited in a vault in Fairview cemetery in this city.

It is intended to erect a suitable monument to his memory, and it is my wish that every living comrade of the two regiments in which he so gallantly served, should have an opportunity to aid in the erection of the monument, no matter how small the amount. The names of every one of you should appear in honoring the memory of your comrade and commander, and you should also be present at the unveiling of the monument, May 17, 1902.

As the contract for the monument must be made immediately, in order to have it completed in time, your donation should be prompt and forwarded to E. J. Abbott, adjutant, Abe Lincoln Post, G. A. R., Council Bluffs, Iowa. The comrades who see this are requested to inform all comrades of their acquaintance in either regiment.

GRENVILLE M. DODGE.

THE ANNALS of July next will no doubt present some account of the final tribute to the memory of Col. Kinsman, including the dedication of the monument, to pay for which his old comrades in arms are now sending in their contributions.

After the foregoing article was prepared, we received from Gen. G. M. Dodge, copied by a friend, the following item from the genealogical record of the Kinsman family:

William Henry, son of Theodorus Kinsman, born July 11, 1832, graduated from Claverack Academy in Claverack, Columbia county, N. Y., about 1857 studied law. When the war broke out joined the army, rose to the rank of colonel of the Twenty-third Iowa Infantry, and fell in battle near Vicksburg, Miss., May 17, 1863, in Grant's army.

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JUSTICE TO MR. COFFIN.

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We believe it must be known to every intelligent reader that the movement to require the railroad companies throughout the United States to furnish their cars with safety appliances to prevent the maiming and killing of their brakemen, origin-

ated with Hon. Lorenzo S. Coffin of Webster county, Iowa. We mention this matter just now for the purpose of stating that other parties are claiming the credit of this great undertaking. This is not to be wondered at, for it is seldom, indeed, that any genuine reform comes to its fruition without a like result. There are always "claimants" of the credit of every good work, whether it be the writing of an immortal poem or the initiation of a great measure of reform. Mr. Coffin, the pioneer in this movement, seems unlikely to escape the common fate of all true reformers. But hundreds, if not thousands, of the people of this and other states, are still living to testify to his earnest and self-sacrificing work from the very start, in securing the adoption of this life-saving law. How he presented it to the Iowa and other state legislatures, and to the congress of the United States, is yet within the public memory. He had to meet and overcome a thousand objections, all of which were less than fanciful when weighed in the scale against human lives. Aside from all this he was stigmatized as a "crank," "a half crazy enthusiast," with divers other choice epithets from the same general category of denunciation. But he steadfastly persevered, braving and surmounting every obstacle, laboring with law-makers everywhere, discussing the measure on the rostrum and in the newspapers, until he won a success which has made his name illustrious. And now, various men here and there, are claiming that they initiated the movement. We have written these lines in justice to Mr. Coffin, with whom the writer has had a personal acquaintance of more than forty years, and with an earnest wish to aid in giving a good man the permanent credit so justly his due. It is to be hoped that he will write a history of the measure and tell the coming generations how it came to its abiding-place in the general legislation of the country.

No sooner had Mr. Coffin secured the adoption of appliances for saving the lives of railroad employes than he projected another enterprise which must also appeal to the sym-

pathies of all humane and Christian people. This is a home—consisting of a beautiful 80-acre farm and comfortable buildings—for discharged convicts from our penitentiaries, a temporary resting-place, where they can safely abide until permanent employment can be secured for them. A condition can scarcely be imagined more forlorn than that of a convict during the first few weeks succeeding his discharge from a term of imprisonment. He is an object of universal distrust, and it is little wonder that so many of them, failing to obtain employment, keep on the down grade and again bring up in the penitentiary. Mr. Coffin's plan contemplates welcoming them to this pleasant home, where light employment can be had, and where, under the influence of Christian teaching they can be aided and encouraged to lead better lives—in short, "to be saved to themselves and the State." At this writing the building is enclosed and on the way to completion. It will doubtless be ready for its good work early in the spring. There are many details relating to this undertaking, which we have no space to recount, but it is so far advanced that its success is assured. In fact, Mr. Coffin never takes a backward step in any good work. We understand that many convicts in our penitentiaries, whose terms will expire the present year, are already looking ahead with high hopes of finding a resting-place and encouragement until they can make a new start in life from the home so wisely and generously provided for them by Mr. Coffin. This place of rest is near his own home—in fact, a part of his celebrated Willow-Edge Farm.

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#### CHARACTERISTIC LETTER BY GOV. KIRKWOOD.

The original copy of the following letter was recently presented to the State Historical Department by Mr. H. W. Lathrop, author of the "Life and Times" of our late War Governor. It has been published heretofore, and possibly

more than once. It was written to his nephew, Samuel Kirkwood Clark, son of Hon. Ezekiel Clark, who "went to live with his uncle almost from the time of leaving his cradle." The young man enlisted November, 1861, in the 4th Iowa Cavalry, but was afterwards promoted to first lieutenant and adjutant of the 25th Iowa Infantry. He received a mortal wound at the battle of Arkansas Post, Jan. 11, 1863, from which he died on the 20th of February. It is one of the excellent, fatherly letters written by the illustrious War Governor to the boy, full of sensible advice to its recipient, and boys of these later times may well profit by the sensible advice it contains. It is with pleasure that we transfer it to the pages of *THE ANNALS*:

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,  
DES MOINES, IOWA, Jan. 29, 1860. }

*Dear Kirk:* I have been so busy that I have not found time to write you until to-day. I do not want you to fail to write to me because I do not answer all your letters. One object for wishing you to write to me is to have you improve in writing by practice.

When your father was here he related to me a conversation he had had with your teacher which gave me great pleasure. Your teacher says you are well behaved and gentlemanly in your deportment as a scholar, diligent and attentive as a student, of clear head and strong mind, and that you occupy, to a great extent, the position of leader among your fellow students.

You can hardly understand how much I was gratified to hear this, because I think you cannot understand the kind and extent of the interest I feel in your progress in life and your welfare. The character given you by your teacher goes far towards making up the character of the true man.

Allow me to give you a word of warning. If it be so that you occupy, to some extent, the position of leader or umpire among your fellows, that position has not only its pleasures and advantages, but its dangers and difficulties. You must not allow yourself to become proud and overbearing. You must not use your position to put down any one who is weaker than yourself, either mentally or physically, but rather to support and defend such—in short, you must use your influence to see that "the right" is done at all times and under all circumstances, and you must not allow anything to make you flinch from seeing it done. You must not be quarrelsome. Avoid all personal difficulties, if possible, but if compelled to engage in such, then so bear yourself that your adversary will not wish to come in contact with you again. No man is fit to control others who cannot control himself.

Will you allow me to say a few words to you about smoking. I don't

intend to scold. You are too old to be scolded. You are old enough to be argued with—in short, you are in feeling, if not in years, a man. Your Aunt Jane [Mrs. Kirkwood] has scolded you for smoking. She made a mistake in so doing, but you should not feel angry with her so doing, because in what she did she acted for what she thought your good. She has borne much for and from you. You should bear much for and from her. I do not intend to scold you about smoking. I do not intend to ask you to quit smoking as a personal favor to myself, because this might look like trying to use a personal influence with you. I intend merely to reason the matter with you. A perfect man, aside from all questions of religion and morals, is a man who has a sound mind in a sound body. Now, smoking injures both mental and physical health, weakens both mind and body. Examine and see if this is not so. Talk with medical men and those who are not medical, on the subject; read books that treat of it; then if you find the facts to be as I have stated, determine what you should do. Have you not the courage to do what is right and necessary for your health? The habit with you is new and therefore more easily broken. Think of all this and write me what you think.

I send you a copy of my inaugural address. It is praised by some of my party friends and denounced by some of my party enemies. You are neither one or the other. Write me just what you think about it. Write me what you think about all these things. Take your time to do so, half a dozen evenings if necessary, and a half a dozen sheets of paper, if necessary. I will read it all. You are at entire liberty to show this to your father, if you want to talk about it with him, and I think it would be well for you to do so. He may help you to read it; perhaps his help may be necessary.

Very truly, your friend and affectionate uncle,

S. J. KIRKWOOD.

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### ANOTHER PORTRAIT OF GOVERNOR KIRKWOOD.

Mrs. Catharine M. Adams who resides three or four miles southwest of the capitol, has presented to the Historical Department an oil portrait of Gov. Samuel J. Kirkwood, painted by her uncle, Marshall Talbot, an artist who resided in Des Moines during the civil war. In the opinions of most people who knew the war governor, it is an excellent likeness of him at that time. It has been varnished and otherwise put in repair, without, however, changing the work of the artist in any respect. There has been no attempt at "restoration." We consider this painting a valuable acquisition to the treasures of the State Historical Art Gallery.

The Editor of *THE ANNALS* has repeatedly urged the friends of Mr. Talbot to furnish a sketch of his life for these pages, but unsuccessfully up to this time. The writer saw him on many occasions and heard and read much concerning him. He was an active, local politician—a prominent figure at caucuses and conventions. As an artist, opinions were quite diverse. His friends regarded him as a neglected genius. That he was a man of ability is sufficiently evidenced by his illustrated contributions to *Harper's Magazine*. His eccentricity is shown by the fact that when near his end he wished to be "buried" in a tree, after the fashion of the Sioux Indians. He lived, it is said, in chronic fear of premature burial. His death occurred at Polk City about the year 1878.

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### LEAVING THE STATE.

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Intelligence reached us last month that Henry W. Lathrop, a resident of Iowa City for more than forty years, had removed to Sioux Falls, South Dakota. Mr. Lathrop is now far advanced in life, being near his 80th birthday. He will live with a married daughter who resides at the place whither he has gone to spend his remaining days. Mr. Lathrop has been a most useful citizen in many ways. The first we heard of him he was one of the reporters for the daily press in the convention (1857) which framed the present constitution of our State. His portrait appears among those connected with the deliberations of that body. Since those days he has written much for the newspaper press, though residing for the most part on his beautiful farm on the west side of the river opposite Iowa City. He has, however, been more conspicuously known through his life of Governor Samuel J. Kirkwood, and his various writings for *The Iowa Historical Record*. For many years he took quite a conspicuous part in the deliberations of the State Horticultural Society. His writings, largely records of what has passed under his own observation, will thus have a permanent place in the publications of his times, and become matters of reference in coming years. His life has been a praiseworthy one. And now it is but natural that he should choose to spend his declining years with his own kindred, even though he leaves the State he loves so well. The men of his day—Samuel J. Kirkwood, T. S. Parvin, Samuel Trowbridge, Robert Lucas, M. W. Davis, W. F. Coolbaugh, Ezekiel Clark, and scores of others who might be named—are mostly dead, or like himself well stricken in years. Mr. Lathrop always had a friendly regard for *THE ANNALS* and the Historical Department. In fact, when the rooms were first opened in



the basement story of the capitol, on the morning of July 1, 1892, without as yet a chair or other piece of furniture, he was one of three men who passed in to survey the vacant rooms. Since that time he has been a valued contributor to this work.

As we are closing these pages we learn also with regret that another beloved pioneer citizen, the Honorable A. B. F. Hildreth, of Charles City, has removed to Boston, Mass., where he is likely to spend his remaining days. He also is an octogenarian. Mr. Hildreth was the pioneer journalist of Charles City, having founded his paper, *The Intelligencer*, at that place in 1856. He is the oldest living Iowa journalist in all that part of the State north of Des Moines. In the old days that was the finest looking weekly paper in Iowa. It was edited with taste and ability and on the right side of all questions of education and morals. Mr. Hildreth served on the State Board of Education in 1858-'62, and in the house of representatives of the 10th general assembly. He introduced in the Board of Education the subject of the co-education of the sexes in the State University, and advocated it ably and persistently until it became the law of the State. He was an exception to country editors of his time, from the fact that he acquired a handsome fortune. Among the treasures of the Historical Department of Iowa are a complete file of *The Charles City Intelligencer*, from the first number until it passed out of Mr. Hildreth's hands, and his portrait from the easel of Charles A. Cumming.

In thus recording the departure from our State of these esteemed pioneer citizens the writer takes occasion to express the hope that they may still be spared many happy years. They will live in the memory of our people as among the most esteemed of the makers of Iowa.

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## CORRESPONDENCE.

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### A LETTER FROM DR. CHARLES A. WHITE.

DEAR MR. ALDRICH: The compositor who set up my biographical sketch of Dr. W. H. Barris, in the last (October) number of *THE ANNALS* made me say, on page 219, second line from the bottom, that the good doctor was endowed by nature with a most "congenial" spirit, an error of syntax that I did not commit, as I there wrote "genial." I plead guilty, however, to having failed to detect that error when I read the proof, an oversight that is all the more grave because, in the case of my contributions to *THE ANNALS*, you have seldom, if ever, deemed it necessary to exercise your accustomed searching editorial revision of the final proofs.

In this connection it may be well to refer to another typographical error in the same issue of *THE ANNALS*, which occurs in the bottom line of page 225. It is there stated that Judge Charles Mason "settled in Burlington, Iowa, then in Michigan territory, in 1837." The error is apparent when it is remembered that the region which is now the State of Iowa was trans-

ferred from the jurisdiction of Michigan territory to that of Wisconsin territory in 1836, and that it became Iowa territory in 1838. Burlington was, therefore, in Wisconsin territory when Judge Mason settled there.

The occurrence of minor errors like these seems to be inevitable, even with the greatest vigilance; but while it is desirable to correct them, they cannot seriously impair the great and increasing value which all readers recognize in *THE ANNALS* under your rehabilitation and editorial management.

CHARLES A. WHITE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Nov. 15, 1901.

#### ANOTHER LETTER FROM GOV. KIRKWOOD.

MT. PLEASANT, IOWA, Oct. 15, 1901.

MY DEAR SIR: Some time since in looking over a bundle of old papers belonging to my father during his lifetime, I found the enclosed letter from Governor Kirkwood to Col. Cyrus Bussey. I have regarded it as containing matters of more than personal interest, and therefore send it to you, and if it has any value you may retain it in your collection.

The letter is read with a better understanding, when it is known that during the early days of the war, and the few years preceding the opening of the great conflict, Salem, in the south part of Henry county, and not far distant from the Missouri line, was an important station on the underground railroad, and escaping slaves often found harbor and sustenance there. By reason of such conditions there was, as I well remember, alarm felt during the early days of 1861, because of open threats of the Missourians that a raid would be made upon the village, and it was to protect against such that I assume the order contained in the letter was given. At the time this note was written my father was a resident of Salem and a member of the general assembly from Henry county, and I presume he secured from Governor Kirkwood this order to Col. Bussey in the interests of the community he represented. Yours very sincerely,

W. S. WITHEROW.

MR. CHARLES ALDRICH, Des Moines, Iowa.

COL. BUSSEY: If you possibly can do so, spare some arms to Salem. They are in daily fear of an attack, and as the rebels seem to have a proclivity in these days for destroying railroads, and Salem is a station on a leading road, there is some cause for fear.

Very truly,

July 27, 1861.

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

## NOTABLE DEATHS.

**RT. REV. THOMAS MATTHIAS LENIHAN** was born at Dubuque, Iowa, May 12, 1845; he died at Marshalltown, Iowa, Dec. 16, 1901. He was educated for the priesthood at the Catholic schools at Bardstown, Ky., Cape Girardeau, Mo., and Milwaukee, Wis. After he was ordained he became pastor of St. Benedict's church at Decorah, Iowa, where he remained from 1868 to 1870. He went thence to Ft. Dodge, where he took charge of Corpus Christi church, and remained until he was appointed Bishop of Cheyenne. Immediately upon receiving his promotion he crossed the Atlantic and visited Rome. Some time later he spent more than a year in European travel, mainly on account of his health. On his return he went to his new field of labor, which did not prove a fortunate one. He had been suffering several years with some form of heart disease, which was further aggravated by the high altitude of Cheyenne. His rapid decline was attributed to this change. Bishop Lenihan was one of the ablest and most widely known missionary priests of the Middle West. Aside from his great learning he was a man of large executive ability and much force of character. Fortunate in the possession of engaging manners, he was quite as popular and influential with Protestants as with his own people. This was shown by his success in the erection of his splendid church in Ft. Dodge. He was able to induce people who were not Catholics to make liberal contributions toward the erection of the edifice, which, at that time, was one of the finest Catholic churches in Iowa. When he went to Ft. Dodge his parish extended far beyond the limits of Webster county, necessitating visits to many points throughout the northwestern quarter of the State. But gradually, as the country was settled, the territory was divided and subdivided, creating other parishes, until only Ft. Dodge and some portions of the adjacent farming country remained in his church. But he had done his work so well that very soon after he had left for Cheyenne, Archbishop Hennessy deemed it advisable to erect three parishes—much to the regret of the people—from the congregation of Corpus Christi. Bishop Lenihan's circle of friends was a wide one, including not only his large acquaintance in and outside of his church, in Iowa and Wyoming, but such eminent dignitaries as Cardinals Gibbons, Satolli and Martinelli, and Archbishops Ireland and Ryan. His brother, Rev. M. C. Lenihan, at whose home the Bishop died, is pastor of the Catholic church at Marshalltown, and his cousin, Rev. B. C. Lenehan, of the Church of the Sacred Heart at Boone. The family is well known throughout the State. The death of "Father Tom," as he was familiarly called a generation ago, was the occasion of profound and widespread regret.

**WILLIAM FITCH CONRAD** was born in Ithaca, N. Y., Nov. 7, 1826; he died in Des Moines, Iowa, Dec. 20, 1901. His paternal grandfather was a soldier in the revolution, rising to the grade of major. Judge Conrad was educated at the Wesleyan Seminary at Lima, N. Y., and at the Wesleyan University at Middleton, Conn. He engaged awhile in teaching, meantime studying law. He came to Iowa and settled in Burlington in 1855. In August of that year he enlisted in the 25th Iowa Infantry, and was at once appointed sergeant-major. He rose to the rank of captain, his commission bearing the signature of Abraham Lincoln. He was captured by the Confederates at Raymond, Miss., May 24, 1863, and spent a year and a half in prison, including some time in the Libby at Richmond. He escaped at Columbia, S. C., and after walking 500 miles, evading bloodhounds and armed men, reached the Union lines at Knoxville, Tenn. Obtaining a leave of absence of 30 days, he came home to Iowa. But before his leave of absence expired he was ordered to Fort Snelling, Minn., where he remained

until the close of the war. He removed to Canton, Mo., in 1865, and began the practice of the law. In 1876 he returned to Iowa, settling in Des Moines, and engaged in the practice of his profession. Ten years later he was elected to the district bench where he served until his death. Judge Conrad's life had been an eventful one, deserving more space in its narration than we can devote to it at this time. His record as a man and a soldier is without blot or stain. His fifteen years of able and arduous service on the bench brought him the highest praise from the entire community. He was a loyal and abiding friend, and in every respect an excellent Christian gentleman. The journals of Des Moines devoted many columns to sketches of his useful career and estimates of his character and abilities.

HENRY HOSPERS was born in Hoog Blokland, the Netherlands, Feb. 6, 1830; he died in Orange City, Sioux county, Iowa, Oct. 21, 1901. He came to America in 1840, and settled in Pella, Marion county, where he lived until 1870, when he led a new colony to northwestern Iowa, and settled at Orange City. While living at Pella he was elected mayor of the town. His advent in Sioux county was during the reign of one of the old court house rings which had been flourishing for several years in many county seats in northwestern Iowa. Many of the counties were steeped in debt. The "authorities" issued county warrants without stint, and were engaged in schemes to squander the school and swamp land funds. Mr. Hospers redeemed his county from the clutches of one of these rings, and was instrumental in making it one of the best governed counties in the State. He became a banker at Orange City, acquiring considerable wealth. He was elected a member of the house of the 22d and 23d general assemblies, and later on served a term of four years in the senate. While a quiet man for the most part, he still had much influence, arising from his well known business character and integrity. He was regarded as the father of the prosperous town of Orange City, and was held in the highest respect by all who knew him. Few men have done more for the cause of public education. Cyrenus Cole, in his article on Pella, which was published in *THE ANNALS* for January, 1898, paid a high tribute to Mr. Hospers, and the article was accompanied by a portrait of that excellent man. In his death the State of Iowa lost one of its most upright men and useful citizens.

FRANK H. PEAVEY was born in Eastport, Me., Jan. 18, 1850; he died in Chicago, Ill., Dec. 30, 1901. Mr. Peavey came to Sioux City, Iowa, in 1867, where he first found employment with the agricultural implement firm of the Messrs. Booge & Co. Since that time his rise to the high position he occupied at his death has been phenomenally rapid. He removed to Minneapolis in 1884, where he became one of the largest owners of grain elevators in this country if not in the world. He was also a large owner of railroad properties and of lake steamers. Starting as a newsboy at Eastport, Maine, at the age of 14, he had become the possessor of millions. It would require many pages to enumerate the business interests—many of the first magnitude—with which he was connected. Personally, he was one of the most commanding figures and finest looking men, and socially and at all times a most pleasant gentleman. He was also the dispenser of liberal charities—a large-hearted, broad-minded philanthropist. For many years he had taken a deep interest in the newsboys of Minneapolis, and had arranged to give to every one at the end of the year double the amount he had saved. He was also a generous giver in the founding of hospitals and libraries. His wife was a daughter of the late Judge George G. Wright, of Des Moines. As a former Iowa business man of the highest and best type, Mr. Peavey deserves a more extended notice than can be given in this place. The newspapers of Sioux City, Des Moines, Minneapolis and St. Paul, of Dec. 31, 1901, paid the highest tributes to his memory.

DR. MICHAEL GARST was born in Botetourt county, Virginia, June 17, 1815; he died at Coon Rapids, Iowa, October 5, 1891. In 1838 he removed to Dayton, Ohio, where he studied medicine with his brother, Dr. Silas Garst. He finished his medical studies at Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, where he graduated in 1837. He returned to Dayton, where he practiced his profession for some years, and where he engaged also in the real estate business. He served as surgeon of the 71st Illinois Infantry. After his return from the war he migrated to Iowa and settled on a farm, which is now within the corporate limits of the city of Boone. *The Coon Rapids Enterprise* says of Dr. Garst: "He was a rugged character, of ideal habits and had no patience with shams. His correct idea of life—of how one should live, was carried scrupulously even into dress, his apparel always being faultless, and instead of permitting himself to become bent with age he carried himself erect, being as straight as an arrow. His life is a splendid example to young men, in fact, to all men. It teaches that one should retain an intense interest in life to the last, keep informed, keep one's life clean, be ambitious and exact in all things, even to little things. With his other virtues he was always cheerful, sociable and entertaining."

COL. DORUS M. FOX was born in Adams, N. Y., Nov. 20, 1817; he died in Des Moines, Nov. 20, 1901. He began his business life as a clerk in a grocery store in Detroit, Mich., later on serving in a dry goods house in the same capacity. He also taught school at Milford, Mich., about the year 1837. In 1840 he removed to Lyons, Mich., where he resided for the next thirty years, engaging in the mercantile and milling business. At the beginning of the civil war he enlisted in the 9th Michigan Infantry, where he was rapidly promoted until he reached the grade of major in September, 1861. When the 27th Michigan Infantry was organized he was made its colonel. His military service brought him much credit, and he was finally discharged on account of wounds received in the operations around Petersburg, Va., in 1864. He settled in Chicago and entered into business, but his property was completely destroyed in the great fire. After that he was mainly engaged in newspaper work and the writing of books. In 1886 he came to Des Moines, which was afterwards his home. He possessed considerable ability as a writer, and at his death left in manuscript a life of the Marquis de Lafayette, which is pronounced by those who have read it to be a work of high merit.

PETER MELENDY was born in Cincinnati, O., Feb. 9, 1823; he died in Cedar Falls, Iowa, Oct. 18, 1901. Mr. Melendy came to Iowa in the early fifties and from that time to the day of his death was almost constantly in public life, and often an important factor in the growth, progress and politics of the State. He served as United States marshal, secretary of the State Agricultural Society, three terms as mayor of Cedar Falls, and in various other positions under the State and general governments. He was a trustee of the agricultural college for fourteen years, and was in other ways prominently identified with the educational interests of the State. In the beginning of our marvelous railroad development he was also a leader. He was a delegate to national, State and district conventions times without number. He had also held many important positions in Ohio before coming to Iowa. In fact, it would require many pages of this magazine to tell the story of this useful life. Mr. Melendy was a man of fine personal qualities, and enjoyed the confidence of the people where he lived as well as of leading men throughout the State. In his death the State has lost one of its most useful and widely known pioneer citizens.

HUGH REID BELKNAP was born in Keokuk, Iowa, Sept. 1, 1860; he died at Luzon, in the Philippine Islands, Nov. 12, 1901. He was the son of

Gen. William Worth Belknap, the distinguished Iowa soldier and secretary of war. His education was begun in the Keokuk high school and completed at the Phillips Exeter Academy, N. H., and at Andover. Soon after his school days he entered the employment of the Baltimore and Ohio R. R. Co., becoming chief clerk to the general manager. He afterwards opened a law office in Chicago. While engaged in the practice of his profession he was elected to congress, where he served two terms. Last spring he received from President McKinley the appointment of major and paymaster in the regular army, and was sent to the Philippines, where he fell a victim to disease incident to that climate. Major Belknap was well known throughout this State. He was a genial, excellent gentleman, whose early death will be deplored, especially by the old soldiers who served in the civil war in the commands led by his father. He was the last member of the family of the late Gen. Belknap and leaves no children.

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PRESTON M. SUTTON was born in Kalamazoo, Mich., Feb. 22, 1845; he died at Marshalltown, Iowa, Nov. 19, 1901. He was educated at the Northern Illinois Normal school, at Normal, Ill. He came to Iowa in 1860, locating near Albion, where he was for a time employed to take charge of the mathematical department of the Iowa Lutheran college. At the outbreak of the civil war he enlisted in Co. A, Sixth Iowa Cavalry, in which he served two years. After the war he settled in Marshalltown where he was for a time principal of the public schools. He was chosen clerk of the courts, which position he held four years. During this time he read law and was admitted to the bar, becoming a partner with Judge H. C. Henderson and A. L. Merriam. He served a term in the State senate, including the sessions of 1884 and '86—20th and 21st general assemblies. He took an active part in securing temperance legislation and in establishing the Soldiers' Home at Marshalltown. As a criminal lawyer he became widely known throughout the State. He was a man of marked ability, positive and unyielding in his convictions, and before he fell a victim to ill-health was active and influential.

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WILLIAM A. DINWIDDIE was born at La Porte, Ind., Aug. 26, 1839; he died at Palmyra, Wis., Nov. 4, 1901. He received his education in the public schools, and afterwards taught school for about two years, when he entered Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, from which he took his degree of M. D., in 1860. He did not, however, practice medicine, as he had early decided upon a military career. He was appointed cadet at West Point, and had passed the necessary examinations, but before the time came to enter that school, the civil war broke out, and he volunteered as a private soldier, joining the 22d Iowa Infantry. He was at once made hospital steward, and soon became assistant surgeon. He served with the regiment until it was mustered out in 1865. After the close of hostilities, he served several months in the provost marshal's department. He entered the regular army in 1866 as second lieutenant and was promoted to first lieutenant in 1874. He was retired from active service from injuries received in the line of duty, in 1866, having spent eighteen years in the U. S. army. After that time he was connected with several educational institutions as instructor in military tactics.

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MRS. MARY A. BICKERDYKE was born in Knox county, Ohio, near the town of Mt. Vernon, July 19, 1817, and died Nov. 8, 1901, at the home of her son in Bunker Hill, Kansas. "Mother Bickerdyke," as she was called, was known and loved throughout the country for her heroic work as a nurse during the civil war. She came of revolutionary ancestors, her grandfather having served under Washington. At the age of 25 she married and removed with her husband to Galesburg, Ill., where he died before

the beginning of the civil war. She began her work as volunteer nurse, but was soon appointed an agent for the Sanitary Commission. Her labors for the soldiers in the field, in hospitals and prisons, at Shiloh, Corinth, Memphis, with Sherman's army, at Andersonville, and other places, made her name famous. Her splendid constitution, courage and zeal, eminently fitted her for the arduous life she had undertaken. She was pensioned by the government in 1886. Although not an Iowa woman, her care of Iowa soldiers has made her name a household word in our State.

JOHN PATTEE was born in Canada 81 years ago; he died at Hot Springs, S. D., Nov. 30, 1901. He removed to Iowa about the year 1850, settling first in Bremer county. He was appointed Auditor of Public Accounts by Gov. J. W. Grimes in 1855, to fill a vacancy, and elected to the same place the following year. His regular term expired Jan. 3, 1859. He entered the military service early in the civil war, and was variously connected with our 14th and 41st Infantry regiments, and finally promoted to lieutenant-colonel of the 7th Iowa Cavalry. Since the war he has resided mostly in the Dakotas. The deceased veteran was related by marriage to Gov. Kirkwood, Ezekiel Clark, and the late Judge William Phillips of Des Moines. He held the office of State Auditor when the title was "auditor of public accounts," and during his service it was changed to its present designation, "auditor of state." His record of public service in Iowa was in all respects creditable.

ROLLIN V. ANKENY was born at Somerset, Pa., May 22, 1830; he died in Des Moines, Iowa, Dec. 24, 1901. He read medicine after his school days, but did not practice it as a profession. He settled on a farm near Freeport, Ill., where he resided several years. He entered the military service in 1861, becoming orderly sergeant, first lieutenant, and captain in the 15th Illinois Infantry. He was present at the battles of Fort Donelson and Shiloh. In 1864 he organized the 142d Illinois Infantry, serving with it until the end of the war, when he was mustered out with the rank of brigadier-general. He was connected with *The Freeport Journal* for some years, but removed to Des Moines in 1879, where he resided until his death. He had served in various public positions under the general and State governments, becoming especially well known locally from his discharge of the duties of coroner of Polk county for several years.

WILLIAM PHILLIPS was born in Steubenville, O., Sept. 27, 1827; he died in Phoenix, Arizona, Nov. 27, 1901. He was born on a farm and received a collegiate education. In 1851 he migrated to Illinois and settled in Peoria, where he engaged in merchandizing, but having a love for the legal profession, he studied law and was admitted to practice in 1854. Coming to this State, he first settled on a farm in Greene county, near Jefferson, which town he assisted in laying out. He came to Des Moines in 1856, where he remained in the practice of his profession until his death. During this period he had as partners such distinguished men as Hon. Curtis Bates, Col. C. H. Gatch, Maj. David Ryan, Judge James G. Day (former chief justice of Iowa,) Col. E. J. Goode and W. B. Crosby. He occupied a prominent position at the bar and was held in high esteem throughout the wide circle of his acquaintance.

A. H. BOTKIN was born in Clark county, O., Oct. 3, 1820; he died at his home in Des Moines, Oct. 21, 1901. Capt. Botkin served in the civil war as lieutenant and afterwards as captain in the 79th Ohio. At the close of the war he came to Des Moines which place, with the exception of one year, has since been his home. He has occupied various positions of honor and trust. He was at one time superintendent of the East Des Moines schools; he served as justice of the peace for Lee township; and once held the position of chief of police. He was prominent in Grand Army circles.







YOUNG OF  
Yours Sincerely,  
Oliver P. Shiras.

OLIVER P. SHIRAS.

United States Judge of the Northern District of Iowa.

# ANNALS OF IOWA.

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## THE MINES OF SPAIN.

BY JUDGE OLIVER P. SHIRAS.\*

It is doubtless true that the great majority of the residents of Iowa, if their attention should be called to the title of this article, would assume without question, that it had no reference whatever to any region situated within the boundaries of The Hawkeye State, yet the fact is that this name was once descriptive of one of the earliest settled portions of the State, and it is the purpose of this article to briefly sketch the circumstances leading to the adoption and to the disappearance of the name in its connection with the early history of the territory now included within the boundaries of Iowa.

For some time previous to the year 1788, one of the largest and most important villages of the Outagamie or Fox Indians, occupied by Kettle Chief's band, was situated at the mouth of a small stream, now called Catfish Creek, which flows into the Mississippi River, a short distance south of the present corporation limits of the City of Dubuque, thus giving the village a frontage on the Mississippi, while the valley of the creek afforded easy access to the interior through the lofty river bluffs, making the location

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\*Oliver P. Shiras was born in Pittsburg, Pa., October 22, 1833. He was educated at the Ohio University where he graduated in 1853. In 1856, the year after he entered the Yale Law School, his Alma Mater conferred upon him the degree of A. M. Yale also honored him in 1886 with the degree of LL. D. Mr. Shiras settled in Dubuque, Iowa, in 1856, in which year he was admitted to the bar. Entering the Union army in 1862, he served as aide-de-camp on the staff of General Francis J. Herron, in Missouri, Arkansas and Louisiana, until 1864, when he returned to Dubuque, resuming the practice of law. In 1882 he was appointed U. S. Judge of the Northern District of Iowa. He is the author of "Equity Practice in the Circuit Courts of the United States."

an ideal one for the Indian Town, and the advantages of which quickly caught the attention of one Julien Dubuque, as he passed up and down the Mississippi while engaged in his trading operations with the Indian Tribes upon its borders.

Julien Dubuque was born January 10, 1762, at the village of St. Pierre, on the south bank of the river St. Lawrence, about fifty miles above the City of Quebec, his great grandfather, Jean Dubuque, having emigrated from the province of Rouen, France, to Canada early in the 17th century. His great grandson was evidently of an adventurous disposition, for after receiving a fair education in his early youth, he pushed westward into the valley of the Upper Mississippi and we find him engaged in trading with the Indians at Prairie Du Chien and other points in that neighborhood, at a time when he had barely passed his majority. Shortly thereafter we find him established at Kettle Chief's village, where he quickly discovered that the River Bluffs of that region were rich in galena or lead ore, which the Indians, with their rude methods, were then extracting therefrom. Having taken up his abode in the village, he soon obtained a strong influence over its inhabitants, not only by a judicious expenditure of presents, but by the native strength of his character and by that ready adaptation to his surroundings which was such a marked characteristic of the early French settlers on this continent. Having thoroughly identified himself with the interests of the village, thereby winning the regard of its people, Dubuque, at a council held with the representatives of the tribe at Prairie Du Chien, on the 22d day of September, 1788, procured the execution of a written instrument in the French language, of which the following is a translation:

Copy of the council held by the Foxes, that is to say, of the branch of five villages, with the approbation of the rest of their people, explained by Mr. Quinantotaye, deputed by them in their presence, and in the presence of us, the undersigned, that is to say, the Foxes, permit Mr. Julien

Dubuque, called by them the Little Cloud, to work at the mine as long as he shall please, and to withdraw from it, without specifying any term to him; moreover, that they sell and abandon to him all the coast and the contents of the mine discovered by the wife of Peosta, so that no white man or Indian shall make any pretension to it without the consent of Mr. Julien Dubuque; and in case he shall find nothing within, he shall be free to search wherever he may think proper to do so, and to work peaceably without anyone hurting him, or doing him any prejudice in his labors. Thus we, chief and braves, by the voice of all our villages, have agreed with Julien Dubuque, selling and delivering to him this day, as above mentioned, in presence of the Frenchmen who attend us, who are witnesses to this writing.

At the Prairie Due Chien, in full council, the 22d day of September, 1788.

In the contest that subsequently arose over the meaning and validity of this agreement, it was shown on behalf of those who asserted title under Dubuque, that after the signing of the paper, he, with the consent of the Indians caused to be erected monuments to designate the Northern and Southern boundaries of the tract intended to be included therein, the northern monument being placed at the mouth of a small stream called by him "The Little River Maquankitois", which is now known as the "Little Maquoketa", and which joins the Mississippi some five miles north of the present City of Dubuque, the southern monument being erected at the mouth of the stream called by Dubuque "The Mesquabysnonques," but now known as "The Tete Des Morts," and which flows into the Mississippi at the southern boundary of the county of Dubuque.

At this time this region was included within the boundaries of the Province of Louisiana, a part of the Spanish dominions of this continent, France having parted with her claim thereto by the terms of the Treaty of 1762.

In 1796 Dubuque applied to Baron De Carondelet, the Governor of the Province of Louisiana and representative of The King of Spain, for a grant or concession, basing the same on the agreement entered into with the Indians at Prairie Du Chien.

The petition for the grant, being translated, reads as follows:

*To His Excellency, The Baron De Carondelet:*

Your excellency's very humble petitioner, named Julien Dubuque, having made a settlement on the frontiers of your government, in the midst of the Indian nations, who are the inhabitants of the country, has bought a tract of land from these Indians, with the mines it contains, and by his perseverance has surmounted all the obstacles, as expensive as they were dangerous, and, after many voyages, has come to be the peaceable possessor of a tract of land on the western bank of the Mississippi, to which (tract) he has given the name of the "Mines of Spain" in memory of the government to which he belonged. As the place of the settlement is but a point, and the different mines which he works are apart, and at a distance of more than three leagues from each other, the very humble petitioner prays your Excellency to have the goodness to assure him the quiet enjoyment of the mines and lands, that is to say, from the margin of the waters of the little river Maquankitois to the margin of the Mesquabysnonques, which forms about seven leagues on the west bank of the Mississippi, by three leagues in depth, and to grant him the full proprietorship thereof, which the very humble petitioner ventures to hope, that your goodness will be pleased to grant him his request. I beseech that same goodness which makes the happiness of so many subjects, to pardon me my style, and be pleased to accept the pure simplicity of my heart in default of my eloquence. I pray Heaven, with all my power, that it preserve you, and that it load you with all its benefits; and I am, and shall be all my life, your Excellency's very humble, and very obedient, and very submissive servant.

J. DUBUQUE.

The application was referred by the Governor to "Don Andrew Todd" who held a license to trade with the Fox Indians for his views thereon, and he replied that as to the land asked for he saw no reason why the petition might not be granted, adding "With the condition nevertheless, that the grantee shall observe the provisions of his majesty relating to the trade with the Indians; and this be absolutely prohibited to him, unless he shall have my consent in writing."

Thereupon the following order was entered by the Governor, in reply to the petition submitted:

NEW ORLEANS, November 10, 1796.

Granted as asked, under the restrictions expressed in the information given by the Merchant Don Andrew Todd.

THE BARON DE CARONDELET.

With this recognition of his rights from the Spanish Governor, Dubuque continued to live among the Indians at "The Mines of Spain," carrying on his mining and trading operations and sending the products thereof to St. Louis until the Province of Louisiana, by the terms of the treaty concluded at St. Ildefonso on the 1st of October, 1800, between Napoleon, as First Consul of the French Republic, and the King of Spain, was ceded to France and subsequently by the terms of the treaty of Paris, concluded on the 30th day of April, 1803, between France and the United States became the property and part of the Territory of the American Republic.

By the provisions of the 3d Article of the treaty the latter Government agreed that the inhabitants of the ceded territory should be incorporated in the union of the United States and be protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property and religion, and by the 6th Article it further agreed "to execute such treaties and articles as may have been agreed between Spain and the Tribes and Nations of Indians, until by mutual consent of the United States and the said tribes or nations, other suitable articles shall have been agreed upon."

On the 3d day of November, 1804, a treaty with the Sac and Fox Indians was concluded at St. Louis by General William Henry Harrison, Governor of the Territory of Indiana, which then included the present states of Missouri and Iowa, to which treaty was appended what is called an "Additional Article" wherein it is recited that "It is agreed that nothing in this treaty shall affect the claim of any individual or individuals who may have obtained grants of land from the Spanish Government and which are not included within the general boundary line laid down in this treaty, provided that such grants have at any time been made known to the said Tribes and recognized by them." When it is remembered that this treaty was entered into at St. Louis, the residence of Auguste Chouteau, who had on the 29th

day of October, 1804, purchased from Dubuque 72,324 arpens to be taken from the south part of the concession granted him, and of Antoine Soulard who was the agent or factor representing Dubuque at St. Louis, it is certainly a fair inference that this additional article, through their influence, was added to the treaty, to guard, as far as possible, the interests of Dubuque and to prevent the holding that the cession by the Indians to the United States of the region wherein the Mines of Spain were located, would terminate the rights of Dubuque and his grantees therein.

On the 17th day of May, 1805, Julien Dubuque and Auguste Chouteau jointly filed a claim to the premises before The Board of Commissioners appointed under the Act of Congress with power to hear and report upon claims to lands in the Territory of Louisiana, and the majority of the Board, on the 20th day of September, 1806, filed a report wherein it was held that the claim of Dubuque, as set forth in his petition to Baron De Carondelet and granted by him was a complete Spanish grant, made and confirmed before the 1st day of October, 1800, and therefore entitled to recognition and protection under the terms of the treaty between France and the United States.

While the claim filed by Dubuque and Chouteau was pending before the Board of Land Commissioners, Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike was directed by General Wilkinson, then in command of the Army of the West, to undertake the exploration of the upper valley and sources of the Mississippi River, with a view to ascertaining the boundaries and extent of the so-called Louisiana Purchase, and was specifically instructed to enquire into the nature and extent of the claims advanced by Dubuque.

This expedition of twenty soldiers, under command of Lieutenant Pike, left St. Louis in a keelboat, propelled by sails and oars, on the 9th day of August, 1805.

When the expedition reached the Indian Village at the mouth of Catfish Creek about September 1st, it was wel-

comed with a salute from a small cannon owned by Dubuque; the Spanish flag, which till then he had kept flying, was lowered and the stars and stripes were run up in place thereof, and Lieutenant Pike was duly honored as the representative of the young Republic that had succeeded to the rights of the ancient Kingdom of Spain. When, however, in pursuance of his instruction, Lieutenant Pike endeavored to obtain information respecting the productiveness of the mines, their extent and value and the nature of the claim thereto asserted by Dubuque, he found him disinclined to be communicative, so he finally submitted to him ten questions, to which he required answers in writing, which were given, but which were subsequently declared by the United States Supreme Court, "To be curious and reserved upon the part of Dubuque." Being compelled to content himself with the replies as given, Lieutenant Pike bade farewell to "the polite and evasive Monsieur Dubuque," as he termed him in his diary and continued his voyage of exploration up the Mississippi, returning to St. Louis on April 30, 1806.

As might naturally be expected, after the possession of the province of Louisiana had passed to the United States and its authority had been recognized by Dubuque, the name of "The Mines of Spain" fell into disuse and in the subsequent papers and proceedings the premises are described as "The claims of Monsieur Dubuque", "Dubuque's Lead Mines," and the like.

The report of the Board of Land Commissioners which, as already stated, sustained the claim of Dubuque to the ownership of the soil, having been submitted to Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury, he gave the subject a full and careful investigation and in 1810 submitted to the President a report wherein he held that the right obtained by Dubuque from the Indians, by the instrument executed at Prairie Du Chien, was merely a permission to work certain mines, without any intention to alienate the domain wherein the mines were located, and that the grant or con-



cession given by Governor Carondelet did not conform to the rules and regulations adopted by the Spanish Government controlling such grants, and therefore it did not have the effect as an independent and completed grant from the government.

On the 24th day of March, 1810, Julien Dubuque, having failed to obtain from the authorities at Washington or from Congress a recognition of his claim to be the owner of the land whereon he had spent the last twenty-two years of his life. He was buried with all due honors by his Indian friends, upon the summit of the bold river bluff which lay to the north of the village site, and which was at a short distance from the southern boundary of the territory which now bears his name. Undisturbed and undisturbed possession of at least so much of his claim as was necessary to form his last resting-place was accorded him, until at the lapse of eighty-seven years the citizens of Dubuque, in 1897, determined to erect a monument to his memory, and purchased several acres of the bluff whereon he was buried, and had a monument, in the form of a circular wall of stone, thirty-eight feet in height, was erected on top of his grave, the base of which contains a sarcophagus hewn from the stone of the neighboring hills, in which was placed a walnut casket containing the skeleton, which was found well preserved, of Julien Dubuque.

Under the auspices of the Dubuque County Earthenware Association, dedicatory services were held on Sunday, October 31, 1897, attended by a large concourse of people, at which, among other appropriate exercises, a commemorative address on the life of Dubuque was delivered by Hon. James H. Shields, to whom the writer of this article is indebted for much of the data herein found.

After the death of Dubuque, it does not appear that efforts to secure a recognition of his title were resumed, as a result of the constantly increasing westward movement of the white frontiersmen and the efforts of the govern-





to obtain a cession of the rights of the Sac and Fox Indians to portions of the land occupied by them, and the dispute with the chief Muk-ka-ta-mish-a-ka-kaik or Blackhawk over the true meaning of the treaties of August 19, 1825, and July 15, 1830, and the validity thereof as applied to him and his followers, there arose what is commonly known as "The Blackhawk War," which was ended by the battle of Bad Axe, fought on August 2, 1832. On the 21st day of the following September at Fort Armstrong, Rock Island, Illinois, a treaty was entered into between the United States, represented by Major General Winfield Scott of the United States Army, and John Reynolds, Governor of the State of Illinois, and the confederated tribes of the Sac and Fox Indians, represented on behalf of the Sacs by Kee-o-kuck (He who has been everywhere) and eight other chiefs and on behalf of the Foxes by Wau-pe-la (He who is painted white) and twenty-three other chiefs or Headmen, whereby the Indians ceded to the United States in requital for the wrongs done by the war just ended, viewed from the white-man's standpoint, the eastern portion of the lands held by them along the western bank of the Mississippi River and thus including the territory within the boundaries of the claim of Dubuque. By the terms of this treaty the Indians were to remain in full possession of the ceded territory until June, 1833, but the opportunity to acquire choice locations proved too great a temptation for the hardy and energetic white men who were located on the eastern shore of the Mississippi, who began to pour into the newly acquired territory without regard to the rights of the Indians.

In view of this fact and as a means for asserting their supposed rights, the persons who represented the title and claims of Dubuque and Chouteau sent an agent to the locality, with authority to execute leases to miners who desired to prospect for lead ore, but this intrusion of the whites led to complaints being made to the government of the infraction of the treaty rights of the Indians, which resulted in the is-

suance of an order dated January 5, 1833, by Major General Alexander Macomb, then in command of the Army, for the forcible removal of the settlers, which order was carried into effect by detachments of troops sent from Fort Crawford, at Prairie Du Chien, at which fort were then stationed Col. Zachary Taylor, afterwards President of the United States, and Lieutenant Jefferson Davis, subsequently the head of the Southern Confederacy.

As soon as the Indian right of occupancy ceased in June, 1833, the settlers flocked into the ceded territory and in September, 1834, the Territorial Legislature of Michigan divided the ceded lands into two counties, Dubuque and Des Moines, by a line drawn westward from the foot of Rock Island, the ceded territory having been made part of the Territory of Michigan by an Act of Congress approved June 28, 1834, but by an act approved April 20, 1836, it was included within the limits of the Territory of Wisconsin created by that act, and so remained until by the act approved June 12, 1838, the Territory of Iowa was created.

On the 2d day of July, 1836, Congress adopted an act providing for the appointment of commissioners to lay off the towns of Fort Madison and Burlington in the county of Des Moines and the towns of Belleview, Dubuque and Peru in the county of Dubuque, Territory of Wisconsin, and under the provisions of this and an Amendatory Act approved March 3, 1837, the towns of Dubuque and Peru were laid off on the Mississippi River within the boundaries of the grant petitioned for by Dubuque in 1796, under the description of "The Mines of Spain," the town of Peru being located on a broad plateau of land immediately south of the "Little River Maquanquitois" which Dubuque designated as the northern boundary of his claim. In the town of Dubuque, the portions of the river bluffs included within the town limits were laid off under the designation "Mineral Lots" it being the purpose to include therein the portions of the county wherein the deposits of lead ore were found. At the

public sale of lots at the United States Land Office, the settlers who were already in possession of these lands combined for their own protection, in order to procure a title to their diggings from the United States, and if outsiders attempted to bid upon lots already in possession of a settler, they quickly learned that such a proceeding was not in accord with the law of the mines.

In the meantime the successors to the title asserted by Julien Dubuque and Auguste Chouteau, his grantee, had repeatedly endeavored to obtain a recognition and confirmation of their claim to the ownership of the soil from the Congress of the United States, and although on several occasions reports favorable to the claim asserted had been made by committees of the Senate and House, yet no final action was secured at the hands of Congress, and finally it was determined by the claimants under the Dubuque title to submit their rights to judicial determination, and to that end an action was brought in the United States District Court for the District of Iowa, then presided over by the Honorable John J. Dyer, in the name of Henry Chouteau as plaintiff and against Patrick Molony as defendant, wherein was set forth at length the various matters constituting the claim of Dubuque, it being therein asked that it be adjudged that such claim was in fact a valid title to the land in fee, and therefore superior to the title under which the defendant Molony claimed to be the owner of a particular lot, his title being based upon a purchase of the lot at the public land sale and representing therefore the title derived from the United States.

The District Court held in favor of the defendant and therefore adversely to the validity of the claim advanced by Dubuque and his successors in interest, and thereupon the case, by writ of error, was carried up to the Supreme Court of the United States, and in the hearing before that court, the whole history of the claim of Dubuque was presented for consideration in connection with the legal points in-

volved, as appears from the briefs of Counsel and the Opinion of the Court, as reported in the 16th Howard 203, the judgment of the Court being announced at the December term, 1853.

In the course of the opinion the court considers, at some length, the power possessed by Baron De Carondelet under the laws of Spain and the usages followed by his predecessors in office, in making grants of lands in the actual occupancy of the Indians, reaching the conclusion that such power was subject to the rights of Indian occupancy and that a grant by the Governor would not take effect until that occupancy had ceased, but that as mines were a part of the patrimony of the crown, and as the King of Spain had directed that mines might be searched for and worked in any part of his dominion, the Baron De Carondelet had the right to confer a mining right upon Dubuque in the premises in question, so far as that right was dependent upon a grant from the Spanish Government, and in effect, therefore, it was held that the order of the governor, granting the petition of Dubuque, could not be construed to confer any right or title in or to the soil, other or greater than that granted by the Indians to Dubuque by the agreement executed at Prairie Du Chien in 1788. Construing the latter instrument, the Court points out that even though it be read in connection with the fact of the erection of monuments, fixing the northern and southern boundaries of the claimed grant, it wholly fails to name a western limit thereto, thus rendering it wholly impossible to assign any limit or extent thereto and that to give it the effect claimed for it, would be holding that the Indians intended thereby to sell and convey to Dubuque the land upon which their village stood, as well as the land for seven leagues along the river front, a purpose which the language used in the instrument did not warrant, and it was held that, "Dubuque's contract with the Fox Indians was a sale to him of the Peosta Mine, with its allowed mining appendages, with the privileges to search for

other mines in the event that ore was not found in that mine", but was not a sale or conveyance of the fee title to the land within the boundaries attempted to be assigned to the claim at a subsequent date. In considering the purpose of Dubuque in asking from the Baron De Carondelet a grant, the court states that "Dubuque makes his purchase from the Indians the foundation of his prayer for a grant, and the inducement for the governor to give it. He asks the governor to accord to him the peaceable possession of the mines and lands, which is to say, from the hills above the little river Maquanquitois as far as the hills of Mesquabysnonques, which forms seven leagues on the western bank of the Mississippi, by three leagues in depth. We do not doubt that Dubuque meant to ask for lands as well as mines and that his object was to get a grant for this large body of land. But the true point here is not what he meant to ask for, but what he had a right to ask for under his contract with the Indians and what the Governor meant to grant and could grant under that contract."

In conclusion the Court held that the action taken by Baron De Carondelet upon the petition of Dubuque did not have the effect of conveying the title to the land held by the King of Spain to Dubuque; that consequently this title passed to the United States by virtue of the treaty of April 30, 1803, between France and the United States, which was based upon the treaty of October 1, 1800, between France and Spain and that the title of the United States, thus acquired, by virtue of the Acts of Congress authorizing the laying off of lots in the Town of Dubuque and the subsequent sales thereof, passed to the purchasers at such sale.

This decision, of necessity, finally terminated all efforts to maintain a title to the land within the boundaries of Dubuque's claim based upon his connection therewith, a result that was hailed with delight by the thousands of miners and settlers who, relying on the validity of the title asserted by the United States, had made their homes upon the dis-



puted territory after the extinguishment of the Indian rights therein.

But while it is the fact that the grantees of Dubuque failed to maintain a title under him to the land in question, is it not also the fact that Dubuque personally maintained his claim to ownership and enjoyed all the benefits thereof, both living and dead?

From the time of the execution of his agreement with the Indians in 1788, until his death in 1810, he lived upon the premises, carrying on his mining and trading operations thereon without let or hindrance, and to the exclusion of all other white men.

When he died he was given sepulture on one of the most sightly spots within the domain claimed by him, and after an undisturbed repose of more than three-quarters of a century, his right to the possession of all of Mother Earth that can be held even by the greatest of her sons, after death, has been assured to him through the action of the citizens of Dubuque.

His memory is connected for all time with the premises claimed by him, on which he lived and in which he is buried, in that the township, city and county which now include the region which he once petitioned might be granted him under the title of "The Mines of Spain", are known as Julien—Dubuque.

DUBUQUE, IOWA, MARCH, 1902.

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GEN. FRANCOIS GEHON, the present marshal of Iowa, passed by this place yesterday on his way to Dubuque. He left Washington city on the 13th ult., and states on good authority that the Hon. John Chambers of Kentucky, is to be our next Governor.—*Bloomington (Muscatine) Standard*, April 2, 1841.





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*Samuel Merrill*

COL. SAMUEL MERRILL.

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## GOVERNOR SAMUEL MERRILL.

BY WILLIAM H. FLEMING.

It was a notable immigration that poured into Iowa towards the close of the State's first decade. The depression that followed the exuberant speculative feeling to which the discovery of gold in California gave rise, awakened anew in the east the desire to go west and there seek new homes. The rapid extension of the railway system until it reached the Mississippi river gave increased impetus to the movement. The glowing accounts of the new land sent back by those who came first augmented the fever. They told of the wonderful capacity of the virgin soil of Iowa, of its bountiful yield, of the charming vista its rolling prairies presented in their robe of green and their garments of golden grain. Neither did the narrators fail to extol the healthfulness of the land nor to praise the climate.

Then, as if to make the prospect more inviting, came the Crimean war which, giving to American grain the practical monopoly of the European market outside of Russia, enabled the farmers of Iowa to get enormous prices for their produce, prices which are not likely to be realized again except under similar circumstances. All these things conspired to attract to this State, the first west of the Mississippi which was not suffering from the incubus of slavery, immense numbers of people who were seeking new homes. Then, as seems ever to have been the case, Iowa got the cream of the westward-bound emigration. It was indeed a healthful and bracing addition to the hardy population which had laid so well the foundations of our commonwealth.

As was inevitable, the immigrants of the period mentioned largely made in later years the history of the State, socially, economically, and politically; and among those immigrants were many who became leaders in the land. In addition to many others may be named the fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth,

tenth, and eleventh governors of Iowa, three of our United States senators, several of the judges of our highest court, and that great jurist who was for a quarter of a century one of the justices of the supreme court of the United States.

It is of one of the immigrants of that period of intense activity that I am to speak at this time.\*

Samuel Merrill was a native of Maine, the son of Abel and Abigail (Hill) Merrill, and the first of the large family to be born in the state of Maine, as distinguished from the district of Maine, state of Massachusetts. He was descended in the seventh generation from Nathaniel Merrill, who came from Salisbury, England, with his brother John, and settled in Newbury, Mass., about the year 1636. Nathaniel's great-grandson, Thomas, the son of John and grandson of Daniel, was born in Salisbury, Mass., December 18, 1708. His son, Samuel, born August 4, 1728, became the father of twelve children. One of these, Abel, was brought by his father to Biddeford, Me., when he was only six months old. Abel was married to Elizabeth Page, was the father of five children, and served in the war of the revolution. His son, Abel, Jr., married Abigail Hill, in Buxton, Maine, June 25, 1809. Of these children, Samuel was the seventh, and the fourth and youngest son; and in the seventh generation from the immigrant Nathaniel. On his mother's side Samuel was descended from Peter Hill, who came from England in the year 1653, and settled at Biddeford, and from whom most of the Hills in America are thought to be descended.

Samuel Merrill was born in the town of Turner, county of Oxford, Maine, August 7, 1822. When he was 16 years old, he removed with his parents to Buxton, in the county of York. Attending and teaching school by turns occupied his time until he reached his majority. Like many another enthusiastic northern boy, he then ventured to go south and follow the profession of teaching. He went as far in that

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\*This paper was prepared to be read before the Iowa Pioneer Lawmakers' Association, at its biennial meeting held in February, 1900.

direction as Maryland, but not liking things there he returned to the North, without effecting his object.

Young Merrill then settled in his native state, farming for some time. When 25 years old, he went into mercantile business with an older brother, Jeremiah, who is now as he has been for many years, a resident of Des Moines. After several successful years there, he removed to Iowa, where his brother had preceded him, and they opened a branch of the Tamworth house. Here, too, success attended the enterprise of the brothers. A few years later, when the State Bank of Iowa was organized, they were instrumental in establishing one of its branches at McGregor, which is still in existence as a national bank. Of the state bank, Samuel Merrill became the president, as he was subsequently of the national bank.

In 1859 Mr. Merrill was elected a representative in the Eighth General Assembly of the State. Among the members of that legislature, a body exceptionally well supplied with able men, men whose names have become historic, was Nathaniel B. Baker, who had been governor of New Hampshire when Mr. Merrill was a member of the legislature of that state, a position to which the latter had been re-elected the following year.

The legislature in which Representative Merrill sat met, it will be remembered, a second time, called together by Governor Kirkwood to devise measures to assist the general government in the war that had been begun by the slaveholding interest. The measures deemed necessary had throughout the hearty support of Mr. Merrill, who was always a working member. But it was in another direction that his services at this time were of most value. The first regiments raised in Iowa had to be clothed. The federal government could not then supply them; and, while the State undertook to furnish what was needed, it was without money or credit. Then it was that the subject of this sketch, with others, came forward with patriotic ardor, and



advanced the money with which the clothing for the regiments that first went into the service from Iowa was obtained.

The following year, 1862, Governor Kirkwood tendered Mr. Merrill the colonelcy of the Twenty-first regiment of Iowa Volunteer infantry, just then being recruited. The appointment was accepted. The regiment went into Missouri and spent the fall and winter there. In January, Gen. Fitz Henry Warren, under whose command the regiment was, hearing that Springfield was threatened, sent a detachment composed of parts of several regiments, but mostly of the Twenty-first, to its relief, under command of Colonel Merrill. They had not got far when they were met by Marmaduke, who had been beaten off at Springfield. A lively fight ensued at Hartville, the seat of Wright county, lasting all day and into the night. Marmaduke, in his report, tells how he had beaten 1,000 infantry and 500 cavalry, under General Merrill, and driven them towards Lebanon. He did not tell all. While part of the union forces did retreat towards Lebanon, having exhausted their ammunition, the southern general himself retreated in the opposite direction at about the same time; and he soon got his command across the state line. Colonel Merrill's force numbered in all 850 men. Marmaduke estimated the strength of his command, when he began his march on Springfield, at 3,370 men. He doubtless had more than half that number when he met Colonel Merrill and was compelled to return to Arkansas.

The next year the Twenty-first regiment was in the brigade which was in the advance at Port Gibson, and was the regiment that first drew the enemy's fire at that place. Again, at Black River Bridge, the same brigade attacked and captured a position which the southern commander, Pemberton, said he had thought practically impregnable. Here Colonel Merrill was severely, and it was thought mortally, wounded. So serious was the injury that the war

department, deeming it impossible for him to return to the service, granted him an honorable discharge for disability four months after he was wounded. But there was a general demand from the regiment that he should be reinstated, which was done in December. He then returned to the command, but he found himself too much weakened by the wound and his long subsequent illness, so that he left the service finally in May, 1864.

In 1867, as the second term of Governor Stone drew to a close, Colonel Merrill's friends determined to urge him for the succession. The suggestion grew rapidly in favor, and especially in northeastern Iowa, the foremost seat at the time of Republican preponderance. When the convention met it was not difficult to see that Colonel Merrill led. The balloting demonstrated this, he having a plurality on each ballot and being nominated on the fourth. His colleague on the ticket as candidate for lieutenant-governor was Col. John Scott, who happily survives. They were triumphantly elected. Always a foe of slavery, and reared in commonwealths where the accident of color or race never prevented any man from voting, the governor was in entire sympathy with the movement then before the people of Iowa—to establish universal manhood suffrage. The war for the union only intensified his feelings in this respect. In his inaugural address he said:

The consciousness that the southern states were a part of our own territory, and their inhabitants a part of our own people, whose well-being must contribute to the future glory of our country, has been the light in which the work of reconstruction has thus far progressed. At the same time, we have felt bound to insist that those states should concede whatever guarantees are essential to the future safety of the Union. We cannot permit the truths established by the war to relapse into a state of doubt, nor the fruits of victory to be swallowed up in a magnanimity which neglects its own salvation. We can afford to be generous, but we must not be unjust.

In restoring the southern people to rights within the Union let no discrimination be made against the black man. Fidelity to the government should be a passport to the high privilege of suffrage. The public welfare must not be imperiled by intrusting its control to hands of doubt-

ful loyalty, much less to hands whose open hostility has only been avoided by their weakness. If any voice came from the tomb of the past six years, it proclaims: Beware of placing doubtful guardians over the palladium of your liberties. Secure the safety of the government beyond a doubt. Let all loyal men share in the heritage which has been purchased with loyal blood. . . .

To refuse to stay up the hands of the union men of the South who resisted secession in its inception and maintained their opposition to it, through all the trying extremities of war, by making the alliance of the black man available, would be as ungrateful to them as perilous to ourselves.

The theory of our government awards to the individual the largest measure of political trust consistent with the public safety. It declares that "governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." Consistency, therefore, requires that emancipation should be followed by the right of suffrage, for equality is a cardinal principle of the American constitution.

In the same address the governor gave expression to his broad democracy, thus:

Let it be our boast and pride that we fear nothing so much as ignorance and artificial distinctions between man and man. Let us establish our power firmly upon the foundations of intelligence and liberal ideas, making manhood our only title of nobility, and believing in nothing so hopefully as an educated public opinion.

His devotion to the cause of national honesty and good faith illumines the same address. After denouncing everything that looked towards repudiation of the national debt, he went on to speak of the resumption of specie payment. He said:

Disclaiming to represent the opinions of others, I would urge the authoritative announcement of some definite time when such resumption shall take place. Let the time be fixed, with the idea that the earliest possible moment will best secure a healthful condition of our finances. I am forced to the conclusion that such a policy would tend to realize in our circulation the perfect currency, in which notes could be exchanged for coin and would command equal respect in the markets.

Meanwhile the public service should be distinguished for the most rigid economy. The increase of money has deluded us with the creation of apparent wealth, and in the train of this delusion have followed extravagance and lavish expenditure. Let us then refrain from every outlay which actual wealth alone could justify. Economy will promote the public credit better than the ripest theory. Retrenchment is the evidence of an honest purpose to meet our obligations. Faith in the intention of the government to preserve both the form and the spirit of its contracts in-

violate is the only foundation for our financial prosperity. Beware of the earliest steps tending to weaken or impair it.

This is good reading now.

Shortly after entering upon the duties of his office the governor addressed a special message to the general assembly, in which he recommended the resumption of two of the land-grants and the transfer of the same to companies that would build the roads for the construction of which the grants were made. In this communication appears the first recommendation by an executive of Iowa in respect to rates of fare and freight on railroads. He said:

Whatever may be the authority of the State over railroad corporations already formed and grants already ceded, it is plain that in the disposition of those which may hereafter revert to the State regulations may be imposed for the protection of the interests of the people against the impositions of monopoly. Fully conscious of the danger of establishing any restrictions tending to discourage these valuable enterprises, I am nevertheless persuaded to recommend the insertion of a clause in every future grant prohibiting discrimination in the arrangement of freight tariffs and fares in this state. While the people demand railroads they also demand just and equitable rates of transportation. Reason would seem to indicate that the expense of transportation should be *pro rata*. With some modifications of this rule in the case of short transfers, it would work no injustice, for it would simply subject railway companies to the same law of compensation which prevails in all other avenues of labor.

It is difficult to find a fairer statement of what our laws should aim at in respect of this important matter.

In the same message a revision of the insurance laws of the State was urged, as was also legislative action regarding reform schools and the erection of a new state house. All of these suggestions were favorably considered by the general assembly. That regarding railroad regulation appears in all the land-grant acts of the session. In the senate it was known as the Doud amendment, in the house as the Wilson amendment. The Wilson who offered the amendment is our present secretary of agriculture. This provision, it would seem, gave the maximum rate law, passed some years later, a better standing in the courts than it would have had without such safeguard. It reserved to the general assembly

the right to regulate rates on the roads of the companies to which grants were made. The excellent insurance law we have also dates from that session. Then, too, the reform school was established, at first temporarily in the county of Henry, while the hospital for the insane at Independence was authorized. The system of circuit courts was inaugurated along with the short-lived general term court; the county court was abolished; and provision made for the county judge to give place to the county auditor. Then was also enacted the first statute authorizing cities, towns, and townships to tax themselves in aid of the construction of railroads. This bill, however, the governor did not sign; neither did he veto it. He let it become law without action on his part. The session was perhaps the most prolific in enduring legislation of all in the State's history, except those in which our various codes were enacted.

In the autumn of 1868 the governor received a letter from the Citizens' Association of New York, Peter Cooper, president, which gave the former an opportunity to make a showing of the resources, the capabilities, and the productions of our State, which he did in a comprehensive letter that attracted widespread attention. Great numbers of it were printed and circulated in the eastern states. It was, moreover, translated into many languages, and widely distributed throughout Europe. It is perhaps not extravagant to say that much of the large immigration, which for a few years about that time crowded into Iowa from other parts of our own country as well as from foreign lands, was due, directly or indirectly, to this letter.

In 1869 Governor Merrill was re-elected by the largest majority any governor of Iowa had yet had. Toward the close of that year, the attention of the governor was called to an advertisement in a paper at Denison announcing an intended sale of school-lands in the county of O'Brien. The facts that this advertisement appeared in a paper published at such a distance from the county in which

the land lay, that the sale was to be in the winter-time, and that the county had less than 100 people according to the State census taken the same year, all excited the governor's suspicions. He accordingly sent Attorney-General O'Connor to look after the matter and prevent the sale if practicable. That officer succeeded not only in his immediate mission, but in putting a stop to similar schemes in other counties to get the school-lands into private hands at an insignificant price. The governor cited this instance in his message to the Thirteenth General Assembly, which convened shortly afterward, and in that paper he recommended that the school-lands be immediately withdrawn from market, and that when again offered for sale the minimum price should be \$6 per acre. Both measures were adopted. The school fund must be fully \$500,000 richer to-day than it would have been but for the action thus taken at Governor Merrill's urgency.

A recommendation in the same message brought upon him much criticism, some of it severe and even worse. Speaking of the Soldiers' Orphans' Homes, of which there were then three, he said:

In the visits I have made to these institutions during my term of office, I have become impressed with the belief that the cottage plan of providing for these children, such as prevails at the Davenport home, is much preferable to what I might call, in contradistinction, the "hotel plan," under which great numbers of the children are congregated together in a single house. This institution, in order to realize the highest conception of its usefulness, should approximate as closely as possible in character to that of the home of a well ordered family. I apprehend the correctness of this position will be admitted by all. In furtherance of this view, I would suggest . . . a discontinuance of the home at Glenwood at an early day, and of that at Cedar Falls before the convening of the next general assembly, and an increase of the number of cottages at Davenport, to provide not only for those coming from the other homes, but also for diminishing the number to be accommodated at each cottage, as at present arranged. This number could, it is thought, be reduced with great advantage to the children, and at little additional expense to the State.

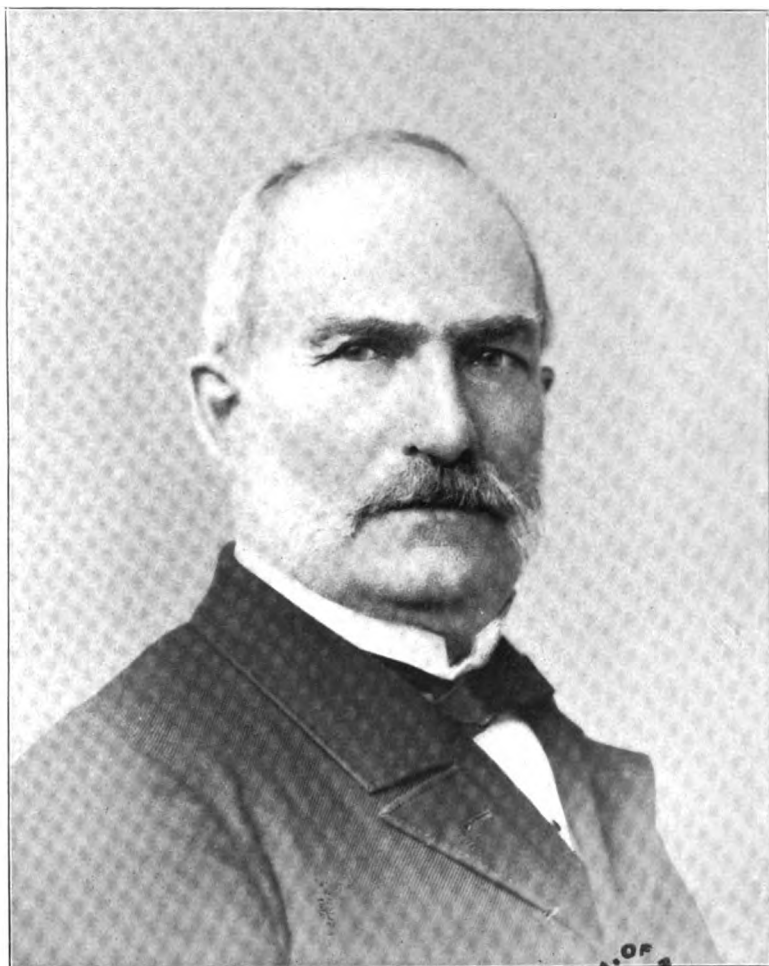
In another part of the same paper the governor sug-

gested that the buildings which would be abandoned recommendations were adopted could be fitted up for normal schools.

For these suggestions the governor was rudely rebuffed. He was said to be hard-hearted, did not sympathize with children, and even was actuated by unworthy motives. At that time, as now, the frequent argument of the day was that the children are themselves unworthy. Nothing came of that time's recommendation. But six years afterwards Governor Merrill had the satisfaction of seeing his suggestion carried almost to the letter, the only difference being that the plan at Glenwood was devoted to another purpose than that suggested by him. It was furthermore his opinion that the cottage system was a better one for all institutions, perhaps those of a penal character; a view that was almost ridicule at that time. But it has since been adopted. Many of the best alienists have advanced that it is much better even for the care of the insane than the hotel plan; and when the hospital at Clarinda was at the general assembly directed that it should be built on the cottage plan.

Governor Merrill exercised the veto power more frequently than has any of his successors; indeed more frequently than they all. All of his vetoes—nine in number—were in his second term. Four of them were of bills to increase the counties credit for funds belonging to the State, as the counties had been the victims of safe-robbery. The governor never argued that the measures proposed a discrimination against the counties which paid their State taxes. In fact, moreover, to which, however, the governor never allude, that the State moneys thus taken ought, in the instances at least, to have been paid into the State treasury before the robbery.

Another veto was where an ingenious attempt was made to evade the constitutional limitation as to the indebtedness which a school-district may incur. The town interest



GOVERNOR SAMUEL MERRILL.

This half-tone was copied from one of the Governor's latest photographs. It represents him very fairly as he appeared in his later years. The steel engraving is a fine likeness of the Governor when he commanded the 21st Iowa Infantry Volunteers.





one which had been farm lands only the year before, and had been assessed as such. Now it had grown to have nearly 1,000 people. The bill provided that when the directors of any district should be satisfied that the value of the property in the district had doubled since the last assessment the board might have an "appraisement" made of such property. When the amount of the appraisement was ascertained the district could borrow up to 5 per cent of that amount. No provision was made for any taxation under the appraisement. It was to be a basis for borrowing only. The taxation for payment of interest and principal would have been on an entirely different basis. The bill was, in the governor's judgment, palpably unconstitutional. It was doubtless well for all parties that the bill failed; had it been approved, the town could have repudiated the bonds; and the attempt to repudiate would have been strong when the pressure of the panic of 1873 was upon the people; and it would not have been necessary for the district as such to stop the payment of the bonds and interest, for any elector could have done it. A bill passed at the same session provided for the establishment of a new county out of the twelve northern townships of the county of Kossuth, to which new county the name of Crocker was given. This bill the governor believed to be unconstitutional, as the proposed county would have a smaller area than 432 square miles, and was disposed to veto it; but the attorney-general inclined to think the bill was not violation of the fundamental law, and the governor reluctantly signed the bill on the last day on which he could act upon it. A few months afterwards, the supreme court held the act void on the very ground of the governor's doubt.

The governor gave close attention to the institutions of the State, repeatedly visiting them and acquainting himself with the manner in which they were conducted. He caused flogging to be abolished at the penitentiary, and got the warden to re-establish a Sunday-school at that prison. Some

abuses in the matter of the disposition of refuse were also corrected. It was because of his intimate knowledge of the workings of the institutions that he was induced to make the recommendations he did in respect of the Soldiers' Orphans' Home. In his first term the legislature took steps towards beginning the construction of the new capitol. In the second session the work was ordered begun. In October, 1870, the governor held the plow (not a new thing to him) as he broke the ground for the edifice. It was about where the west portico is now. On the 23d of November, 1871, Governor Merrill laid the cornerstone of the new building, in the presence of a large crowd of spectators. The day being unusually cold for the time of year, adjournment was had to the old building, where the governor delivered an address, which briefly reviewed the history of the Territory and State, and told of the different capitols they had had. It was a paper of more than ordinary interest and brought to the governor many compliments, because of both its matter and its style.

One of the most notable events of Governor Merrill's useful administration was the reunion of the soldiers of Iowa, which occurred on the 31st of August and the 1st of September, 1870. This was a pet project of the governor's. In furtherance of it he corresponded with the several railroad companies doing business in the State, and visited their offices in person. Before the Thirteenth General Assembly met, the governor had secured the consent of all the managers to carry to Des Moines the enlisted men of the soldiers of Iowa, resident in the State, without charge. The legislature, at the governor's solicitation, appropriated \$15,000 and the city of Des Moines \$5,000, for the expenses of the reunion. After the Thirteenth General Assembly adjourned, several of the railroad companies tried to recede from their agreement as to transporting the soldiers, but the governor held them to it, although he had to make one or two trips to Chicago to do so, and even some of the companies had to

be persuaded for a third time to make the promise of free transportation. The event eclipsed all expectation. Immense trainloads of men came to Des Moines in passenger coaches and box cars, inside and on top. It was indeed little short of the miraculous that not an accident occurred on the way, coming or going, or at the encampment, to mar the pleasure of the occasion. The arrangements for feeding the assembled thousands were of the most complete character. In this the governor was ably assisted by Dr. Alexander Shaw, who was afterwards in charge of our centennial exhibit and of the Columbian exhibit of Colorado; General Ed Wright, the secretary of state; Major Samuel E. Rankin, then treasurer; Colonel Carpenter, then register of the state land office; and General Baker, the adjutant-general. Governor Merrill had reason to rejoice at the success of the affair. It had been his device alone. Hardly one of the men then prominent in state affairs to whom he spoke gave him any encouragement whatever in the undertaking; but it was not in Governor Merrill to retreat after having made a start.

Governor Merrill put a final stop to the diversion of swamp land funds, of which diversion there was yet more or less when he entered upon the governorship. He was repeatedly urged to waive the strictness of the law in favor of claimants for those funds, but he was immovable and gave all to understand that the funds which came into his hands as indemnity for swamp lands sold must go through the state treasury to the counties interested, so that they could make settlement with the claimants of the funds.

Governor Merrill was firm to follow the path of duty as he saw it. After the adjournment of the legislature of 1868 the parties in charge of the railroad enterprises then projected in the State were disposed to insist that the proviso reserving to the general assembly the right to regulate rates of fare and freight on their lines should be repealed before they would put any money into projects. The desire for

railroad facilities in the yet unsupplied part of the State was so great that a formidable movement was set on foot to induce the governor to call a session of the general assembly for the purpose of having the obnoxious proviso stricken from the statute book. When the clamor got to be pretty loud, the governor announced that he would not in any event call the legislature together unless he was fully assured that a majority of the members would vote for the repeal. He, however, gave no assurances that he would even then. It was subsequently claimed that the majority of pledges had been obtained, and the governor was called upon to convene the general assembly in accordance, it was contended, with his promise. But the governor was now satisfied that there was no emergency to justify the expense of an extra session, and he refused to issue the call. His course was criticised for a time, but it was soon seen that the railroad builders were about as anxious to construct the roads as the people were to have them built. When the legislature next met, there was no step taken to repeal the reservation clause. On the contrary it was put into the act of that legislature amendatory of the act authorizing townships, cities, and towns to tax themselves to aid in the building of railroads.

Another instance of Governor Merrill's manly firmness may be cited: During the campaign of 1869, when he was candidate for re-election, resolutions were passed at one or more meetings held in one of the counties of the State that were especially affected by a decision of the supreme court of the United States to the effect that they must pay certain bonds issued for the purpose of aiding in the building of railroads in such counties. Many of the counties, and some of the cities as well, had, in the flush times of the 50's, issued their obligations for the purpose indicated, in order to hasten the construction of railroads. The supreme court of the State had at first sustained the legality of such issues, on the strength of which decisions the bonds had been market-





THE DES MOINES HOME OF GOVERNOR SAMUEL MERRILL.

This beautiful residence, which passed into other hands years ago, fronts south on Pleasant street, a few doors west of the home of the late Judge George G. Wright.  
Ex-Lieut. Gov. B. F. Gue lived in the next house west.

ed, and the holders got the proceeds. In some instances, that was all that was done in the business. The operators got what they were after, and did not go on with their enterprises. In respect of those projects which were in the hands of men who intended to push them, the financial panic of 1857 prevented their getting the money with which to go ahead. But the interest on the county and city bonds came due and had to be met, as the principal would in due time. The communities that had thus loaned their credit were indignant that they should be called to pay out money and have no return for the outlay. Accordingly, proceedings were instituted in the courts to enjoin the paying of the bonds, with the result to obtain from our supreme court another decision overruling the former one, and declaring the bonds void. On appeal, the supreme court of the United States reversed this decision as to bonds issued while the first decision of our court was held to be the correct rule, the higher court holding that the buyers of the obligations were justified in accepting that first decision as the law, and in investing their money in the securities to which that ruling gave currency. At the meetings referred to resolutions were passed denouncing this decision, and demanding that the State authorities take steps to resist any attempt to enforce the order of the court. Candidates for the governorship and other offices were called upon to pledge themselves to such resistance.

Governor Merrill's opponent made such pledge, of which the governor was duly advised. But his answer to the demand was decisive to the effect that the power of the State should not be used, with his consent, for any such purpose, and that those who supported him for re-election must do so with that understanding.

When Samuel Merrill became governor he was satisfied that the time had come when the governor of Iowa must give practically his entire time to the duties of the office. He accordingly made the seat of government his residence,



turning over the management of his extensive interests to others, and entered upon the discharge of his duties with determination to make that his business while he held the governorship. It thus happened that he was the first executive of the State to make the capital his home during his term of office. Just before the convening of the Thirteenth General Assembly, Governor and Mrs. Merrill gave a public reception, the first gubernatorial reception, it is believed, in the history of the State.

Upon retiring from office Governor Merrill embarked in the banking business and became president of the newly organized Citizens National bank at Des Moines, which position he held for many years. He gave much of his attention to matters of general financial concern. At a meeting of bankers of the country held at Chicago he advanced the idea that the amount received by the government from taxes on deposits should be held as a general fund to secure depositors in those banks. This idea has been revived of late years and found many advocates, especially during the period of depression in the last decade.

About a dozen years ago he removed to California, making his home at Los Angeles, where he passed away on the 31st of August, 1899. His remains were brought to Des Moines, where they lay in state at the capitol, thence they were conveyed to Plymouth church where the funeral services were held, and thence to Woodland.

No more faithful or conscientious governor has the State known. He aimed in all things to do his duty as he saw it. His aim in public position may be expressed in his own words used at the close of his address at the laying of the corner-stone of the capitol:

Let us see to it that to the extent of our power we securely fashion the fabric of the commonwealth, that freedom and equality, justice, intelligence, and public virtue shall ever be its characteristics; that ours shall not be a

Land to hastening ills a prey  
Where wealth accumulates and men decay.

but one whose material triumphs, while enriching the whole, shall yet not impoverish any; and that the laws to be promulgated from the edifice soon to crown this fair height, while looking to the suppression of crime, the removal of poverty, and the dissipation of their causes, shall ever tend to the true object of righteous legislation—the greatest good of all the people.

Well will it be for the commonwealth if she shall always have in her first executive office a man as conscientious in the performance of duty, and as zealous for the honor of Iowa, as her seventh governor.

Governor Merrill was married three times. His first wife, to whom he was united in 1847, died fourteen months after marriage. He was married in 1851 to Miss Elizabeth D. Hill, who was the mother of his children, and the Mrs. Merrill whom the people of Iowa knew and loved. She passed away several years ago. The governor's last wife was a resident of California, which is yet her home. Two children survive their parents—Harriet (Mrs. John Craig), and Jeremiah H., both of whom are living in Rialto, California. Mr. Jeremiah Merrill, an older brother, still lives at Des Moines. A yet older sister, Mrs. Mary P. Files, survives at Gorham, Maine.

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OF THE PEOPLE of the country I ought to carry away a most favorable impression, if such an impression could be produced by unwearied endeavors, with apparently no motive but simple benevolence to make our stay agreeable. The American minister, Gen. A. C. Dodge [of Iowa], is very attentive to the convenience of his countrymen, and a great favorite with such of them as come to Madrid. He is on excellent terms also with the people of the country, and has done what I think few of his predecessors have taken the trouble to do—acquired their language.—*W. C. Bryant's Letters from Spain, 1858.*

## CHAPTERS IN IOWA'S FINANCIAL HISTORY.

BY FRANK I. HERRIOTT, PH. D.

Although the State of Iowa was carved out of the Louisiana Purchase her tax laws have their origin not in the civil laws of Louisiana but in the ordinances and laws enacted by the territorial councils and legislatures of the states created out of the old Northwest Territory. When people began to move westward in the thirties and the institutions of government became necessary in the communities settling on the west bank of the Mississippi, congress in 1834 added Iowa to the territory of Michigan. In 1836 Wisconsin with Iowa included was made a territory. Two years later congress gave Iowa, with a population of 22,000, a separate territorial government, the act providing therefor going into effect July 3, 1838. In November following a legislature was convened at the city of Burlington, Iowa, and a body of laws was adopted for the regulation of the affairs of the new territory. Among the statutes enacted was an "Act for Assessing and Collecting County Revenue" approved January 24, 1839.\* This statute was a re-enactment almost *verbatim* of the revenue law passed by the legislature of Wisconsin just a year previous.† With truth it might very properly be said that the Wisconsin act of 1838 was an Iowa act as the Wisconsin legislature held its winter session of 1837-1838 and its special session of June, 1838, in Burlington, Iowa. But these laws of Iowa and Wisconsin were re-enactments with some modifications of the revenue laws of the territory of Michigan in force at the time the affairs of both territories were brought within the jurisdiction of the government of Michigan.

Among the "privileges and immunities" to which the inhabitants of Iowa were "entitled" by tradition if not in

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\* *Laws of Iowa 1838-1839* (reprint of 1900) p. 427 *et seq.*

† *Laws of Wisconsin 1837-1838*, No. 68 "An Act for Assessing and Collecting County Revenue" approved January 18, 1838.

fact when congress annexed the territory to Michigan in 1834 were the provisions of the act of 1792 respecting the manner of raising money to defray the expenses of county government in the old Northwest Territory of which the following are of special significance and interest:

"That the sums which shall from time to time be allowed by the legislature and laid on the counties for the purposes aforesaid shall be apportioned on the inhabitants of the several towns or districts within the respective counties by commissioners . . . [who] shall have special respect to wealth and numbers and may direct the whole assessment to be made in money or specific articles most agreeable with the necessity of the public and the convenience of the people. And the better to enable the commissioners to make such apportionment *consistent with equity and the abilities* of the people they are hereby empowered to take a list" of persons and all "species of property which may be in the county and ought to affect the apportionment."\*

The assessment of persons and corporations for taxation in a manner "most agreeable with the necessity of the public and the convenience of the people" so that the apportionment of the public burdens shall be "consistent with equity and the abilities of the people" is the ideal rule for the apportionment of the expense of maintaining government among its citizens toward which scholastic research and practical legislative reforms have in recent years been universally and steadily advancing.

## I.

Prior to 1834 Michigan had entered upon that period of industrial expansion and commercial speculation which made the decade from 1830 to 1840 so notable in the annals of the United States. The creation of banks and the incorporation of industrial or business companies had become a large

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\* See Laws passed in the Territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio river from July to December, 1792, Chapter III, Section 2.

part of the legislative business by the time Iowa was annexed.\* The number of corporate enterprises and their importance in the industrial life of the times had become so noteworthy that the legislators of the territory were forced to consider the matter of their assessment for taxation; and in the revision of the laws in 1833 are to be found the first definite provisions for the taxation of corporations. The statute was entitled "An Act to Provide for the Assessment and Collection of Township and County Taxes" and took effect on April 22, 1833.†

By its provisions taxes were to be "assessed, levied, and paid . . . upon a valuation of real and personal estate, including property and stock in any bank, insurance company, or other incorporation". (Sec. 1), Assessors were directed to make out and return between April 15th and May 1st, a "list or schedule of all the taxable property" in their respective districts. Upon the completion of their schedules assessors of the townships met and "jointly" fixed the valuations of the properties reported. In case objections were filed and affidavits were made as to the value of any person's property the assessors were required to assess the value at the amount sworn to, (Sec. 2). Respecting the method of assessing corporations, Section 3 provided:

Whenever the assessors shall apply to the president of any banking, or other incorporated company, to make an assessment of the property and stock therein, it shall be the duty of the president, forthwith to furnish the assessors so applying, with a schedule of the stock, property and effects, belonging to such company that the same may be included in their assessment roll.

Two provisos were attached to the above, both of which necessarily reduced greatly the productiveness of the law as a tax measure: First, no stock or property of a bank or corporation could be assessed unless the owner thereof was a citizen of the territory of Michigan at the time the asses-

\* See Cooley's Michigan, p. 280, et seq.

† See Laws of the Territory of Michigan, condensed, arranged and passed by the Fifth Legislative Council, 1833, p. 88.

sors made their returns; Second, the stock or property could only be taxed "in the township in which the person or persons owning the same" resided. The law was vague as to the assessor's powers and the property subject to taxation. The inference from the provisos seems clear that the assessor could demand the names and addresses of the stockholders. It would appear on reading all three sections together that both the shares of stock in the hands of individuals were assessable and the property and stock reported by the president of the corporation. Finally it is to be noted, the president of the corporation did not place a value on the corporate stock or property; neither did the assessor to whom the schedule was given; the valuation was made by the entire assessorial body of the county in joint session.

In February, 1834, the legislature of Michigan passed an act which in many respects was extraordinary. Although its title was general its provisions applied solely to the five counties comprising the territory of Wisconsin, Michilimackinac, Chippewa, Brown, Iowa and Crawford. In these counties a county assessor with assistants was substituted for the township assessors who were continued in the territory to the east of the lake; and an entirely new and more elaborate classification or schedule of taxable property was provided for the assessors. Among the classes of property subject to taxation "stocks in any incorporated company" were included but all of the provisions of the act of 1833, previously noted were omitted.\* The reason for the omission is not apparent unless the legislature deemed the amount of taxable corporate property in Wisconsin not of enough importance at that time to require it to be listed in the manner pursued in Michigan. The act of 1833 however was applicable to Iowa when it came under the legislature of Michigan in 1834.

Soon after the passage of the act just referred to a mem-

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\* See Territorial Laws of Michigan, Vol. III, p. 1270. "An Act to provide for the election of a county assessor and for other purposes." Approved Feb. 24, 1834.

ber of the legislative council from Wisconsin secured the passage of a bill which placed a tax on "all monied or stock corporations deriving an income or profit from their capital or otherwise", such corporations were to be subject to "the same rate of taxation as other real and personal estate." The proceeds of this tax were to be set apart exclusively for the use and benefit of the school fund, but the bill was vetoed by the governor on the ground that it would result in double taxation—a reason which, as was pointed out at the time, had little to support it in view of the provision of the bill that such corporations should pay the same rates of taxes as other property.\*

When Wisconsin, with Iowa, was cut off from Michigan in 1836 and given a separate territorial government the new legislature adopted without a change the revenue law of 1833.† At the legislative session at Burlington in 1837–1838 a new revenue law was drafted and approved ‡ which was, as already stated, adopted with almost no alteration a year later by the first territorial legislature of Iowa.

During the overlordship of Michigan and of Wisconsin, the revenue laws of the respective territorial governments were but little executed in the counties west of the Mississippi up until 1838. It is probable that no taxes of any kind were collected in Iowa prior to 1834.§ From 1834 to 1838 there began to be the forms and semblance of local government but the authorities of Michigan and of Wisconsin

\* See M. B. Hammond's "Financial History of Wisconsin Territory" in *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, 41st Annual Meeting, 1896, pp. 139–140.

† See *Laws of Wisconsin Territory*, 1836, No. 16, p. 43.

‡ See *Laws of Wisconsin Territory*, 1837–1838, No. 63, "An Act for Assessing and Collecting County Revenue" pp. 213 et seq.

§ Mr. F. H. Noble in his *Taxation in Iowa*, p. 9, asserts positively that "No taxes were collected" prior to 1834, basing his statement partly upon a letter to him of the late Senator George W. Jones, the first territorial delegate of Wisconsin to Congress, and partly on original investigations of early county records. Professor Jesse Macy's account of the beginnings of government in Iowa, tends strongly to confirm Mr. Noble's statement. See the interesting account of first murder trial in Dubuque in 1834 and the method of raising money to defray the expenses of the trial in "Institutional Beginnings in a Western State," *Studies in Historical and Political Science*, (Johns Hopkins University) second series, pp. 349–350.

sin territories were so indifferent to the welfare of the people in counties of Iowa that lack of effective government and protection to life and property was the great cause of complaint which brought together the convention at Burlington, November 6, 1837, for the purpose of memorializing congress to authorize the establishment of a separate territorial government for Iowa.\*

## II.

The "Act for Assessing and Collecting County Revenue" in the new territory approved January 24, 1839, refers but twice to "Corporations" as subject to assessment for taxation and then simply in connection with a license tax. The board of county commissioners were authorized and directed to "assess" and exact from every "merchant, storekeeper, peddler, company or corporation," an annual license fee of \$10 to \$50, before granting the privilege of vending at private sale any wares or goods.† This fee was our modern license tax pure and simple. If any such corporation retailed "spirited liquors and foreign and domestic groceries by a less quantity than a gallon to be drank in and about the house where such liquors are retailed" the commissioners were directed ‡ to levy a tax "on each license" of \$100 in incorporated towns and of \$50 in unincorporated towns; and if the company pursued a general merchandising business the tax on the license was from \$10 to \$50 at the discretion of the board.§ This "tax on licenses" as it was called, as well as the license fee exacted as prerequisite to the conduct of all business was not in any sense a corporation tax. The law did not differentiate corporations from private citizens in levying the tax or fee. Aside from those two license exactions corporations went

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\* See A. R. Fulton's *Sketches of the Northwest*, pp. 148-153; See also Professor Macy's *Institutional Beginnings*. Ibid p. 351.

† See *Laws of Iowa, 1838-1839*, p. 444, sec. 44 and p. 446, sec. 47.

‡ Ibid, p. 428, sec. 1.

§ Ibid.



untaxed in the first years of Iowa's territorial government unless they were taxed under the general provisions of the act making all property real and personal subject to assessment. In some of the acts creating corporations there occur provisions which declare that shares of stock therein shall be considered "personal property".\* The provision was probably included in order to insure greater ease in the transfer and sale of shares. Yet it, theoretically at least, brought the stock of the particular company within the scope of the revenue law.

It is difficult to explain why the legislature of Wisconsin after adopting the Michigan law of 1833 as we have seen, should have omitted all the provisions relative to assessing corporations in the law which was passed at Burlington in 1838.† It is more than probable that the Iowa legislature when they re-enacted the law of 1838 did not contemplate the taxation of much else besides real property. Personal property is declared to be subject to assessment but only once is the term used in the entire act. There are no specifications whatever as to what shall be included in the assessment of personal property. All of the schedules for listing property and the processes for enforcing the collection of taxes relate to real estate. As for corporations there probably were not many authorized to do business at the time the revenue act of 1839 was under discussion. Prior to July 4, 1838, the legislatures of Michigan and Wisconsin had created by

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\* Ibid, p. 245, sec. 2 of Acts Incorporating the Bloomington and Cedar River Canal Company.

† A partial explanation of the marked change in the character of the revenue laws of 1837-'38 noticed above may possibly be found in the resolution of the Wisconsin legislature on December 29, 1837, when a committee was appointed to make a selection of the laws of Michigan for publication (*Acts of Legislature of Wisconsin 1837-'38*, p. 329). The reason for this resolution was that the "Revised Statutes" of 1833 and the session laws of 1834, of 1834-'35 and of 1835 were so scarce west of the lake at that time, that "not only the people, but the lawyers, judges and legislators were unable to obtain copies of the laws by which they were to govern or to be governed." Judge Charles Mason of Burlington (afterwards the chief justice of the territorial supreme court of Iowa and the author of the Iowa Code of 1851) on November 21, 1838, in writing the secretary of Wisconsin territory explaining the failure of the printer to furnish the copies contracted for, ascribes it in part to the fact that the printer, Mr. James G. Edwards, had not been able to obtain a copy of the printed

by special acts only four corporations whose charters indicated that they were organized to do business in Iowa. It is not unlikely that specific mention of corporations was omitted in the revenue law as an inducement for them to come to Iowa and promote the industrial growth of the new territory. Twenty years later, when the laws were revised we shall find that the legislators omitted railroads from the revenue law for such a reason.

In 1840 the tax laws were quite generally overhauled and re-written but no material changes were made so far as corporations were concerned.\* Meantime population was rapidly increasing and the legislature was active in granting articles of incorporation and corporate enterprises began to play an important part in the life of the people. The fact is slightly preceptible in the "Revised Statutes" of 1843. "All bodies corporate and political" were made subject to taxation. "All capital" employed in merchandizing or by money lenders or exchange brokers was to be included in the tax lists.† At the next session of the legislature it was provided that "all the machinery of a corporation" should be assessed in the locality where the same was located‡ and that assessors should include "stocks in any corporation or association" in the returns of personal property.§ These specific enactments in 1843 and 1844 justify the observations previously made concerning the law of 1839.

To what extent the taxation of corporations was discussed

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laws, (See Mr. Theodore Lee Cole's article on "A Rare Wisconsin Book" in *Collecti-  
ons of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, Vol. XII, pp. 383-389). Under such  
circumstances the members of the legislature were naturally powerfully influenced  
by recollections of the laws and practices in the states from which they had migrat-  
ed. In the Wisconsin legislature of 1836 there were fourteen out of the thirty-nine  
members from southern states. The proportion was probably not much changed  
when it convened at Burlington (See *Report of Wisconsin Tax Commission (1896)* p.  
21). Those desirous of pursuing this subject farther will find some interesting com-  
ments and notes in Professor Macy's "Institutional Beginnings" already referred to.  
*ibid* pp. 364-365.

\* *Laws of Iowa*, 1840, chapter 70.

† *Revised Statutes*, 1843, chapter 132, section 1.

‡ *Laws of Iowa*, 1844, chapter 21, section 13.

§ *Ibid*, section 17.

in the constitutional conventions of 1844 and 1846 it is not now possible to say as no complete record of the debates has been preserved. In the first convention the committee on State Revenues submitted a proposed section to the constitution in which "stocks" were included in the list of properties made subject to taxation \* but the section was neglected and the entire subject of taxes was omitted from the draft submitted to the people. The constitution of 1846 likewise made no mention of the matter.

The law of 1844 remained unchanged during the next three years. On the assembling of the first State legislature in 1846, Governor James Clarke, the last territorial governor, dwelt at some length in his message to the new assembly upon the evils of the unjust taxation to which the people were then subject. "The revenue laws", he declared, "at present in existence are radically defective and call for amendment. It cannot be denied, that under the territorial organization, with all our legislative, executive and judicial expenses borne by the general government, a system of taxation exceeded for severity by but few of the states of the union, has prevailed. . . . Reform in this particular . . . is imperiously demanded."† Governor Clarke, like many of his successors, aside from asserting that gross inequalities prevailed in the assessments returned in the several taxing districts and that intangible personal property escaped from taxation, a fact of commonplace notoriety since the memory of man runneth not to the contrary, voiced a widespread complaint but did not particularize what the defects were in the revenue laws of the territory or outline any scheme of effective reform. The legislature in response to his message redrafted the statute of 1844; but the assessment of corporations did not seem to call for particular attention apparently, as the matter is practically ignored in the

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\* See Shambaugh's *Fragments of the Debates of the Constitutional Conventions of 1844 and 1846*, p. 122.

† See *Journal of Iowa House of Representatives, 1846*, p. 12.

law approved. The only provision in the entire act that indicated the existence of corporations was the requirement that every person should give in with his assessable personal property the value of any "interest in the capital stock, undivided profits or means of every company, incorporated or unincorporated," owned by him.\* This law remained unchanged until the adoption of the new code in 1851.

### III.

Our review of the tax legislation affecting corporations in Iowa prior to 1851 and incidentally of the conditions of industry, commerce and government prevailing during the period under consideration develops several facts of importance which we should notice before passing on to the later developments of corporation taxes.

Corporations were first assessed in Iowa between 1834 and 1836, if there were any to be assessed, under the Michigan law of 1833. That law approximated modern legislative enactments with respect to the method of assessment, the chief accounting officer of corporations being required to return the lists of property or stocks to the assessors. All of the stock or property was liable to taxation without abatement on account of any indebtedness. As soon as Iowa acquired independent control of her territorial affairs corporations as corporations were apparently relieved from assessment. The laws were predominated exclusively by the idea that the property of an individual is not only the true test of the ability of such individual to bear taxes but the best means or basis to take for reaching or determining the assessable valuation of his ability when seeking to place tax burdens upon him. Underlying the laws of 1843, 1844, and 1847, was the assumption that owners of shares of stock or of interests in corporate enterprises would report the value of their holdings to the assessors which would secure the taxation of the corporate property; and in that assumption

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\* Laws of Iowa, 1847, chapter C, section 10.

undoubtedly we can in part account for the absence of specific directions respecting the taxation of corporations in the statutes of Iowa prior to the code of 1851.

The assumptions of the law were of little effect in practical application, for the results as shown in the assessors' returns in the last three years of the decade were very meagre. The auditor of state could report a total value for the entire State of the stocks and profits in incorporated and unincorporated companies in 1848 of only \$3,748. In 1849 the total value of such stocks reported amounted to \$12,293; and the aggregate valuation in 1850 was \$13,107.\* The capital reported for the same years as employed in manufactures was respectively \$237,655, \$318,911, and \$432,838.

In the development of the tax laws in the territorial days a fact of great importance was the overlordship of the government at Washington. The president of the United States filled all of the chief executive and judicial offices † and all of the expenses of the territorial government were borne by the national treasury.‡ The people of the territory were assessed only for taxes for purely local purposes. This relief from the necessity of supporting their territorial government was one of the facts that helps to explain the very primitive character of the revenue laws with regard to corporations.§ The subject of taxation was not forced on the people's attention on account of their beneficial relations with the federal government.

In addition to those already given or suggested two other facts should be kept in mind respecting the nature

\* See Reports of Auditor of State in Appendices to the Journal of the Senate; for 1848, pp. 238—239, for 1849, pp. 16—17, and for 1850, pp. 26—27.

† See Act of Congress approved June 12, 1838, section 2, Statutes at Large, volume V, p. 235.

‡ Ibid.

§ This relief from territorial taxes noted above was one of the principal arguments used against the first proposals for the organization of a state government. See editorial comment in Iowa City Standard September 3 and 24 and October 8, 1841, and December 12, 1844. See Shambaugh's Documentary Material relative to the History of Iowa, volume I, p. 133.

of the tax laws in force during the period here under consideration although these facts for the most part counteracted each other in their influence upon legislation. One has already been referred to. These two facts were first, the "anti-corporation" feeling that was aroused among the people during the forties, and second, the feverish eagerness with which the inhabitants of the towns and cities sought to induce eastern capital to come west and promote railroads and manufactures in the young and thriving and ambitious communities on this side of the Mississippi. The feeling against corporations was aroused by the disasters which followed in the wake of reckless speculation and ill-advised undertakings by companies either dishonestly promoted and conducted or improvidently managed. There was but one bank of note issue in the territory and its career was unceremoniously cut short by the legislature in 1845. So pronounced was the sentiment against banks in 1846 that the constitution submitted to and adopted by the people absolutely prohibited the legislature of the new State from creating any bank with note-issuing powers.\* Throughout the debates in the constitutional conventions of 1844 and 1846 and the discussions which followed in the press, this anti-corporation sentiment was manifested in a marked degree.† The consequences of such belligerent opposition to corporations would have led naturally to some drastic legislation respecting corporate taxation, but the overweening desire of the inhabitants of the cities to promote railroad construction, plank-road building, and manufacturing enterprises, made the legislatures of those days cautious lest they discourage eastern capitalists from venturing beyond the Mississippi. Instead of taxing corporations heavily as many undoubtedly would have liked to do communities were more likely to vote taxes to aid them

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\* On this subject see F. D. Merritt's *The Early History of Banking in Iowa*, p. 51, et seq., and Jno. Jay Knox's *History of Banking* pp. 770-779.

† See Shambaugh's *Fragments of the Debates of the Iowa Constitutional Conventions of 1844 and 1846*, p. 67 et seq, 94-101, 140 et seq, 188-191, 196-204, 224, 228, 275.

in constructing their lines or plants and to exempt them as much as possible from public burdens.

It was at such a time when there was no particular demand on the part of the general public for changes in the revenue law that very material alterations were made in its provisions. In 1848 the legislature appointed a commission of three to revise and codify the laws. The commission reported to the governor in December, 1850, submitting a thorough-going revision, incorporating in their proposed code much new legislation. This was especially true of the chapter relating to "Revenue," notably in those portions prescribing the property subject to taxation and the methods for its assessment.\*

The stock or shares of any bank or incorporated company whether organized under the laws of Iowa or not were made liable to taxation.† Ferry franchises—an important industry in the days preceding the railroads—were henceforth to be taxed "as realty"‡ just as corporate franchises in general are now assessed in New York. The principal accounting officers of corporations were required to report and list all of their property to the assessor.§ But the most radical changes affected railroad and construction companies and insurance companies.

The property of "corporations or companies constructing canals, railroads," and "similar improvements" were to be taxed through "the shares of the stockholders." The shares of non-resident share-holders were assessable in the county in which was "either terminus of the structure." The secretary of the company was required to report to the assessor the list of such non-resident share-holders and their addresses, the shares held by each and the par and market value of their shares. In case of refusal to certify the list the shares

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\* See Code of Iowa, 1851, title VI, chapter 37.

† Ibid, section 456.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid, section 458.

were assessed to the corporation. The county first listing was entitled to levy and collect the taxes on such non-resident stock-holders.\* Insurance companies incorporated outside the State but doing business in Iowa were to be assessed one per cent. for state purposes and one per cent. for county purposes on the premiums received in the several counties. The agents were required to list the receipts to the assessor and were made personally responsible for the payment of the tax.† These departures from the principle of the general property tax in 1851 were recommended by the code commissioners without any public agitation for such changes and they were adopted by the legislature without causing any noteworthy comment in the press of the State.‡

But this popular indifference did not continue long. The importance of corporations in the industrial life of the people, the great advantages which these artificial creations of the State had over individuals in the production and distribution of wealth soon became apparent. It was also perceived that the General Property tax was not a very effective method for taxing them and the increasing pressure of taxes in the cities and counties made those who had to hear them more and more disposed to seek efficient laws for their assessment. The history of the plans pursued with various classes of corporations, the results attained and the lessons which the experiments enforce, constitute an interesting and instructive narrative that would greatly exceed our space. In what follows, only an outline of the development of corporation taxes after 1851 is attempted, as that development is exhibited in statutory enactments, judicial decisions and public discussion.

\* Ibid, section 462.

† Ibid, section 464.

‡ The general indifference of the people to the legislative changes in the revenue laws in 1851 is indicated by the fact that the columns of *The Iowa Star*, a prominent Democratic paper published at Des Moines, does not so much as mention in its news reports or notes, let alone comment upon editorially, the amendments wrought in the tax laws by the code; and this paper had a special correspondent at Iowa City who reported quite fully the proceedings of the sessions of 1850—1851.



## OUTLINES OF GROWTH OF CORPORATION TAXES AFTER 1851.

The legislatures of American states have few problems more difficult to deal with than the enactment of laws for the assessment for taxation of industrial and commercial companies or corporations that will prove at once efficient and equitable in their practical execution. Modern corporations, particularly some of the more recent evolutions within whose control or sphere of influence are held subject not only the industries and trade of communities but the avenues of trade, the lines of communication and means of transportation, as well as the main sources of supply of the raw materials of manufacturers, such corporations have become the most notable and the most potent factors in our economic life. Their operations are so extensive and multifarious, the evidences of their property and revenue or income so elusive when sought by the agents of government for taxation that the history of the finance of American states exhibits a vast amount of legislative experimentation in their efforts to tax them. Great diversity in methods characterizes the revenue laws of the states. Indeed it is more accurate to say that the utmost confusion prevails and the public mind is in consequence in utter perplexity amidst the divergent laws and conflicting theories respecting the subject.

During the past decade there has been observable in the legislation of the several states a tendency towards uniformity in methods of corporate taxation, a tendency which we may expect to see increase as the various laws and the diverse experiences thereunder are studied and their lessons learned. In such comparative study the history of corporation taxes in the State of Iowa is not without interest and profit withal. Her revenue laws have been modified from time to time, in consequence of changing needs, resulting either from the failure to enforce statutes or from the development of new forms of industry which required special machinery for their assessment and taxation. It is essential,

if we would arrive at just conclusions with respect to matters of present concern, that we know the nature of the efforts heretofore made to secure equitable tax laws, the conditions of industry and State and local finance which gave rise to them and the results of the methods pursued. We shall at least appreciate better the difficulties that confront those who seek to remodel the revenue laws if we know the history of such legislation.

### I.

It is early in the history of Iowa that we find the assessment of corporations for taxation in a manner different from that pursued in the taxation of her private citizens. The State was not admitted into the union until 1846. In 1851 the legislature adopted a code of laws and therein are to be found the beginnings of what recent financial writers have come to designate by the term "corporation tax." The principle of the General Property tax theretofore followed in assessing commercial and industrial companies, as well as private individuals, was then partially abandoned by the legislature as inadequate in determining the taxable capacity of corporations. In the subsequent legislation and revision of her laws it cannot be said that Iowa kept abreast of Massachusetts, New York or Pennsylvania in the enactment of effective tax laws; yet since 1890 the people of this State have become aroused to the importance of reform in the methods of corporate taxation.

Iowa, it should be remembered, is a state in which agriculture, merchandizing, manufacturing, and mining constitute the chief industries of the people who have always enjoyed to a marked degree a general prosperity. Throughout the entire history of the commonwealth the State government has been very economically managed when its cost is compared with the outlays for those of other American states. The financial history of the counties and cities, gen-

erally speaking, has been characterized by economy in public expenditures. This has been due for the most part to constitutional and statutory provisions restricting expenditures and especially the use of the funding powers. The extravagance that characterizes the local finance of so many states has never been conspicuous in the municipalities of Iowa or long continued if here and there it occurred. This is due no doubt mainly to the fact that there are no large cities in the state. On account of these conditions the citizens of Iowa have never been pushed sharply on the problems of taxation and compelled by the pressure of burdensome taxes to readjust their revenue laws so as to bring them into accord with the best economic theory and experience.\*

Not that the people always have been complacently satisfied with the workings of their system of tax laws—far from it. Complaints and protests against the escape of persons and property from taxation have been common and at times pronounced. The first message to the Iowa legislature by the retiring territorial governor directed attention to the evils of taxation prevailing in 1845; † and in subsequent years various governors and financial officers of the state in their biennial messages and reports dealt with the subject. But, with a few exceptions, which we will consider, their observations and recommendations were concerned with the evils of undervaluation, and ordinary “tax dodging,” with the taxation of intangible personal property and with ways and means for making more effective the

\* The population of Iowa in 1850 was 192,214; in 1860, 674,913; in 1870, 1,194,020; in 1880, 1,624,615; in 1890, 1,911,826; and in 1900, 2,231,863, on a land area of 53,475 square miles. Concerning the cities and towns of the State “Bulletin” No. 23 of the Twelfth Census says: “Of the 681 incorporated places [in 1900] there are 495 which have less than 1,000 inhabitants, and 598 which have less than 2,000 inhabitants. There are 64 incorporated places which have more than 2,000 and less than 5,000 inhabitants; 10 which have more than 5,000 and less than 10,000 inhabitants; 8 which have more than 10,000 and less than 25,000 inhabitants; and 6 which have more than 25,000 inhabitants, namely: Des Moines, 62,139; Dubuque, 36,297; Davenport, 35,254; Sioux City, 33,111; Council Bluffs, 25,802; and Cedar Rapids, 25,656.” The urban population of Iowa in 1900 amounted to 975,641, nearly one-half the entire population of the state.

† See Message of Gov. James Clarke, Senate Journal, 1846, p. 12.

then existing laws—not with the relative merits of various methods or principles of taxation.\*

## II.

The development of the "corporation tax," that is, of a mode of taxing corporations peculiar to corporations and distinct both as to principle and as to procedure from that followed in the taxation of individuals was a matter of slow growth, even after the legislature adopted it in 1851. Legislation along these lines has been very uneven and piecemeal in character until recent years. One class of corporations would receive attention and then another. One method of assessment would be taken with one class and another basis with another class. And with the same class there have been several changes in the methods pursued.

From 1851 to 1862 railroads were assessed on shares of stock. Between 1862 and 1872 a gross earnings tax was assessed on railroads—at first a flat rate and then a graduated tax.† Since 1872 the general property tax has been applied to railways.‡ Express companies have been subjected to various methods of taxation. Up to 1868 they were assessed as ordinary corporations. In 1868 the legislature passed a peculiar act that assessed them locally on forty per cent. of their gross earnings in each locality where there was an office or agency and the forty per cent.

\* See Message of Gov. Wm. M. Stone, 1868, p. 81; Message of Gov. Samuel Merrill, 1870, pp. 41-42; Message of Gov. J. G. Newbold, 1878, p. 6; Message of Gov. J. H. Gear, 1880, pp. 4-5; Message of Gov. Wm. Larrabee, 1888, p. 84, of 1890, p. 32; Message of Gov. Horace Boies, 1894, p. 5; Message of Gov. F. D. Jackson, 1896, pp. 6-8.

See also Reports of the Auditor of State—Report of 1848 in Appendix to Senate Journal, p. 133; Report of 1850 in Appendix to House Journal, pp. 6-8; Report of 1856 in Appendix to House Journal, p. 159; Report of 1877, pp. 5-10; Report of 1880, pp. 6-8; Report of 1882, pp. 6-8; Report of 1885, pp. 126-129; Report of 1893, pp. 7-8; Report of 1896, pp. 3-4.

See also Report of the Treasurer of State for 1860, pp. 13-15; and Special Report of the Treasurer of State to the House of Representatives 26th General Assembly, February 7, 1896, House Journal, pp. 267-277.

† See Laws of Iowa, 1862, chapter 173, section 16 and Laws of Iowa, 1870, chapter 106.

‡ See Laws of Iowa, 1872, chapter XXVI; Code of '73, sections 1317-22; Code of '97 sections 1334-1339.

was listed and returned by the assessor as "personal property."\* Two years later the act was repealed and from that time until 1896 they were assessed as were private individuals.† In 1896 a tax of one per cent. was placed upon "the entire receipts for business done" within the State.‡ In 1900 the present law was passed providing for their assessment upon the basis of the market value of their stocks and bonds.§ Insurance companies have been assessed upon their gross earnings or income ever since 1851 with the exception of Iowa, domestic or local companies. The latter, were assessed as ordinary citizens up to 1897 when they were subjected to a specific tax on their income.¶ In 1878 the assessment of telegraph and sleeping and dining car companies was taken out of local jurisdictions and placed under a state board.|| The act of 1858 providing for the establishment of "Free Banks" made such corporations, and not the stockholders, liable for the payment of all public dues \*\* and on the adoption of the national banking system this mode of assessment was continued †† and it is now applied to all forms of the banking business.‡‡ Under the code of 1897, all ordinary business corporations are assessed on the market value of their shares of stock less the value of their real property taxed locally and the corporations are held accountable for the taxes levied.§§

To a small extent Iowa has imposed differential or discriminating taxes upon some classes of corporations. Beginning with the code of 1851, all insurance companies

\* Laws of Iowa, 1868, chapter 180.

† Laws of Iowa, 1870, chapter 100.

‡ Laws of Iowa, 1896, chapter 32.

§ Laws of Iowa, 1900, chapter 45.

¶ See Revision of 1880, section 718; Code of '73, section 807 and Code of '97, section 1333, and Laws of Iowa, 1900, chapter 43.

|| Laws of Iowa, 1878, chapter 59.

\*\* Laws of Iowa, 1858, chapter 114, section 11.

†† Laws of Iowa, 1866, chapter 108; also Laws of Iowa, 1868, chapter 153; Code of '73, sections 812, 818-20; Laws of Iowa, 1874, chapters 60, 63.

‡‡ Code of 1897, sections 1321-1322.

§§ Code of 1897, sections 1323, 1325.

incorporated outside the state have been subjected to a specific tax on their premium income while Iowa companies were practically exempt until 1897. Under the code of 1897, Iowa companies were assessed one per cent of their premiums, less losses paid; other state companies two and a half per cent without any deductions, and foreign companies three and a half per cent. Such discriminations have not met with general favor and their discontinuance, at least between the outside or foreign corporations, has been strongly urged.\*

The state supervision of the assessment of corporations has not become a prominent feature of Iowa's revenue laws as is the case in some of the older eastern states like Massachusetts or New York. During the days of "Free Banks" prior to 1865 State "Bank Commissioners" ascertained the taxable value of the property of all such banks.† Between 1862 and 1872 railroads reported their gross earnings to the state treasurer and to him they paid all of their taxes. One-half of the tax paid was turned over to the counties by the State. Since 1872 railroads have been assessed by the state executive council and the valuations determined upon have been certified to the county authorities. Beginning with 1878, telegraph, sleeping and dining car companies have been assessed by the same body. Since 1868 all insurance companies with the exception of local companies have paid a state tax to the state treasurer as a condition of doing business in Iowa. But a state commission or board whose sole business should be the supervision and control of the assessment of corporations has never been seriously urged in Iowa.

There has been comparatively little progress in Iowa in the divorcement of State and local sources of revenue, although for many years there was a strong tendency in favor of such a financial policy and much was done in this direction. The first law in which we find a suggestion of the separation of State and local revenues was the act of 1851

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\* See Treasurer of State's Report for 1899, pp. XIII-XVII.

‡ Laws of Iowa, 1853, chapter 114, section 11.

taxing foreign insurance companies, by which one half of the tax was reserved to the State and one half to the counties. This plan was followed in the law of 1862 imposing the tax on the gross earnings of railroads. The taxes on foreign insurance companies since 1868 have been paid entirely to the State; since 1897 local and domestic companies have been required to pay a tax to the State. Besides these dues insurance companies pay to the auditor of state fees that are also appropriated by the State. In 1896, all corporations were required to pay a fee or license tax on filing their articles of incorporation which is paid into the state treasury. Beginning in 1878, telegraph companies and later telephone companies paid all their taxes into the state treasury and were relieved of all other taxes except local charges upon real estate. In 1896 the specific tax on the business receipts of express companies was made payable to the State.

Nearly all of those acts, however, were passed in face of decisions of the supreme court in the railroad tax cases, rendered between 1860 and 1880 which held that the legislature could not prohibit local authorities from taxing the property of corporations in their midst. Finally the authorities of Polk county and Des Moines assessed the stock of a number of Iowa companies and in 1899, in the case of the *Hawkeye Insurance Co., vs. French* (109-505), the court reaffirmed its former rulings and declared invalid the exclusive state tax on domestic insurance companies.\* That ruling invalidated the state taxes on express, telegraph, and telephone companies and was the cause of the laws of 1900 under which the executive council fixes the valuations of the property of such corporations and certifies to the county auditors the assessments upon which both state and local taxes are now levied. There was one attempt made to get around the effect of the decision in the law passed in 1900 for the taxation of domestic insurance companies. They are required to pay a tax on their premiums, less losses, to the

\* See observations of Treasurer of State in his Report for 1899, pp. XVII-XIX.

State and in their local assessment are authorized to make deductions from their assets to such an extent as to give them exemption from local taxation. The purpose of the act is so obvious that it is doubtful whether it will be sustained.\*

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BURLINGTON is the largest, wealthiest, most business doing and most fashionable city, on or in the neighborhood of the Upper Mississippi. We are all in excellent good health and the city is improving with great rapidity and elegance. Boats arrive and depart daily, bringing emigrants and goods and carrying away produce and the good wishes of our citizens. We have three or four churches, a theatre, and a dancing school in full blast. Today we shall celebrate the anniversary of our independence in a most patriotic and becoming manner. A week from next Monday the extra session of the legislature will commence at this place. And about the last of August we shall be in the midst of a most animated political contest. What can be more interesting than all these things? And yet our Territory is but a two-year old. Down-easters do you hear that?—*Iowa Territorial Gazette*, July 4, 1840.

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A MEETING of the citizens of Butler county was held a few days ago, and passed a set of resolutions which we find in *The Transcript*, declaring that Butler county warrants should be held and sold at par, and that the people should view with indignation the attempt of any person to depreciate, for the objects of speculation, the warrants of that county.—*Dubuque Express and Herald*, Nov. 12, 1858.

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\* See Laws of Iowa, 1900, ch. 43.



## BETTERMENT OF OUR PUBLIC HIGHWAYS.\*

BY CHARLES R. KEYES.

No better illustration is afforded of how purely scientific investigations may be easily turned to great practical account than the Good Roads problem in the Mississippi valley. Iowa presents many peculiar geological features. Among these none are so noteworthy as those relating to her surface deposits. Covered nearly everywhere by glacial clays, sands and gravels and their derivatives, exceptional and refined methods of inquiry have been brought to bear upon the solution of the riddles of their existence and distribution.

The geological surveys of Iowa and Missouri, especially, have had in hand for several years past a series of investigations regarding the occurrence, distribution, geological positions, properties and possible uses of the clays of these states. In the present connection, only one of the many interesting and highly useful results thus arrived at may have attention called to it. This refers to the singular properties of what are commonly known as the "gumbo soils," or "gumbo clays." The wide possible utilization of these universally despised deposits is a discovery the economic importance of which can hardly be overestimated. When fully availed of millions and millions of dollars will be saved each year to the farming communities of our State. A new epoch in our industrial development then begins.

Economic problems rarely afford maximum results directly from minimum efforts. It is paradoxical to derive from the worst of anything the best. It is manifestly illogical to regard two extremes as occupying at once one and the same place. Yet these very conditions are the strange anomalies actually presented by many of our public highways.

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\* This article is extracted from a paper by the same author, who is an Iowa man, that appeared in a recent number of the *American Monthly Review of Reviews*, published in New York City, and entitled "Burnt Clays for Roads in the West."—EDITOR.

In the permanent improvement of rural roads, the usual method of macadamizing with stone rubble is the most widely adopted method. This is the plan followed in France, England, and other European countries, where the good roads are the wonderment of all Americans. The same plan is also carried out in many of the older parts of our own country. In all localities where natural rock exposures occur it is possible to obtain the same sort of road-metal at a cost that is regarded as comparatively low.

There are, however, many places where practically no suitable ledges of durable rock are found. The vast coastal plains and much of the broad Mississippi valley are such regions, largely devoid of hard rock for road-metal. Throughout much of this extensive territory the country roads, during certain portions of every year, are certainly the very worst imaginable. Every low place in a road, every swale between hills, becomes in wet weather a mire without bottom, often impassable to vehicles and even the beasts of the field. As a chain is no stronger than its weakest link, so a highway is no better than its worst stretch.

Now, when we come to examine into the composition of the mire, we find that it is made up of the stickiest of sticky muds. The mud adheres with a tenacity of many pounds to everything that it touches. Strange as it may seem, this highly developed property, which is technically called plasticity, is the very property that makes this very mud a very superior material for road-metal. The "worse" the mud, the better the quality of road-metal it is possible to obtain from it. It only has to be simply and properly treated. The magic change is accomplished by thoroughly baking, or "burning" the mud.

Of late years, burnt mud, or burnt gumbo as it is more widely called, has been extensively used in the central west for railroad ballast. In Illinois, Missouri, Iowa, and the neighboring states, the trunk lines of railroads are largely

ballasted with this burnt gumbo. Its use is, therefore, beyond the experimental stage.

While at first it was intended that the burnt gumbo should take the place of natural rock ballast in those localities where the latter could not be readily and cheaply obtained; its superiority over stone was soon proven to be so great that it is now widely used even where there are good rock ledges. A brief account of its use by the railroads will demonstrate its advantages for highway road-metal.

As burnt gumbo appears as ballast for the railroad track it is a red, gravelly material, in which the fragments are sharply angular in shape, very porous, and very hard. On the whole, it is not unlike coal cinders in appearance, except that the color is red. On account of the high amount of shrinkage while being burned, and the great strength when in the state of mud before burning, the muds, or very impure clays which compose them, easily fall into small pieces. At the same time, being so very impure, these clays require only a very low temperature to be readily burned very hard.

The economic and engineering points of merit which burnt gumbo possesses as railroad ballast are many. Among them may be especially mentioned economy in handling, ease of bringing the roadbed up to a high degree of perfection, readiness with which repairs may be made, elasticity of roadbed, general absence of weeds along the track, remarkable freedom from ice and snow in winter, and, more important than all, low first cost.

The railroads handle the clay and carry on all operations connected with its burning by machinery. The burnt gumbo, ready for use, can be delivered on board the cars at a cost of 25 to 35 cents a cubic yard. When burned by hand, as would usually have to be done in highway improvement, the cost would be, perhaps, 10 to 15 cents more. The railroad gumbo pits are often a mile or two long and hundreds of feet wide. In the case of the highways, the mud would merely have to be shoveled out of the roadway, burned, and shoveled back.

While for macadamizing purposes on country roads burnt gumbo is not quite so durable as some of the best grades of rock, it has many advantages to offset this one shortcoming, slight as it is. The process of producing burnt gumbo requires practically no capital or great skill to carry on. The most ordinary labor and a little common sense on the part of one person, as overseer, can produce the best of results. Of course, the road should be properly graded and crowned before putting on the gumbo road-metal. A surface of burnt clay, six to eight inches in thickness, is commonly sufficient for good results; or ten inches in particular places, where unusual conditions exist or traffic is especially heavy.

By selecting for improvement the heaviest parts of the road first, since the worst stretches are often caused by the very material that makes the best grade of road-metal, and systematically working under intelligent guidance, five years would find every principal highway in a county as passable the year around as a paved city street, and at very little more cost than is now usually squandered on "working the roads." The county surveyor could easily superintend the whole work for his district; and, with local overseers as head burners, he could soon produce as good a system of highways as any one could wish for. Once properly prepared, two men could easily keep the roads of a whole county always in good repair.

With no more expenditure of money and effort than is now put on the country roads, ballasting with burnt clay would produce in a dozen years a system of highways equal to any of those for which France has so long been famous.

A burnt gumbo road is never muddy, for that property is lost in the burning. The surface of the road is hard and smooth. As a speedway for bicycles and automobiles it is ideal. For carriages and heavy wagons it has no superior. No vegetation can grow on it. It is practically free from dust, after the highway system has been well developed, so that mud is not brought in from the tributary roads. More-

over, the warm red highways contrast pleasantly against the green landscape at those seasons of the year when country drives are most enjoyable.

The process of burning clay is quite simple. Along the roadside, cordwood is piled to form a low pyramid or ridge 8 to 10 feet wide. On this is thrown 3 to 4 inches of coal slack, and 12 to 20 inches of gumbo mud, which is cut from the roadway, or a pit, as the case may be. On firing the wood, enough air enters the pile to enable slow combustion to be carried on without the generation of too much heat, which would vitrify the clay.

When a "pit" is made, as often is necessary when burnt gumbo has to be hauled some distance, or, as is the usual way with the railroads, new additions of slack and mud are added each day on one side of the pyramid, while on the other side the burnt gumbo is allowed to cool and is then carted away. In this way the pit advances sideways a few feet a day until it has become several hundreds of yards across.

The gumbo clays have many notable qualities, besides being excessively sticky in wet weather, enabling them to be readily distinguished. They usually form what the farmer calls cold, sour soils. These soils cannot be tilled to advantage. The land occupied by them is almost worthless, except, perhaps, for scant pasturage at certain seasons of the year. The clays absorb and are capable of retaining an immense amount of water, often so much as twenty-five gallons to a cubic yard.

Permission to locate a railroad ballast pit on some farmer's gumbo land is usually readily obtained. He not only gives his consent and the use of the land free, but he is secretly delighted at the idea of having the railroad excavate without cost to him a big pond for his stock.

The best clays for making burnt ballast are distinguished by certain physical properties. They are very plastic, quite impure, very fine-grained, and tenacious. Their tensile

strength is enormous, often as high as 400 pounds to the square inch. The shrinkage is very great—10 to 12 per cent in the drying and burning process. These are the technical tests for recognizing these clays. A ready, practical test is to find the very worst stretch of a muddy country highway.

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WE are pleased to see in the last *Iowa News*, that Du Buque is improving rapidly this season, and that the village is also healthy. We rejoice in the prosperity of Iowa, of the whole of Iowa, and we cannot cherish one sectional feeling which might operate to the injury of any part of our flourishing territory. In Iowa City, the seat of territorial government, located by the last legislature, lots have been sold by the commissioners to the amount of many thousand dollars, several buildings already being erected. Those who have visited the location will agree in the opinion that it is the best that could have been made, in the heart of a fine farming country, with an extensive quarry of elegant marble on the bank of the Iowa, only a short distance from the point on which the public buildings are to be erected. The Iowa river to this point is not navigable for boats of any kind, but it is said to be a fine mill stream.—*Iowa Sun*, September 11, 1839.

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THE STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION will assemble in Des Moines tomorrow, Monday, the 6th inst., to continue in session twenty days. This is a most important body, and its deliberations are second only to those of the legislature, in their consequences in the State. The entire educational system of Iowa is subject to its supervision.—*Dubuque Express and Herald*, Dec. 5, 1858.

## SIXTY-THREE YEARS OF HOME HISTORY.

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When the Davenport Public library is thrown open to the people—in a year or more from the present time, as we all hope—it will contain records of great value; records which if lost through burning or otherwise it would be impossible to duplicate; and records which will have cost the board of trustees nothing. It is pardonable to say that the store-house of local history which is to be ready the day the library is opened to visitors, is one to be found in no other similar institution in the State of Iowa.

Because there is to be a safe place to keep them, and because the calls for their use are more and more frequent on the part of the public, The Democrat Company has turned over to the library trustees a full set of bound volumes of this paper from the first issue. This statement does not simply mean that the files of this paper are to be at the service of all who desire to use them, but that the files of several other papers are to be within easy access. It represents news publications that were in existence before its birth, and others that were for many years contemporary with it. And so the long period of time is completely covered. It begins with a single weekly and develops into a Democratic evening paper, and a Republican morning paper, both recording the history of Davenport, of Scott county, of Iowa, and of the country at large, which cannot be found elsewhere.

The Democrat Company has formally tendered to the library trustees this mass of written and bound records, treasures that money would not buy, and could not elsewhere be obtained. And the board accepted the trust, depositing the loads of files for the time being in one of the large vaults at the court house. From that secure resting-place the acres of printed pages, representing the lives of many workmen, will be transferred to the library building as soon as that structure is ready. And there in regular order the history of all that has happened for sixty-three years can be referred to as often as desired.

To begin at the beginning. *The Iowa Sun and The Davenport and Rock Island News*—a long name for a short paper—made its appearance on the 15th day of August, 1838. The type was set, the paper worked off on the press by the Logan family, father and sons. The first paper was 22 by 32 inches in size, four pages of six columns each. In politics *The Sun* was Democratic. Martin Van Buren was president. The whole territory of Iowa had then a population of less than 43,112, the figures given being those of the national census of 1840. Scott county then had a population of only 2,140, as against 51,558 on the 1st of June last. There was no railroad west of Chicago, no telegraph, no bridge over the Mississippi. There was not even a town of Rock Island then, the place we now call by that name being known as Stephenson. The Rock Island part of the paper's headline was for the benefit of the island that is now the site of the national arsenal. In those days it required from four to six weeks for the "news" to get here from the eastern cities. For want of support *The Sun* failed to shine in 1842, and the types and press were taken to Buffalo, Scott county, Iowa, where the publication was continued under the names of *The Bride and the Lamb's Wife*, later *The Ensign*.

The second newspaper founded here was *The Davenport Gazette*, by Alfred Sanders and Levi Davis, the first issue appearing on the 26th of August, 1841. It was a weekly, and of the Whig political faith. In 1853, on the 3d of September, it became a tri-weekly; and on the 11th of October, 1854, a daily. Not stopping to mention all the many changes that occurred, it may be said that *The Gazette* continued to appear until the 13th of April, 1887, when it became a part of *The Davenport Democrat* by purchase and absorption. All the files of this paper for forty-six years are included, with many issues of the earlier *Sun* in the volumes that are to go into the new library.

The third newspaper that was planted here was a seven-column weekly named *The Democratic Banner*. It appeared



in September, 1848. *The Banner* was continued until the close of its seventh volume, on the 12th of October, 1855, when it was sold to J. T. Hildreth, D. N. Richardson and G. R. West. They changed the name of the paper to *The Iowa State Democrat*. On the 11th of October, 1859, *The Democrat* united its life with that of *The Daily Morning News*, a Democratic paper that was established three years previously. On the 11th of May, 1863, the property came into the hands of the Richardson Brothers, where it has since remained. The daily was changed from a morning to an evening paper on the 27th of April, 1863. For several years after *The Gazette* came to this office, both evening and morning editions were printed.

But it is not the purpose of this article to give the history of Davenport newspapers, or of those who have been connected with them during this long period of three score and three years. The object is merely to state that all the history made, at least, locally, during this period of wonderful change, has been written in the files that it gives *The Davenport Democrat* so much pleasure to turn over to the trustees of the Davenport Public Library.

There is no doubt but others will place with the trustees for safe-keeping and for the use of all interested, many articles of historic value, printed and otherwise. In this way the library may become literally a treasure house. There are in the county many documents and books which the owners will be glad to place where they are certain to be preserved.—*Davenport Democrat*, April 21, 1901.

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OUR RIVER TRADE.—This still keeps brisk. St. Louis boats are arriving and departing daily, with excellent trips up and down. We note many passengers going down from up river towns. Heavy goods are constantly arriving.—*Dubuque Express and Herald*, Nov. 12, 1858.

## AUDUBON ON THE WESTERN BORDER OF IOWA IN 1843.

At the age of 63, the most distinguished ornithologist America has produced carried out his long-cherished desire to visit the Yellowstone region and see with his own eyes its wonders and the buffaloes and other animals of the plains. In March, 1843, he took passage at St. Louis on the steamboat Omega. The following extracts from his journal pertain to what he saw on the Missouri river of the western border of Iowa:

May 6, 1843. We fastened our boat to the edge of a beautiful prairie, to land freight and passengers. Eighty Indians came to visit us, some on foot, some on horseback, generally riding double, on skins and Spanish saddles; some squaws rode, and rode well. We landed some Indians who came as passengers with us, and I noticed that when they joined their relatives and friends, they neither shook hands nor exchanged any congratulations. I saw no emotion, nothing to corroborate Mr. Catlin's views of savage life.

When the boat started, these Indians followed us along the shore, running on foot and galloping on horseback to keep up with us. When we approached the next landing, I saw some of these poor creatures perched on the neighboring banks, while others crowded down to our landing-place. They belonged to the Iowa and Fox Indians: the two tribes number about twelve thousand, and their country extends for seventy miles up the river.

May 8. Today we passed the boundary of Missouri, and the country consists of prairies extending to the inland hills.

May 9. This evening we arrived at the famous settlement of Belle Vue where the Indian agent resides (on the west side of the river). Here a large pack of rascally-looking, dirty, and half-starved Indians awaited our arrival; and we paid for five cords of wood with five tin cups of sugar and three cups of coffee, all worth twenty-five cents at St. Louis. We saw here the first plowed ground since leaving the settlements near St. Louis.

May 10. Arrived at Fort Croghan (a temporary fort for the protection of the Pottawattamies, who after the Black Hawk war had been removed from the country about Chicago to this region; it stood near the present southwest corner of the city of Council Bluffs), named after an old friend of mine of that name, with whom I hunted raccoons on his father's plantation in Kentucky, thirty-five years before. His father and mine were well acquainted, and fought together with Washington and Lafayette in the Revolutionary war against "Merry England." The parade-ground here had been four feet under water in the late freshet.

May 11. The officers of this post last July were nearly destitute of provisions, and they sent off twenty dragoons and twenty Indians on a buffalo hunt, and within eighty miles they killed fifty-one buffaloes, one hundred and four deer, and ten elks.

We were told that the Pottawattamies were formerly a warlike people, but recently their enemies, the Sioux, have frequently killed them, when they met on hunting expeditions, and that they have become cowardly, which is a change in their character.

We cast off our lines from the shore at 12 o'clock, and by sunset reached the Council Bluffs (on the west side of the river, so named by Lewis and Clark from the council they held there with the Missouries and the Otoes in 1804), where the river-bed is utterly changed, though that called the Old Missouri is now visible. These bluffs rise from a beautiful bank about forty feet above the river, and slope down into as beautiful a prairie to the hills in the rear, which render the scenery very fine and very remarkable.

May 12. We have arrived at the most crooked part of the river yet seen, the shores on both sides lower, the hills more distant, the intervening plains more or less covered with water. We passed the Blackbird Hills where a famous Indian chief of this name was buried, and his horse buried alive with him at his request.

May 13. Today we passed some beautiful bluffs, composed of fine, white sandstone, of soft texture, covered with cedars. We saw also many fine prairies; the bottom lands appeared of an extremely rich soil. Indians hailed us along the shore, but no notice was taken of them; they followed us to the next landing, and boarded us; but our captain hates them, and they go away without a chew of tobacco, and I pity the poor creatures with all my heart.

This evening we came to the Burial-ground Bluff, so called by the ever memorable expedition of Lewis and Clark, because here they buried Sergeant Floyd, as they were on the way to the Pacific Ocean across the Rocky Mountains. The prairies are now more frequent and more elevated; we have seen more evergreens today than in the two preceding weeks.

We have entered the mouth of the Big Sioux River, which is a clear stream, abounding with fish; on one of its branches is found the famous red clay of which the Indians make their calumets. We saw on the banks of the river several Indian canoe frames, formed of bent sticks made into a circle, the edges fastened together by a long pole, with another in the bottom, holding the frame like the inner keel of a boat. Outside of this frame the Indians stretch a buffalo skin with the hair on and it is said to make a safe boat to convey two or three persons, even where the current is rapid. Here as on the shores of the Mississippi and Missouri the land along the banks is higher than further inland; tangled brush-wood and tall reeds grow along the margins, while the prairies abound with mud and muddy water. Willows are plenty, and the aspect of the country is pleasing.

May 16. Came to an Indian log-cabin, which had a fence around it. Passed several dead buffaloes floating down stream. A few hundred miles above here the river is confined between high, steep bluffs, many of them nearly perpendicular, and impossible for the buffalo to climb: when they have leaped or fallen down these, they try to ascend them or swim to the opposite shore, which is equally difficult; unable to ascend them they fall back time and again until they are exhausted, and at last, getting into the current, are borne away and drowned; hundreds thus perish every year, and their swollen and putrid bodies have been seen floating as low down as St. Louis. The Indians along shore watch for these carcasses, and no matter how putrid, if the "hump" is fat, they drag them ashore and cut it out for food.

Farther up the river, barges passed, bringing down the spoils of the hunters; one from St. Pierre had ten thousand buffaloes on board. The men reported that the country above was filled with buffaloes, and the shores of the river were covered with the dead bodies of old and young ones.

From *The Life of John James Audubon, the Naturalist.*  
 Edited by his widow. New York: G. P. Putnam & Son,  
 1869. WILLIAM SALTER.

## APOSTROPHE TO THE BLUE AND THE GRAY.

In this hour of sacred enlogy of our dead, no noble soul will deny a slight chaplet to those who fell on the other side. Their cause is lost forever; indeed, the genius of liberty and the spirit of modern civilization foredoomed it to defeat. Never braver men stood embattled with a losing cause, and their ruined homes, and broken fortunes, and the last trenches of defeat and disaster, filled with the best blood of their race, attest their sincerity and devotion. But courage and devotion are never wholly lost; and when the perfect union of these people shall have come, —the union of which our fathers dreamed, and for which their sons died, —then the lustrous courage of our foemen shall become part of the common history of our common race and common blood. I lift my soul unto a vision of a noble future, when strife and clamor between the sections shall be hushed, forever, and one people, with one flag, and one destiny, shall teach only the gospel of peace and good will, from our northern boundary to where the southern cross blazes above the southern ocean. Enlarged patriotism, and enlightened statesmanship, should hasten the day. Its dawn is almost here. Let the loyalty and courage of the blue and the courage and devotion of the gray be given as the most patriotic duty of the hour toward absolute reconciliation. It is as holy a cause as was the war for the unity of these states. The blue and the gray sleep in peace, side by side, on every hill top, and in every valley of all the battle fields of the republic; over them bend the same heavens, above them shine the same stars, fixed, immutable; over them sweeps the same flag, free and immortal. Fallen comrades of the blue! Fallen foemen of the gray! Ye have pitched your tents together in the Eternal Bivouac beyond the stars, where ye shall camp forever, in that mysterious and unknown silence that shall be broken only by the reveille of the life immortal.—J. O. A. *Yeoman, Memorial Address, Omaha, Neb., May 30, 1891.*

# ANNALS OF IOWA.

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## EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT.

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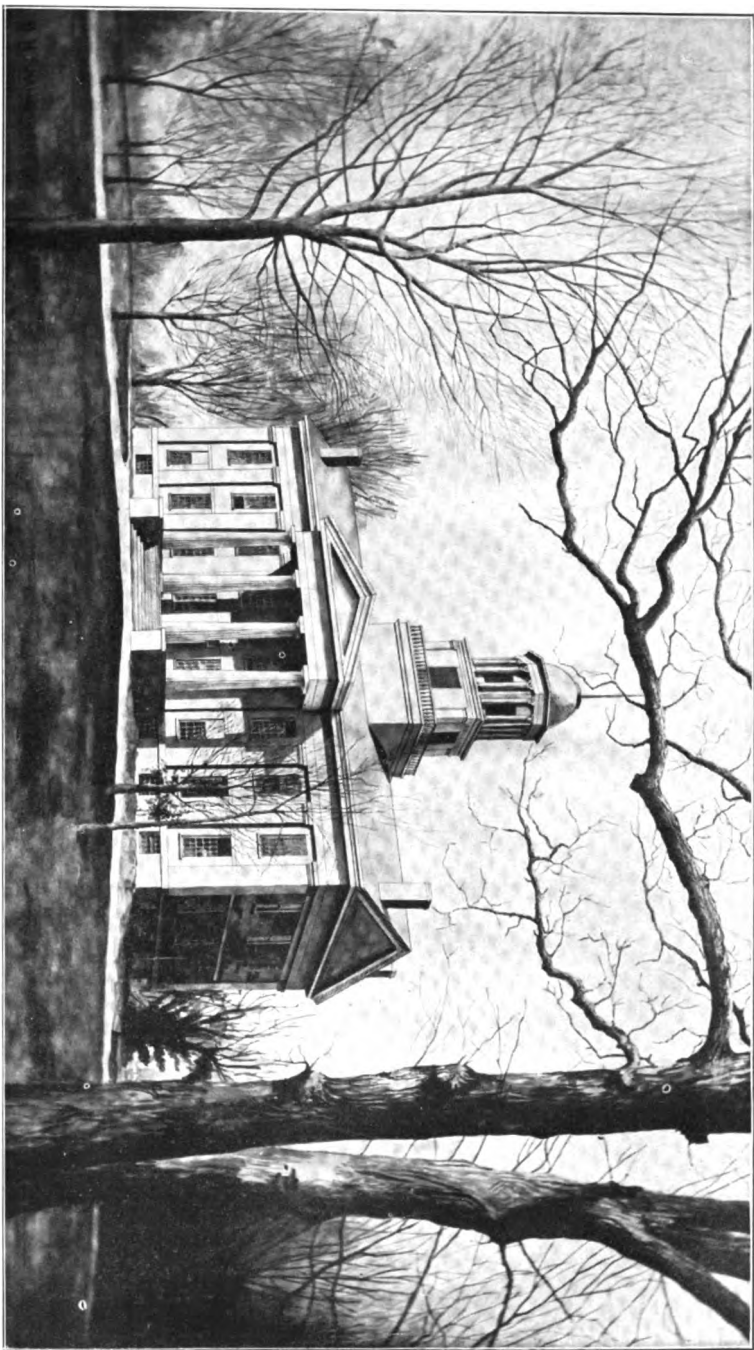
### THE GREAT DUBUQUE CASE.

We are fortunate in being able to present in this number of *THE ANNALS* a concise history of the great law suit involving the title to the plat of the city of Dubuque, from the pen of the Honorable Oliver P. Shiras, U. S. Judge of the Northern District of Iowa. True, this case is on record in the 16th volume of Howard's Reports of cases decided in the Supreme Court of the United States, but this volume is not accessible to general readers or students who may desire information on the subject. It was a case fraught with important consequences to the residents of that thriving city, for it involved the title to many homes from which an adverse decision would have expelled their occupants as soon as the unerring machinery of the federal law could have been put in operation. Judge Shiras makes a clear narrative of the inception and history of the famous case which will be a valuable accession to the libraries of our State. We are also indebted to Col. Pierre Chouteau, of St. Louis, for a copy of the original recorded map of the claim of Julien Dubuque, showing the portion which he wished to transfer to Auguste Chouteau. Of this we have secured a good engraving for the illustration of the article. It presents a readily understood plat of the locality, the title of which was so long a bone of contention, and upon which has since arisen the thriving city of Dubuque.

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### LAUMAN'S CHARGE AT JACKSON.

A reference to this affair in the last *ANNALS* (p. 282) has brought that subject again under discussion. It will be remembered by those readers who are informed in the his-



**THE OLD STONE CAPITOL**

(IOWA CITY)

REPRODUCED FROM A PAINTING IN WATER COLOR BY MRS. BENJAMIN F. SHAMBAUGH



tory of Iowa troops in the civil war, that previous to that event Gen. Lauman commanded a Division in the 18th Army Corps, under Maj. Gen. E. O. C. Ord. The outcome of that terrible affair was lucidly set forth in a paper written by Col. George W. Crosley, of Webster City, and published in Vol. I, this (3d) series of *THE ANNALS*, (pp. 371-81). Gen. Ord and General Lauman never agreed as to the orders issued by the former and bravely acted upon by the latter. Gen. Lauman was at once relieved of his command and ordered to report to Gen. Grant at Vicksburg. He repeatedly demanded the fullest investigation, but his requests were unheeded. It is but justice to state that while he suffered this cruel treatment at the hands of officers of high rank in the regular army, he never lost the respect and confidence of the thousands of soldiers whom he commanded in some of the severest battles in the Mississippi Valley, or of the people among whom he lived and died.

Dr. S. H. Huff, who edited *THE ANNALS* in 1867, the year of Gen. Lauman's lamented death, received a letter from his Adjutant-General, Capt. W. H. F. Randall, which will come very near convincing the impartial reader that his commanding officer was blameless in the disastrous charge at Jackson. We copy this letter with Dr. Huff's clear and emphatic estimate\* of the high qualities of Gen. Lauman and of the injustice of which he was the victim. Col. Crosley's article above referred to should also be read for the fullest understanding of the whole subject possible at this late day.

In the summer of 1863, wrote Dr. Huff, while Sherman was investing the city of Jackson, Miss., which held the forces of the rebel, Gen. J. E. Johnston, one of the federal Division commanders, an Iowa officer was suddenly suspended from command and ordered to the rear,—to report to Gen. Grant at Vicksburg, was the language of the order. Up to the hour of his suspension he had stood among the foremost from his State in the field, and conspicuous among the officers of his rank in the Western army. None had a better record for gallant deeds on the many fiercely contested battle-fields of the West. At Belmont, at Donelson, at Shiloh, at the Hatchie, he had won distinction. This officer was Brig.-Gen.

\* *ANNALS OF IOWA*, Vol. V, 1st series, pp. 897-902—1867.



Jacob G. Lauman. Rumor was at once busy in accounting for this sudden retirement. In army circles, of the army to which he belonged, the subject was freely discussed. That a fearful loss had occurred to his command in an advance movement made by the wing of the army to which he belonged, was not of itself sufficient ground for the censure which his removal implied. It was rumored in explanation, that he had recklessly pushed his men into a most destructive position in *disobedience* of orders, bringing upon his command needless loss of life. And to these statements of the transaction his hosts of friends throughout the army were obliged to yield assent, for there was the bloody record of the almost annihilated 3d Iowa, and the verdict of Gen. Sherman. Patent, incontrovertible testimony, with no given exculpatory facts. But, though silenced, there was yet a lingering belief in the judgments of many who knew him best, and who knew most of the circumstances of the fatal movement, that in due time, on investigation, his conduct would be satisfactorily explained, and his well-earned, honorable reputation cleared.

But months passed, and Lauman was without a trial and without a command. A year, and yet no investigation. Another year. The war ends. He is mustered out of the service, his repeated petitions for a trial unanswered. And thus he retired to private life. A few weeks ago he died, and thousands of brave men throughout all the West, who had served with or knew him in the field, mourned his death as that of a brave, patriotic, and good man.

There are those that have always believed that Lauman was sacrificed at Jackson by his corps commander, in being made unjustly to assume the responsibility of that disastrous affair. In other words, that he acted under orders throughout; and the misrepresentations as to the responsibility of the movement was made to Gen. Sherman when it was found by the mover to be a disaster.

That he was never court-martialed, notwithstanding his repeated demands for a trial; that the facts were never submitted to a court composed of his comrades in arms, is significant of wrong somewhere.

That Sherman and Grant should not have found time, amid the stirring campaigns that followed each other in such rapid succession, to give a personal hearing to the case, is quite easily explained; but that an investigation was never ordered or allowed by them, indicates the active and persistent hostility of a powerful enemy who had their confidence and their ear. Who that enemy may have been, is indicated in the following communication from Capt. W. H. F. Randall, the Adjutant General of General Lauman, whose position gave him the facilities of knowing all the facts; of being cognizant of every order, written and verbal, connected with the disastrous transaction which beclouded the military career of his commander.

We first heard an account of it about a year and a half after its occurrence, narrated by the Captain to a group of officers, as they drank their coffee and ate "hard tack" around the struggling blaze of a camp fire on a bleak December night; and we also heard then and there utterances of

profound indignation by the listening group, as the facts of the movements and orders of the day that wrought the disaster to Lauman were set forth by one, who of a necessity, knew them all, for they had come to his knowledge in the line of official duty, a cognizance of which he could not well evade, and hence could not be mistaken in the statements made, while the high character of the narrator as a soldier and gentleman left no room for question of his correct intention.

At our request, the Captain has written out a statement of the facts, which we place before the readers of *THE ANNALS* :

SELMA, ALABAMA, April 26th, 1867.

Dr. Huff—Dear Sir: Your letter requesting of me a statement of the movement at Jackson, Mississippi, which resulted in disastrous consequences to the command, and to the fortunes of General Lauman, is received.

It will be impossible, from where I write, to give more than an outline statement of the matter; for the reason that the official letters and orders which were received by the General, controlling him in that movement, are not in my possession, and I shall be compelled to relate the occurrence from my best recollection, which, however, is perfectly clear as to essential facts.

Permit me to begin by going back of that field a few weeks to relate an incident of camp life, which may, and I think does, have a bearing on events subsequent in explaining the actions of a party concerned.

General Ord had just assumed command of the 13th Army Corps, to which Lauman's Division was attached, and was visiting the command. While seated together in Lauman's tent in conversation, the battle of the "Hatchie" was introduced and discussed. Both these generals were in that engagement, and General Ord received a wound. When the fight commenced General Hurlbut was in command, and had been in command of the troops to that time; when in the very heat of battle, as I was informed, General Ord reported on the field and took command. Soon afterwards the forces were thrown into disorder; Ord was wounded, and was compelled to leave the field. Hurlbut again took command, rallied the forces, and gained the battle. General Lauman, in his conversation referring to this battle, remarked that it was unfortunate that he (Ord) assumed command just at the time he did, not knowing the strength or position of the enemy, the nature of the ground, or the metal of the men, as well as Hurlbut. This of course shocked the sensibility of Ord, and from that time to the time Lauman was relieved, he felt as if it were impossible for him to please his commander. So soon as Vicksburg was taken General Sherman was placed in command of an expeditionary force, to pursue Johnston and his army. General Ord's Corps made up part of this force. Johnston retired behind his works at Jackson, and Sherman invested the city from the river on the one side to the river on the other side of the city. Lauman was ordered to move to the extreme right of the line, and gain a position in continuation of the line of investment, leaving one brigade to guard the corps train. He commenced skirmishing with the enemy as soon as he had fairly moved to the right, and continued advancing and skirmishing, until darkness overtaking him he ordered his men to fall back along the line of railroad and rest for the night. General Hovey's Division was on the immediate left of Lauman, and, as I have before stated, the latter was on the extreme right of the whole line. During the night orders were received directing a general bombardment to commence the next morning. Lauman was instructed to send out a regiment, during the continuance of the bombardment, to reconnoitre between the right of the command and the Pearl River Bridge, and to watch the

effect of the bombardment and the movement of the enemy. He was also instructed to keep one brigade in reserve, and with the remainder of his Division to move forward with the main line, keeping close up with Hovey, and to move forward with him. So strict were the instructions that, I remember well, General Lauman remarked they left him with no discretion, and that they indicated to his mind that there was a fear manifested that he would not keep up with Hovey. Never before did I know him to be so anxious and determined to obey orders to the letter. Every portion of his command had received their orders and were promptly executing them at the time designated. While the bombardment was progressing, and the line was advancing, General Hovey sent no less than three messengers to Lauman, with the request that he keep well up as he was advancing. He assured Hovey that he would keep well up, and he did. The railroad separated Lauman from Hovey. The ground over which Hovey passed was nearly level, or rather a graduated slope. Lauman's ground was very much broken. He drove the enemy over a low flat or bottom, thence up an elevation, which, when he reached the top or plain surface, brought him into full view of the enemy behind their works. Here he doubtless should have checked the advance, and retired behind the elevation to a line of retreat, where he might have taken a strong position and held it, but his orders were of the strictest character; besides he felt that if he retired he would leave Hovey's flank exposed, and leave his regiment liable to be captured, which had started on the reconnaissance. Just in front of his *left* was a large thicket of undergrowth, where a large number of the enemy lay concealed; just in front of his *right* was an earthwork holding a full battery, besides the enemy were behind their line of works in full force. Before General Lauman had time to give any orders, if he had wished to do so, a heavy fire was opened upon his command from all these points, simultaneously, and, I may say, unexpectedly, for the skirmishers had been allowed to advance with but little resistance until the main force appeared in full view, when the shot and shell were poured into our ranks so thick as to leave but few to tell the tale to the reserve. Let those blame General Lauman who will, but none can say he exceeded his orders. Had he been left with discretionary power, I doubt if he had advanced his line so rapidly and without greater caution; indeed, he did not know how far he was from the line of works of the enemy when he started in the morning, and he was unable to get information from any one. He told me afterward that General Ord claimed to have given him *verbal* orders not to go nearer to the works than fifteen hundred yards, but he said he had never received such orders. It is very certain that Ord gave no such *written orders*, and Lauman, as I know, did not see General Ord after receiving the written orders until he relieved him. When this brave little band saw no chance for retreat, and death staring them in the face, they rushed madly on determined to sell their lives as dearly as possible, and neither the gallant old Pugh, of the First Brigade, nor the beloved Lauman could check them. So desperate was their charge that the enemy in their front, three times their number and behind strong works, began to waver and seek refuge in flight. There may have been officers who were better skilled in the art of war, but none more gallant on the field, none more obedient to orders, and none more devoted to the cause of the country. Never can it be said of him, *he knew his duty, but did it not*; never can it be said that he avoided any responsibility, however dangerous, or however hard. Though he is dead, yet he still lives in the hearts of the brave soldiers and gallant officers whom he commanded, who still survive him. Never did he ask an officer or soldier to go where he was not willing to go himself, and none that knew the kindness of his heart will ever say that he would, carelessly or madly, push his troops into a danger that could be honorably avoided.

Very truly yours,

W. H. F. RANDALL.

## THE ORIGIN OF BOARD OF CONTROL REFORM.

It has become an interesting question with historical students to trace back the movement for a Board of Control of the charitable, reformatory, and penal institutions of this State to its origin. Among others, our contributor, Mr. Frank I. Herriott, undertook this task. This work led him to a careful study of legislative proceedings for something more than thirty years back. In the Journal of the House of Representatives of (March 21) 1870, page 402, he found the following item: "Mr. Hunter (Hon. John D. Hunter, representative from Hamilton county) introduced House File No. 302. A bill for an act to create a State Board of Examiners and to define their duties. Read a first and second time and referred to the committee on Ways and Means." This bill came so late in the session, and being withal, so marked and distinct an innovation, its passage could not be secured. In answer to inquiries, Mr. Hunter wrote a full explanation of the whole matter which appears in an elaborate monograph by Mr. Herriott on "Institutional Expenditures in the State Budgets of Iowa," now appearing in the Quarterly Bulletin of Iowa State Institutions issued by the Board of Control.\* His statement is so pertinent to the subject, and withal so clearly and tersely stated, that it would seem to establish "a point of history." We therefore copy it in full:

This bill, as I remember, provided for the appointment by the Governor of three men to act as a Board of State Examiners to frequently visit and inspect the condition of the various State Institutions with a view of promoting greater efficiency and economy in their management. One purpose of the measure was to inaugurate some means to do away with the biennial junketing trips of three-fourths of the members of the Legislature to the State Institutions, and to bring about a method of general supervision that would be less expensive and far more effective in correcting abuses and in promoting the welfare of the institutions. The theory was similar in general purpose to the present State Board of Control, although not so broad or definite in its scope. I conceived the idea of getting up the bill through talking with members of the House during

\* See "Quarterly Bulletin of Iowa State Institutions" for January, 1902, pp. 65-66.

the absence of the visiting committees, and had the support of Kason, Irish, Hale, Stone and others, who favored the measure, but as you suggest the bill was introduced too late in the session to get it through, notwithstanding it was favorably reported from the Judiciary Committee. The bill was a short one, simply providing for the appointment of the examiners and defining their duties, which were largely advisory ; and with the definite purpose of doing away with the junketing business and having the institutions officially visited when they are not on dress parade, expecting the coming of a Legislative Committee. Could there have been action on the measure at the time it was presented, I have no doubt but that its general scope would have been widened, and that the principle of the present law governing the control and management of our State Institutions would have been largely embodied in its provisions. At least it is a fair presumption that the bill I presented in the House in 1870 was the initial effort in Iowa toward the establishment of our present Board of Control policy of dealing with our State Institutions.

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### ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF WORK IN PURE SCIENCE.

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The utter groundlessness of much of the criticism frequently heard against the work in pure or theoretical science as carried on in some departments of our colleges and state scientific bureaus nowhere finds better exemplification than in a recent article which appeared in the American Monthly Review of Reviews, by Dr. Charles R. Keyes, a native of our State and long a resident of Des Moines. It may be observed in the present connection, that it is due chiefly to the energy of Dr. Keyes that the present Geological Survey of Iowa was organized. This State Institution which has already accomplished so much valuable work concerning the natural resources of our State, has been adopted as a model upon which a dozen other states, during the last ten years, have established similar organizations.

The Geological survey of Iowa, as well as the similar institution of our neighbor, Missouri, to which Dr. Keyes was called from Iowa to take the charge, conducted among many other very technical and scientific investigations, a long series of experiments upon the properties of the various clays of the region and their geological and areal distribu-

tion. It has, no doubt, appeared foreign to the purpose of a state bureau to either enter into such purely technical phases of a clay examination, as the determination of the causes of plasticity, the critical temperatures of vitrification, the chemical compositions, the fusibility, the character of the shrinkage, and many other factors that might be mentioned. Equally foreign to the subject may seem some phases of the purely geological investigations relative to the clays. The practical bearings of either one of these two distinct lines of technical inquiry when taken alone might have long remained unutilized. But by working them along parallel and dependent lines the usefulness of both is made immediate. By combining the results we get, not only one of the fairy tales of science, but a story of vastly useful import.

The beauty of it all is the extreme simplicity of the practical application of the principles established. These are briefly outlined in Dr. Keyes' article which we copy elsewhere. The main point to be impressed is the fact that in those innumerable swales and shallow prairie drainage basins, with which the entire surface of Iowa abounds, and in which, during a part of the year, the roads are simply impassable, there exists the very material to render them, the year around, and at very slight expense, equal to the best and most expensively paved streets of our cities.

A proposition so simple, so universally applicable, so enduring, must appeal strongly to every one interested in the improvement of our country roads. The wide interest awakened by the article is amply demonstrated by hundreds of letters of inquiry received by Dr. Keyes, from all parts of the country. In our own State, when some such system of improvement is fully begun a new chapter will have been added to our historical record.

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MARRIED—Near Bloomington, on the 17th inst., by Rev. Mr. Stocker, Dr. Wm. L. Smith to Miss Susan, daughter of Ex-Governor Lucas.—*Davenport (I. T.) Gazette, October 27, 1842.*

## NOTABLE DEATHS.

JOHN S. MURPHY was born in Schuylkill county, Pa., in 1847; he died in Dubuque, Iowa, February 10, 1902. His parents were natives of Ireland. On reaching America they resided for a time in Pennsylvania, but removed to Anamosa, Jones county, where they settled upon a farm. Their son received his education in the common schools and in learning the trade of a printer. He became an apprentice in the office of *The Dubuque Herald* in 1859. After serving his time he went to St. Louis and worked on *The Globe-Democrat* where he was soon allotted a place on the reportorial staff. After doing editorial work for some years he returned to Dubuque where he again became a type-setter, and was soon known as one of the fastest and best printers in that city. He was also again called to reportorial duties, and in 1879 became the editor of *The Daily Telegraph*. He first appeared conspicuously in politics in 1896, becoming next to W. J. Bryan the most prominent advocate of "free silver" doctrines in the Middle West. His paper was consolidated with *The Herald* in October, 1891. He had, therefore, conducted *The Telegraph-Herald* but a little over four months when his death came suddenly as he was working at his desk. This event called forth the highest tributes of respect from the press throughout the country, and none were more earnest and appreciative than those of his most pronounced political adversaries. From many columns of eulogy we select the following from the pen of Hon. Jacob Rich, a retired journalist of Dubuque: "A graduate of the public school and of the printing office, he was almost wholly self-taught, and therefore no one could fail to mark with ever-increasing admiration the growth of his mental power. His vocabulary was far in advance of many college-trained students or professors, and gave him great facility and felicity of expression. His mind was notably analytic, and in the field of polemics he was a master, rarely if ever forgetting the proper dignity and courtesy of debate. If his remedies might be wrong, he himself was never in doubt of their usefulness and efficiency. He would advocate nothing but from conscience, and never failed to at least convince you of his sincerity. In every cause he was found wonderfully fortified with fact and logic, showing the sources of his own faith, and marking him always as the trained and skilled antagonist. With it all he was broad-minded, kindly-spirited, pure-hearted. He was a veritable evangelist of labor, guaging every movement by what he believed, rightfully or mistakenly, to be for labor's weal or detriment. His industry was marvelous and his editorial life a most strenuous one. Compensation cut no figure in the performance of his duty. His own pride and the sense of his own power were the only stimulants to his intense life. His daily contribution to the columns of *The Telegraph-Herald* numbered many columns, and he rarely sought a day of rest. Doubtless out of his intenseness of effort, his strenuousness of life, it has come that in the very zenith of his strength and power he has been stricken down as from a lightning's blow. Dubuque had pride in his growth; in the recognition in the state of his mental power and manly worth. It will be many a day before the sense of his loss will cease to sadden all our hearts."

ISA COOK was born in Union, Brown county, N. Y., October 16, 1821; he died in Des Moines, Iowa, March 11, 1902. He came to Iowa with his parents in 1836, the family settling in what is now Davenport, which locality was at that time only a trading point. Soon after reaching Iowa, which was then attached to Michigan for judicial purposes, Mr. Cook's father was appointed Justice of the Peace by the governor of Michigan. When the Cook family first came west, they journeyed one hundred miles to "Olean Point" on the Allegany river, in Cattaraugus county, New

York. At that place they built cabins on a lumber raft and floated down to Pittsburg. There they took a steamboat to Cincinnati, and thence by steamboat by way of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers to Rock Island, Ill. They were two months lacking two days in making this trip. The tract of land owned by Mr. Cook's father was within the city limits of Davenport and was long ago laid out in city lots. Mr. Cook remained with his father until he had reached his 28th year, when he entered into business for himself. From 1849 to 1863 he had a large experience in surveying government lands in Iowa and Wisconsin. In this capacity he seems to have been an expert, as the lines he ran have been found in later years to be remarkably correct. He told the story of "Government surveying in early Iowa," in *THE ANNALS*, Jan., 1897, pp. 603-613. He removed to Des Moines in 1852 where he afterwards resided until his death. He engaged in the banking business, the firm being known as Cook, Sargent & Cook. It was one of the early and substantial organizations of the capital city. He retired from this firm in 1855 and engaged with Mr. C. C. Dawson in the real estate business. In 1862 and '63 he held a position in the Post Office Department at Washington. In 1872 he became a member of the Iowa Loan and Trust Company, of which he was one of the directors and vice-president, holding that office until the time of his death. He was elected mayor of Des Moines in 1861 and held the office for two terms. He is said to have been one of the most popular mayors the city ever had. He was appointed a deputy revenue collector under Horace Everett, in 1864. Aside from the above named positions, he held several of minor importance during the period of his residence in Des Moines. He was a prominent member of St. Paul's Episcopal church, in which he was an active worker. Mr. Cook published in addition to the article referred to, his "Reminiscences," covering the period of the immigration of the family to Iowa, and down to the year 1900. (*Annals of Iowa*, Oct., 1900, pp. 522-530.) He had it in view to write still further of his experiences in this state, but doubtless did not carry out his wishes in that respect. Mr. Cook was a man of the the highest personal and christian character, actively but unobtrusively charitable, respected and beloved throughout his wide acquaintance, the recipient of the unlimited confidence of all with whom he had transactions, in private or public life or in the church of which he was one of the substantial pillars. He was a pleasing and attractive writer, and his articles, which displayed great intelligence, were widely copied by the Iowa press.

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FRANCIS J. HERRON was born in Pittsburg, Pa., February 17, 1837; he died in New York City, January 8, 1902. He was educated at the Western University in Pittsburg, which was then under the superintendency of Prof J. M. Smith, his brother-in-law. He left the University at the age of sixteen, and became a clerk in a Pittsburg banking house, and later on a partner in the banking firm of Herron & Bros. He came to Iowa in 1855, settling in Dubuque where he opened a banking house. He began his military career as Captain of Co. I, 1st Iowa Infantry. He served with it until it was mustered out, participating in the memorable battle of Wilson's Creek. On his return he was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel of our 9th Iowa Infantry, of which Congressman William Vandever was the Colonel. He was wounded and taken prisoner at Pea Ridge, and promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General for his gallantry in that great battle. He was the only Iowa man who was promoted from Lt.-Col. to Brig.-General. He was the leading spirit in the battle of Prairie Grove, which has been characterized as one of the most brilliant affairs in the history of the western armies. We next read of him as occupying the left of Grant's line at Vicksburg, where he rendered efficient service in the siege and capture of that stronghold. From there he went to the depart-



ment of the Gulf, and with his division participated in the siege and capture of Mobile, near the close of the war. He was mustered out at New Orleans after four years of active, faithful, and highly useful service. He settled in New Orleans, and engaged in business, but met with serious financial losses. He finally removed to New York where he was engaged in business up to the time of his death. His military record is a brilliant one and his promotion was very rapid. His surviving comrades in the civil war, and his personal friends generally, have never been satisfied with the neglect with which he was treated by the Iowa Commission which erected the monument south of the capitol, in Des Moines. They believe that his should have been one of the equestrian statues at the base of the monument. His especial friend, the late Hon. J. K. Graves of Dubuque, came to Des Moines during one of the sessions and made an earnest effort for what he believed to be General Herron's due recognition, but the effort failed. His place, however, in the history of the civil war is an honorable one, and his reputation is secure. Future historians of the civil war will do full justice to his memory.

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LEWIS TODHUNTER was born in Fayette county, Ohio, April 6, 1817; he died at Indianola, Iowa, Jan. 29, 1902. He came to this State in 1850, settling on the Des Moines river in Polk county, where he engaged for a time in farming and merchandising. He removed to Indianola, Warren county, in 1864, where he began the practice of law, which he continued for more than a quarter of a century, and in which he was very successful. He served as prosecuting attorney, county auditor, and treasurer and mayor of the city. His most distinguished service, however, was as a member of the convention which met in Iowa City in 1857 and formed the present constitution of our State. In that body he represented Warren, Madison, Adair and Cass counties. He also served in the army, 1863-65, as assistant quarter-master, with the rank of captain. He was widely known as an earnest and always active worker in the cause of temperance. He had joined the Washingtonian movement as early as 1840. In the early days of the constitutional convention he introduced a resolution to prevent smoking in the hall, which was unanimously adopted. He took an active and distinguished part in the deliberations of that body, his services making him well known throughout the state. His record in every respect, as a citizen, christian gentleman, soldier, legislator, and advocate of temperance, is one of which his friends may well be proud. As long as he was able to come to Des Moines he was a regular attendant on the deliberations of the Pioneer Law Makers' Association. He numbered among his friends scores of the leading and best men of Iowa during the past fifty years.

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Rev. MOSES K. CROSS was born at Danvers, Mass., Sept. 29, 1812; he died at Waterloo, Iowa, March 12th, 1902. He graduated at Amherst college, 1838; studied divinity at Hartford and Andover; was ordained pastor at Palmer, Mass., 1842; at South Deerfield, Mass., 1850; came to Iowa, 1855; was pastor at Tipton for ten years, and afterwards at Washington and Waverly. He spent the evening of his life at Waterloo, where his urbanity of spirit, his cultured mind, his cordial co-operation with the different churches in promoting the public welfare, and his dignified character endeared him to all the people. Mr. Cross was a generous scholar, of wide reading, of fine taste, and an open mind. He was devoted to literature and poetry, and especially to hymnology. On these subjects he was a ready and voluminous writer, and he contributed many valuable papers to the press. He was a lover of nature, of trees, flowers and birds, and, while health allowed, his erect form and his crown of snow

white hair, worn long and in curls, gave an added charm to the wooded landscape and to the riverside, where he loved to ramble and meditate and muse in the open. Mr. Cross preserved his mental vigor to the last. Only two days before his death he attended the Ministerial Association at Waterloo, and, as usual took part in the discussions. His death took place after only a few hours illness, and to apply to him the language of one of his favorite poets—

"he went  
To share the holy rest that waits a life well spent."

He leaves an only son, Mr. Whitman Cross, of the U. S. Geological Survey.—*Rev. Wm. Salter, Burlington, Iowa.*

FRANK ALLEN SHERMAN was born in Des Moines, Iowa, November 26, 1856; he died there March 1, 1902. He was the oldest son of Maj. Hoyt Sherman, one of the most distinguished pioneer settlers of the capital city, and the nephew of General William T. Sherman. He was mainly educated in the high schools of Des Moines, though he pursued his legal studies at the State and Columbia Universities, from both of which he graduated. He was admitted to the bar in 1881. Soon afterward he held the position of county attorney for three years. Frank Sherman was an active factor in promoting the street railway interests of Des Moines, which have come to such a remarkable success. He was a member of the Grant Club and of several other local associations. Since the death of his mother some fifteen years ago, he had given his attention largely to his father, who had been in precarious health, with a large business requiring constant attention. They came to be inseparable companions, the father depending to a great extent upon the faithful and most devoted son. At the time of the fatal attack of paralysis which led to the death of the latter, Maj. Sherman was on the eve of starting to New York, where he had engaged a distinguished artist to paint his portrait for the State Historical Art Gallery, in response to urgent invitations and the kind wishes of many friends. The press of Des Moines paid high tributes to the memory of the deceased.

JAMES HILTON was born in Orange county, N. Y., July 9, 1816; he died on his farm near Albia, Iowa, January 9, 1902. His boyhood and youth were spent in New York City. In 1841 he decided to seek a location in the west and in November of that year arrived in Keokuk, Iowa Territory, but went on to Missouri where he located in Scotland county. On September 1, 1842, he was present at Agency City, Iowa, when the treaty between the U. S. Government and the Sac and Fox Indians was made. He saw on that occasion the chiefs Keokuk, Mahaska, Poweshiek, Wapello, Appanoose and others. Gen. Street was then in charge. In May, 1843, when according to agreement, the Indians vacated the land and moved westward, Mr. Hilton took a claim of 280 acres in what is now Monroe county, where he continued to reside until his death. In 1846 he was appointed by Judge Mason, clerk of the District Courts; in 1857 he was elected county judge; in 1868-69 he served as a member of the Board of Supervisors; he was a member of the House of Representatives in the 14th General Assembly. He discharged all the duties connected with these responsible positions with faithfulness and ability. No one was better acquainted with the early history of Monroe county. The House of Representatives made appropriate notice of his death, at which time Col. S. A. Moore, of Davis county, pronounced an eloquent eulogy upon his distinguished pioneer friend which was ordered published in the *Journal* of that day.

ADONIRAM J. HOLMES was born in Wayne county, Ohio, March 2

1843; he died at Clarinda, Iowa, on or about the 23d of January, 1902. The family moved to Palmyra, Wisconsin, in his boyhood. In 1862 he joined the 24th Wisconsin Infantry as a private, but was soon mustered out to accept a commission in the 37th Infantry of that State. He saw hard service, participating in many battles. He was wounded at Stone River. Transferred to the eastern army he was present at the blowing up of the mine at Petersburg, where he was made a prisoner. He was confined some eight months in southern prisons. After his muster-out he attended college and later studied law at Ann Arbor, Michigan. He settled in Boone, Iowa, in 1867, where he remained until his last illness during which he was taken to the hospital at Clarinda. He was elected to the Iowa House of Representatives in 1881, serving in that body the next winter. He was nominated for Congress, to succeed Ex-Gov. Carpenter in 1882. He served three terms in the House of Representatives, after which he held the position of sergeant-at-arms of that body during one or two terms. He was also elected city attorney of Boone. Maj. Holmes made an excellent record as a soldier, citizen, state legislator, and congressman. His death called forth many tributes of respect from the Iowa press.

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DANIEL CAMPBELL was born in Ashland Co., O., April 13, 1823; he died in Chelan, Washington, February 3, 1902. His boyhood was passed on a farm, where he received only a limited education, but his natural force and ability made him a leader wherever he lived. He early took an interest in politics, and in 1856 was a candidate for sheriff in Ashland county. In 1861 he moved to Illinois, and became an ardent supporter of Stephen A. Douglas. In 1863 he removed from Illinois to Iowa and settled near Mt. Pleasant. In 1879 he was a candidate for governor on the greenback ticket; in 1880 he ran for Congress, in the Second District, on the same ticket. He then moved to Blencoe, Monroe county, where he continued to take an active part in politics and was elected to the House of Representatives of the 20th General Assembly, where he served with distinction. In 1883 he was a candidate for State treasurer on the greenback ticket. He was again elected to the legislature and took a prominent part as a democratic member in the 24th General Assembly. He ran again for Congress in the Eleventh District, but was defeated. This closed his political career and he soon removed to Washington, where a son was living. There were few better known politicians at one time in Iowa than "Honest Dan," as he was familiarly called.

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SELIM B. ROSENKRANS was born in Steuben county, N. Y., April 27, 1824; he died at Perry, Iowa, January 7, 1902. Mr. Rosenkrans came to Iowa in 1856 and settled in Webster City, where he resided until two or three years before his death, when he removed to Perry. In 1857 he was chosen clerk of the courts of Webster county, which then embraced the present territory of Webster and Hamilton counties. He was elected to the House of Representatives of the State Legislature in 1859, serving in the regular session of 1860 and the extra war session of 1861. Sometime after the breaking out of the war he was appointed drafting commissioner by Gov. Kirkwood, holding the position until the close of hostilities. He was once elected mayor of Webster City and served several terms as councilman. He was one of the original members of the Congregational church of Webster City and was widely known throughout that organization. As a citizen he was active, enterprising, and public spirited, always enthusiastic in promoting the interests of his town and county.

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DR. EPHRAIM M. REYNOLDS was born in Wayne county, Ind., in 1843; he died in Centerville, Iowa, January 8, 1902. He came to Appanoose

county with his parents in 1849. He attended the district schools of the county and the academy at Troy, in Davis county, then the leading school in that part of the State. He enlisted in Co. I, 3d Iowa Cavalry, from which he was discharged some time in 1862, for disability. He was elected to the House of Representatives of the 19th and 21st General Assemblies. In 1891 he was elected state senator, serving in the sessions of 1892 and 1894. As a legislator Dr. Reynolds was active and influential, especially in the matter of securing such laws as would promote the health of the people. As a physician he was widely recognized as learned and skillful. He actively supported the bill providing for the founding of the Historical Department, in which he always took a deep interest and to which he was a liberal contributor.

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MAJOR ADAM KRAMER was born in Germany, Oct. 15, 1837; he died in Iowa City, Nov. 10, 1901, thus closing the brilliant record of a soldier's life. Maj. Kramer came to this country at an early age and received his education in Philadelphia. When 20 years old he joined a Pennsylvania Cavalry troop, and for forty years thereafter continued in active service in the U. S. army. He participated in the siege of Yorktown and the battles of Antietam, Murfreesboro and Chickamauga. A summary of his distinguished career, as found in the Official Register, shows a wide and varied service, including five months with the German army during the Franco-Prussian war. His last command was at Fort Leavenworth with a cavalry battalion. Although a man of splendid physique, his hard life had its natural effect, and in 1897 he retired in broken health. He has since resided in Iowa City. He was buried with military honors at Arlington Heights, Washington, D. C.

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ERASTUS SNOW was born on a farm near Winchester, N. H., September 19, 1819; He died at his home in Grinnell, Iowa, March 2, 1902. Early in life he developed marked business ability. For eight years, including the financial crisis of 1857, he had charge of a bank in Winchester, N. H., attending to every department of business himself. In 1859 he removed west, remaining for two years in Davenport, Iowa. In 1861 he purchased 80 acres of land near the town of Grinnell, and has since resided there. He has had charge of many important matters relating to the town and county. He was a member and chairman of the Board of Supervisors; first president of the national bank; president of the savings bank, and at one time in charge of the finances of the school district. He served as a member of the House of Representatives of the 13th General Assembly. He was prominently identified with the Granger movement, and conducted successfully a Granger store for years. When the Farmers' Mutual Insurance Company was organized he was made president.

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GEORGE T. WILLIAMS was born in Nauvoo county, Ill., in 1854; he died at his home in Ida Grove, March 7, 1902. When a small boy he removed with his family in a wagon across the country to Tabor, Fremont county, Iowa. He attended school during the winter terms only. In 1872 a physical injury caused him to abandon farm life, and he came to Ida Grove, where he taught one term of school. He then entered the office of *The Pioneer*, and after two years of work upon a small salary, acquired a half-interest in the paper, of which he was editor at the time of his death. Much of his time in later years was spent in traveling through the United States preparing and publishing special advertising editions for newspapers, the work for which was usually done at *The Pioneer* office. He had written up about 3,000 towns in this way and was widely known in Iowa and elsewhere. Mr. Williams was a favorite with the journalists of this State and his early death called forth many tributes of respect.

**THEODORE F. GATCHEL** was born in Chester, Pa., April 16, 1845; he died in Des Moines, Nov. 7, 1901. Mr. Gatchel's early life was spent in Maryland and Washington, D. C. He enlisted at the age of 14, in a Maryland regiment, and served throughout the war. He was a personal friend of Gen. Grant, and during his administration was president of the police board in Washington. Since 1879 Mr. Gatchel has resided in Des Moines, and has been engaged in the insurance business. He was a prominent member of the Methodist church and active in its benevolent work. From the start he was identified with the building of the Iowa Methodist Hospital, and officially connected with its management. His sudden death occurred at one of the business meetings of the board of directors.

**STANFIELD P. McNEILL** was born in Mason county, Ky., February 14, 1827; he died at his home in Garden Grove, Iowa, February 20, 1902. His early years were spent on a farm; he afterwards worked for a time at the carpenter's trade. He served one year in the Mexican war, in Capt. Morgan's company of mounted dragoons. In 1857 he removed to Wayne county, where he remained for three years. In 1861 he settled in Decatur county, where he eventually acquired about 800 acres of land. He was at one time justice of the peace. During the period of the civil war he was a member of the Board of Supervisors and was instrumental in expending for public improvements the swamp land money recovered by the county. He was a member of the House of Representatives of the 15th and 16th General Assemblies.

**JAMES H. KNOX** was born in Baltimore, Md., August 11, 1821; he died in Des Moines, March 13, 1902. At the age of 14 he entered a printing office in Cadiz, Ohio. In 1852 he published a paper at Mt. Vernon, Ohio. Two years later he removed to Iowa, and in 1855 became associated with Lt.-Gov. Needham in publishing *The Oskaloosa Herald*. In 1857 he removed to Indianola and entered upon the publication of *The Weekly Iowa Visitor*. When the civil war broke out he went into the army as Captain of Co. D, 34th Iowa Infantry, but was soon obliged to resign on account of ill health. Returning to Indianola he again engaged in newspaper work and became known throughout central Iowa as a brilliant writer and able politician. He was twice appointed postmaster of Indianola. The evening of his life was spent quietly in Des Moines. He is one of the last of the "old guard" of Iowa publishers to pass away.

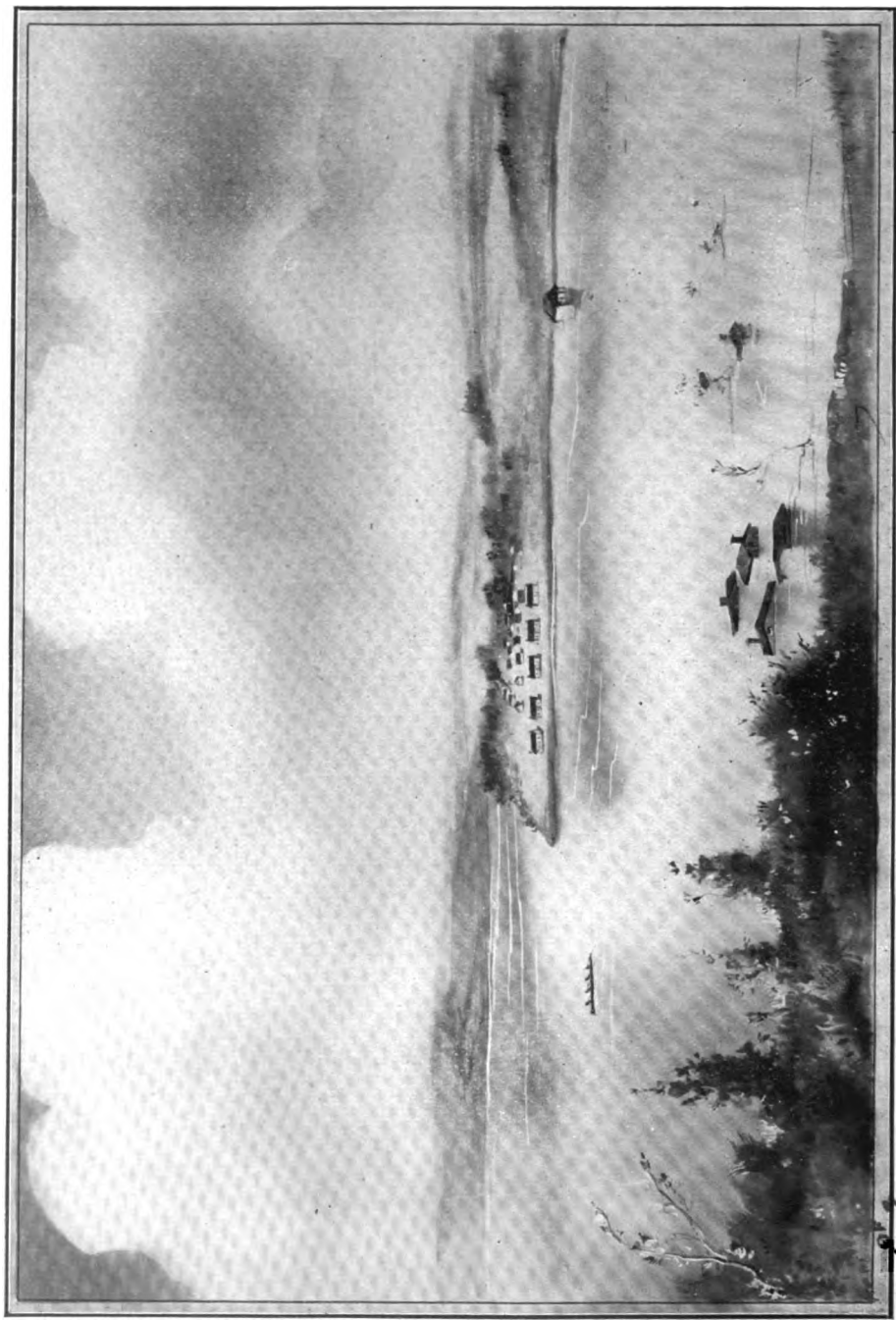
**HURTT ROSS** was born at Bridgeville, Del., December 19, 1819; he died near Luni, Iowa, October 16, 1901. He was a pioneer settler on a farm which is now a part of the plat of Stratford, Hamilton county. He served in the Mexican war and as deputy provost marshal during the civil war. He was chairman of the first Board of Supervisors of Hamilton county in 1861. Mr. Ross was a prominent and well-known citizen of that county. In the days when there were no hotels in that section he was known far and wide for his unbounded hospitality. Hundreds who knew him then bear him in most kindly remembrance.

### ERRATA.

Rev. Dr. William Salter, of Burlington calls our attention to an error in the article on Lieut. George Wilson, which was written by his son, Mr. George Wilson of Lexington, Missouri. This error appears on pages 566-67, Vol. IV, 3d series of *THE ANNALS*, where the Blackhawk War is referred to as "campaigning and fighting in the terrible cold of a Wisconsin winter." Soldiers are spoken of as "often freezing" and "squaws with their papooses trying to swim its (Mississippi) wintry waters." The facts are that the Blackhawk War was a summer affair. It began in April and ended in August, 1832.

In the notice of the death of Dr. Michael Garst in *THE ANNALS* for January, 1902, second line from the top of page 318, for "1891." read 1901.





FORT DES MOINES DURING THE FLOOD OF 1851.

W. H. R. 1851

# ANNALS OF IOWA.

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VOL. V, No. 6.

DES MOINES, IOWA, JULY, 1902.

3D SERIES.

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## THE FLOOD OF 1851.

BY TACITUS HUSSEY.

The flood of 1851 was one of those extraordinary events which happen in a state but once in a lifetime. It could scarcely occur again because of changes in physical conditions. The Des Moines river and its tributaries drained then as now a very large territory. Nearly one-third of the counties of Iowa are touched by this stream which flows in a somewhat meandering way across the State, from west to east, mingling with the waters of the Mississippi about four miles below Keokuk. When it is remembered that in 1851 the upper part of the territory was in a state of perennial wildness and incapacitated by its grassy surface for receiving into its soil the rain, which ran into the nearest streams, the wonder will not be so great. It will be remembered, also, that the source of the Des Moines river touches Minnesota, so famous for its heavy snowfall, which, melting somewhat later than the snows in the central part of this State, fed the smaller tributaries and kept their channels full until the spring rain clouds poured out their copious contributions. The flood of 1851 was phenomenal, and seemed to be the culmination of what is sometimes called a "wet weather cycle."

Let us take the record of the "rain gauge" of eight years, beginning with 1848, two years after the State, which was the youngest and most promising of the sisterhood, was admitted to the Union:

1848, rainfall.....	26	inches.
1849, rainfall.....	59	inches.



1850, rainfall.....	49	inches.
1851, rainfall.....	74 $\frac{1}{2}$	inches.
1852, rainfall.....	49	inches.
1853, rainfall.....	45	inches.
1854, rainfall.....	23	inches.
1855, rainfall.....	28	inches.

It will be readily seen that more than six feet of water fell upon the earth's surface in less than five months, in addition to the melting of heavy snows in the spring; this would make each "rivulet a roaring cataract," and convert ordinarily well behaved rivers into miniature oceans. It was thus that the flood of waters came sweeping out all sown and planted crops on the low lands, and carrying away everything loose and floatable. Bridges were few over the rivers below; but the primitive ferryboats, fences, stock, stables, and in some cases farm houses, were abandoned to the watery elements, while the owners fled to the hills, glad to escape with their lives. The newspapers published that year (the columns of which have been thoroughly scanned by the writer) gave few particulars in regard to the phenomena. They seemed for some reason to say but little about it, probably because they did not wish the outside world to know what a severe calamity it was, but it was mentioned by some of them in meagre paragraphs under the caption "An Unprecedented Flood," "The Great Rainfall," "The Swelling Rivers," etc. They preferred, like the wounded dove, to hide the rankling arrow of misfortune under the wing of silence.

It might be well to mention, however, that newspapers were not very plentiful in Iowa in those early days. A partial list, gleaned from an old musty record, of papers published in the early fifties, is given:

*Evening Gazette*, Burlington; *The Western American*, Keosauqua; *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, Burlington; *Der Demokrat*, Davenport; *Fairfield Ledger*, Fairfield; *Lee County News*, Keokuk; *Iowa State Press*, Iowa City; *Constitution-Democrat*, Keokuk; *Gate City*, Keokuk; *Muscatine Journal*, Muscatine; *Ottumwa Courier*, Ottumwa; *Ottumwa Democrat*, Ottumwa; *The Iowa Star*, Fort Des Moines; *Fort Des Moines Gazette*, Fort Des Moines; *Oska-*

*Iowa Herald*, Oskaloosa; *Iowa Democratic Inquirer*, Muscatine; *Miners' Express*, Dubuque; *Dubuque Herald*, Dubuque; *Jeffersonian Democrat*, Keosauqua; *Progressive Era*, Cedar Rapids.

The destruction on the upper part of the Des Moines river was principally in the undermining of the immense trees which stood on its banks. There are two branches of the upper Des Moines which unite a short distance below Humboldt. The channel of the united streams is narrow, rocky, and hemmed in by cliffs of rock, or high hills. The river is very crooked, and in ordinary stages runs like a mill-race. Hundreds of stately trees were uprooted and swept down stream by the resistless current. At some sudden turn of the river where the banks were not so high, the great volume of water would "cut across" to the next bend, carrying everything in its way. The largest trees, after having the soil washed from under their roots, would fall with a crash and join the army of floaters in the wild rush to the far away Mississippi. This destruction was increased when that part of the river below Fort Dodge was reached and the river bottoms became wider. The fierce current ripped up the alluvial soil, undermining the heavy timber, forming temporary dams, ploughing out new channels and carrying the soil, reduced to infinitesimal particles, to the south to form new islands, and change the line of the shores.

Of course this work was unwitnessed by human eyes; but the many islands and deserted channels tell the story of the force of this great flood, and the lesser ones which at intervals followed.

The west part of Fort Des Moines suffered but little loss of property. Business was completely paralyzed, as few passed out or in during the time the flood was at its height. According to the best accounts gathered from the old settlers, the rains were almost incessant from early in May until about the middle of July, and three times during the season the waters broke beyond the bank's confining, in each instance adding gloom to the situation. The east side of the

river opposite Des Moines was covered with water, with a swift current rushing down where the Chicago and Northwestern depot now stands; and the few buildings which stood on the river bottoms here, were swept away, or hopelessly wrecked. On the west side of the river there was a stretch of low ground running in a southerly direction beginning at the mouth of Bird's run and continuing nearly or quite to where the Rock Island depot now stands. At Third street and Court avenue the water partially covered the street, and William Moore, Aurelius Reynolds, B. F. Allen, A. J. Stevens, Chapman & Thomas, William Krause, Hoyt Sherman, Madison Young and others, all gay young men in those days, who boarded at the Marvin House, near Third and Walnut, were compelled to build a raft on which to cross the "back water" coming from the Des Moines, and pole themselves across six times a day. The presence of water in small quantities on Court avenue and Second street is explained in this way: when the old court house, which stood where the Union depot now stands, was built in 1847-8, Mr. W. R. Close was given the contract for making the brick. He found the right kind of clay in the immediate vicinity, and in getting out the necessary amount of material left a large excavation which was continually filled with water. During the summer it stood with a green scum over it and was the receptacle, probably, for dead animals of all kinds. The citizens fearing it would breed disease, and in order to drain it, dug a deep ditch on the side of the street leading to Second street, and thence to Bird's run. When the water rose in 1851, it found easy access to those portions of the village touched by this primitive canal. This will account for the water reported in small quantities on Second, Vine, Third and lower Court avenue. "The water in the ditch" proved a very good gauge for those who were too busy playing checkers, poker, or "one grain of corn ante," to go to the river to see "if she was still rising." By looking at the "ditch" the problem was easily solved.

On the side of the main traveled road leading past Union Park, north of Des Moines, stood a large elm tree on which there was a deep notch cut marking the greatest height of the flood during the summer of 1851. This mark was made by one of the Thompson boys, at the river bend a mile or so above the city, whose pioneer residence is now included in Union Park. The notch as noted at the time this article was written shows the depth of water to have been about four feet. A surveyor, after looking at this mark not long since, and making a mental calculation of the "level" of the water's height a mile and a half below, estimated that it would be about 23 feet above low water mark. This would bring it near the floor of the present Walnut street bridge. When it is remembered that the water spread from bluff to bluff, the magnitude of the volume can readily be imagined.

As business was almost at a standstill many of our citizens spent the season in catching sawlogs, trees and driftwood, and anchored them safely along the shores until the waters should recede. Much valuable timber was secured in this way. While catching sawlogs with a boat just below the village, Conrad Youngerman was drowned. In company with John Youngerman and L. D. Karnes, a tailor, he was engaged in this business, when from some unaccountable cause the boat was capsized and Mr. Youngerman was swept away by the swift current and drowned before aid could reach him. The other two men, after a hard struggle for their lives, were saved.

During this year of flood Dr. Thomas K. Brooks was building a house on his farm about a mile east of where the State capitol now stands. He was much troubled about getting his building material to the location, until a raft was built. This was loaded with material and floated over the river bottoms to what is known as "Brooks' Lake," and unloaded on the highlands. The process was slow and attended with considerable danger, but was finally accomplished. The doors, window-frames, sash, glass and hardware formed the

last cargo, and the owner and ingenious contractor were very happy at having triumphed over the watery dilemma. "Brooks' Lake," fed by springs, is still in existence, and the south end of it furnishes water for the largest starch factory in the world.\*

*The Fort Des Moines Star*, May 29, 1851, in speaking of the downpour, says:

For three weeks it has rained almost incessantly, pouring down from the clouds as if the very windows of heaven were opened. Neither the memory of the oldest settlers along the banks of the Des Moines river, nor the memory of the natives who resided here before it was settled by the whites, nor any traditionary account from the natives, furnishes any evidence of such a flood ever having occurred here, in all past time. The 'Coon and Des Moines rivers are higher by several feet than they were in the spring of 1849, which was the greatest rise of water ever known here up to that time.

Professor Charles Tuttle, in his "History of Iowa," says:

It commenced to be wet weather the early part of May, and the heavens were almost daily blackened with angry clouds, and the rain poured down in torrents, frequently accompanied with violent winds and loud pealing thunder, till July.

Prof. Tuttle also states, though his exact language is not quoted, that the fish left the regular channels of the river and found their ways into the ravines and lagoons to be captured by hungry settlers when the waters receded. All the towns on the banks of the river below Fort Des Moines to the Mississippi which were on the lower table lands were flooded. At the height of the flood the water was  $22\frac{1}{2}$  feet above low water mark. This immense volume of water spread all over the bottom lands, and East Des Moines was under water to the second bank or ledge, and could only be traversed by boats and rafts.

*The Muscatine Journal* of May 21, 1851, says:

The Mississippi is still rising and lacks but a few inches of the great rise of 1844. A part of Muscatine island is overflowed.

*The Oskaloosa Herald* of June that year says:

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\*Destroyed by fire December 5, 1901.

The destruction of property on the Des Moines river has been very great. Farms have been cleared of fences, growing crops, houses and everything of a movable nature. The river was never known to be so high before. A vast amount of grain in the cribs has been swept away. The inhabitants on the river bottoms have been compelled to desert their houses and flee to the bluffs for refuge. A number of dwellings were carried entirely away. This calamity will be doubly hard on the citizens of the vicinity of the Des Moines river, as it has not only destroyed the present crops but has taken away the old crops that were in store for the needs of the present season. Eddyville, Ottumwa, Red Rock, and the eastern part of Fort Des Moines are nearly submerged by the overflowing river.

It must not be understood by the reader that this flood was confined to the Des Moines valley. The deluge was general, and wherever there were rivers or streams of any size, they were changed to wild torrents, carrying destruction before them.

*The Iowa Democratic Inquirer* of June 6, 1851, gives an account of the flood on the Maquoketa river, Jackson county, where much damage was done:

A large flouring mill, saw mill, and carding mill, situated on the Maquoketa, are reported as swept away. In addition to the damage done to buildings, mills, warehouses, etc., much damage is also done to farms by the lodgment of drift. In almost every valley the soil has been more or less swept from its bed, and on hillsides the ploughed fields have been badly washed. It is almost impossible to form even an approximate estimate of the damage done in various ways to the property of this county.

*The Dubuque Herald* of June 8th of this year gives an account of the drowning of Mrs. Alloway and the marvelous escape of her husband:

Mr. and Mrs. Alloway, an elderly couple, lived by themselves on the banks of the Maquoketa river. When they found themselves in danger by the sudden rise of the water, they attempted to escape by flight, but were overtaken by the flood before they could reach a place of safety. The husband, finding they were about to be swept away by the strong current, laid hold of a bush with one hand while with the other he attempted to sustain his drowning wife. The unequal struggle was maintained for some time; but suddenly the wife ceased to struggle and the helpless body was torn from his grasp and sank out of sight. The husband retained his hold on the bush until he was rescued in an exhausted state in the morning.

Red Rock, in Marion county, being built on the banks of the Des Moines river, was completely flooded and the few

inhabitants were compelled to move to the higher land when the river began to overflow its banks. It was a steamboat station and a rival of Fort Des Moines in the very early steamboating days. Above the village there stands a huge cliff of red sandstone, guarding the approach by river, while below stands a similar cliff, keeping watch and ward over the sleepy village. It looks very much as if the river at some remote period had cut this great formation in two, leaving the remnants to emphasize nature's handiwork, as they stand there with polished sides, smiling or frowning as the sun or shadows rest upon their moss-grown faces. Nature is a tireless worker, and when there is a stupendous task to perform is never in a hurry. "A thousand years in Thy sight are but as yesterday when it is past, and as a watch in the night;" so the cutting of the channel through the solid rock must have taken a great many "yesterdays" as the God of nature reckons. Perhaps the task was not so great after all. The huge mountain may have been of soft material when the never-ceasing current cut through its way; and then, by a miracle which occupied a few aeons of time, the cliffs were hardened to stone. Were this stone as durable as beautiful, it would be the finest building material in Iowa.

How the contracted current must have rushed and roared through these narrow channels! And with what alacrity the water must have spread over the wide, low bottoms a few miles below, enlarging to a lake of from one to three miles wide, bearing on its bosom every movable article from a stand of bees to the faithful cow!

Eddyville was a sufferer, also, by the flood. A portion of the village lying close to the river was under water three different times; the height of the flood being about the middle of June. Mr. E. L. Smith, agent of the U. S. Express at Des Moines, lived there at the time. He came to Eddyville in 1845, and in the year 1850 entered the service of Hon. Ed. Manning, who had a store and warehouse near the

bank of the river.\* The river began to show flood-signs about the middle of May and many of the families living on the lowlands had taken refuge on a gravelly knoll where the railroad depot now stands. The storekeepers and warehousemen were compelled to reach their places of business by means of boats and canoes. The inhabitants took the flooding good-naturedly, and in true pioneer spirit shared shelter and provisions with those who were in need. Some of the storekeepers slept on their counters in order to be prepared for any emergency, or to wait on such customers as were provided with boats. On awakening in the morning, the sleepers never knew whether their feet would sink in the mud on the floor left by the receding river, or in three feet of water, the result of an incoming flood. At the supposed height of the flood four adventurous Des Moines men—Messrs. Hoyt Sherman, J. M. Griffith, W. T. Marvin and Peter Myers—appeared at the hotel in a skiff and, tying their boat to the bannisters of the hotel stairway, climbed to the second story and ate a hearty dinner. They were on their way to St. Louis to charter a steamboat for the upper Des Moines river, as provisions were getting very scarce and relief must be obtained in some way.†

For a few days previous to their arrival Mr. Smith had been transferring a thousand or two bushels of corn from Mr. Manning's warehouse to the large warehouse of William Butcher. The latter then stood high and dry, and being nearer the river, was more convenient for loading the corn on the boats for St. Louis. The transfer had been finished on the day the voyagers arrived. The corn was spread over the floor and the doors left open that it might dry quickly. Before the voyagers left they reported that a "three foot rise" was due some time before morning. The owners of the corn treated the prophecy as a "river joke" and paid no further

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\*Mr. E. L. Smith died in Des Moines May 2, 1902.

†An account of this is related by Mr. Hoyt Sherman in *ANNALS OF IOWA*, April, 1900.



attention to it. In the morning, however, when the superintendent visited the warehouse to "see how the corn was drying," he found that the "three foot rise" had arrived and had floated the corn out of the open door, lodging a portion of it in the picket fences near by, while on the river thousands of floating ears were bobbing up and down in the swift current or circling in golden eddies near the shore. To make the loss more aggravating, corn was worth about two dollars a bushel!

A short distance below Eddyville there was a bend in the river where many trees had lodged, forming a boom which caught all manner of floating debris. When the water subsided sufficiently, every one who had lost an article which would float, repaired to the "drift" to identify and recover their lost property. There were bee-hives, buckets, tubs, baskets, boxes, firewood, fence rails, sidewalks, sections of picket fences, gates and all manner of household utensils. There was very little wrangling. Each woman recognized her tubs and the men needed not to be introduced to their sections of fences, gates and sidewalks.

On the Fourth of July of this year, three jolly couples went on a picnic excursion from Eddyville to Johnsonburg, a mile and a half down the river. The waters had retired within the banks, but the current was swift and dangerous. The going down was an easy task and with song and shout the destination was reached in about twenty minutes. The young people they had planned to meet were there and a pleasant afternoon was spent. The coming back, however, was the rub! Two of the young men rowed while the third endeavored to steer the boat, which zigzagged across the stream wherever there was a promise of smooth water. They hugged the shore closely, taking advantage of all the eddies in the endeavor to make headway. After a three hours' pull, during which seats with the helmsman were changed many times to the peril of the fair voyagers, they reached the starting point with blistered hands and thankful hearts. The

"grave and reverend senior" who related this incident, and who was one of the boating party, said: "As I look back on that wild jaunt of fifty-one years ago, remembering the peril we were in without realizing it, I would not go through the same experience again for the best farm in Iowa."

Ottumwa, what there was of it in that early day, was built very near the river, the better to receive and freight goods on the passing steamboats. One who was there at the time says:

We had to move everything we had in our houses and stores to higher ground, and be quick about it. In June, some time about the middle if I remember right, every store, warehouse and residence on the low ground was partially submerged. The highest point was reached about that time, and those who made measurements afterwards found that the water was nearly 23 feet above low water mark. We did not lose a bridge, as was reported, as we had none to lose. There has never been a flood since, to equal the flood of 1851.

D. H. Ainsworth, of Newton, Iowa, in his very interesting book entitled, "The Recollections of a Civil Engineer," in speaking of the high water on the Cedar river during one of his surveying trips, while running a line from Wilton Junction to Oskaloosa in 1853, says:

On the east side of Iowa river below its confluence with the Cedar, we stopped at the Ferry-house, where were many disagreeable persons, and a parrot usually roosting on an open door at meal time nearly over the table. To get here a high water mark, we took the elevation of a streak on the plastering about three feet from the floor, where the water had evidently stood. Greater surprise would have been occasioned had I not, some weeks before, on the banks of the Cedar at Rochester City, seen a monument marked "High-water of 1851."

Iowaville had a wide stretch of bottom land between the river and the bluff, a mile or so away. It was situated on the north side of the river. At the time of the flood of 1851 the village contained about thirty houses, some stores, a blacksmith shop and hotel. The village exists in memory only, as the former site is now used as a farm. Previous to the flood there was a sawmill running by steam on the bank of the river and N. L. Milburn, who had contracted to put up a

bridge at Keosauqua, had a small gang of men getting out the material and framing it ready to raft it down the river.

About the 20th of May the water rose so high that it put out the furnace fires and the work had to be abandoned for the time being. The workmen engaged were R. E. Underwood, foreman, Ed. Dunning, Richard Douglas, William Terry, Seth Graham of Des Moines, and perhaps others. When the waters cut off the inhabitants from the mainland all the available men and boats were set to work to carry them to the bluffs about a mile away. They took with them such articles as would be available for camping purposes. A generous-hearted farmer by the name of Joel Avery, who lived on the high ground, sent this message to his unfortunate neighbors: "Come over and bunk with me; I have a big house and barn, and everything I have is at your service." The invitation was generally accepted, and instead of looking upon the flood as a calamity, it was turned into a picnic of nearly a month's duration. These neighbors clubbed together, did their cooking out of doors, and used the farmhouse and barn for shelter and sleeping apartments. A partial list of the names of those accepting Mr. Avery's hospitality follows: The Stouts, Hoovers, Huttons, James and John Baker, Alexander Nedrow, B. Nagle, William Starr, Rev. Mr. Rathburn, a Mormon preacher, with their belongings. Some of the inhabitants who lived in two-story houses moved into the second story and so lived until the waters subsided.

The Iowa hotel moved its furniture and cooking utensils into the second story where the guests, who arrived and departed in boats, were made as comfortable as possible. Mr. Seth Graham, now a resident of Des Moines, who "passed through the flood," says that the water reached its height about the 20th of June and spread over the lowlands, from bluff to bluff, doing great damage where there was a strong current. The bridge contracted for by the authorities at Keosauqua and N. L. Milburn was never put in place, partly

on account of the high water and also because of a disagreement between the contracting parties; each preferred to lose the money advanced and the work already done rather than complete the contract. About the middle of March, 1852, a heavy windstorm from the west caught the two spans of the bridge already in place and hurled them into the river with a great crash. The authorities then began to advertise a free ferry in order to catch a share of the California immigration. An early settler in mentioning this matter refers to it as the first "draw" bridge contract ever entered into by a county in Iowa.

The hearts of the people of Iowaville were made happy on the Fourth of July of that year by the arrival of the steamboat Caleb Cope well loaded with provisions for the hungry people on the upper river. It will be remembered that this boat reached Fort Des Moines on the 5th of July of that year, and was a welcome arrival, for provisions had become very scarce and high.

It always adds interest to a history to have the personal experience of a participator in the incidents. It is a pleasure, therefore, to introduce to the reader Mr. Carlisle St. John, who spent his boyhood days at Keosauqua, Iowa, and whose remembrance of the flood at that place is fresh, notwithstanding more than half a century has elapsed. His sketch is given as written, with but few changes:

#### THE FLOOD AT KEOSAUQUA.

To get an intelligent idea of the flood at this point it is necessary that the reader should have some knowledge of the lay of the ground. Just above the business part of the town a small ravine opened into the river, and below the business district a small stream emptied into the river. In the times of high water these ravines overflowed and formed bayous. The business was located along First street, or the river front, and in the rear of this, and about midway between First and Second streets, the ground was lower. Until '51 there had been no inconvenience experienced from the water backing up and forming these bayous, but this year it kept rising until it began feeling its way along the low ground in the rear of the business houses, connecting the upper and lower bayous and at last left the business portion of the town an island.

At first a gangway answered the purpose of keeping up communication between the business portion and the mainland; but in a short time the current became too strong and swept it away, so it became necessary to provide some kind of a craft to meet this emergency. Everybody made a watercraft from the best material which could be found. I had one of the most unique. At that time I was serving my last year as an apprentice to the tin trade. The proprietor had just had manufactured a peddling-box for the purpose of hauling his wares through the country in order to supply country dealers. This peddling-box was made of inch pine boards nailed together and in proportion and appearance might have been taken for a baby flatboat. It had not yet been placed on the wagon and was sitting by the side of the shop. I caulked it up as well as I could, launched it, and with a pole to propel it started for the mainland. I soon found it to be a real broncho to ride. It bucked worse than a broncho. A broncho might fail sometime to throw its rider—but this, never! There was always some water in it, and this would roll from one side to the other, so at about the third lurch it never failed to throw me, to the great amusement of those on shore. The water soon became too high to run a craft of that kind, and the proprietor bought an excellent skiff of some parties who had come down the river, and put me in possession of it. From that time on, I roamed the surging flood with the freedom of a buccaneer. By this time the water was running over the lowest places on Front street and kept rising until it came onto the floors of the business houses. The merchants moved their goods higher up on the shelves and on the tops of the counters, all the while saying, "It certainly will not get much higher." But it kept coming up until it reached the top of the counters in some instances, and in others about half way up, and remained at that point for a short time. Then it began to recede and reached about the original high-water mark where it remained for something like a week. It then began to rise again, and reached a point a few inches higher than before. After a short time it began to recede again and continued to do so until it was finally within its banks where it remained.

In a little while all traces were cleared away and business was resumed, and everything moved along as if there never had been a flood. There appeared to be no serious results from it. The water passed the high-water mark in the fore part of May, and receded the last time about the middle of June, causing an interruption of business of about five weeks. It caused a great deal of inconvenience and loss of business, but the people kept in good spirits through it all. Some one found some horseshoes and a game of quoits was started, and soon almost every one was quoit-pitching, apparently getting some fun out of what would seem a great calamity. But it was very quiet and monotonous. Not a stir but the water as it swept by between the houses in the submerged districts. A "gondolier" with his girl was occasionally seen passing among the submerged houses taking in the situation; or, perhaps, a larger craft with youngsters aboard, with mirth and song, somewhat relieved the monotony.

I remember seeing a boat load of young folks on the lower bayou,

among whom was E. O. Stannard, who, having a fine voice, sang some of the melodies of the day, among which was "A Farmer's Life is the Life for Me." A little more than a year after this he left the parental roof and went out to make his own way in the world. In a few years we heard of him as a member of a business firm in St. Louis; again as lieutenant-governor of the state of Missouri; again in the councils of the nation as a member of congress from St. Louis; today he is one of the foremost business men of that city, and recently received favorable mention in connection with the second highest office in the gift of the American people. Of the business concerns and residents who were flooded at that time I recall the following:

The steam flouring-mill, belonging to the estate of Hugh Brown, located on the bank of the river just above the upper bayou.

L. W. Thornburg, furniture manufacturer, on First street and located on the upper bayou.

William McNee, stoves and tinware, on First street, near Market.

The firm of Marlow & Whittlesey, general merchants.

Henry Wheelan, drug store, on the corner of First and Main streets.

William Burton, general bakery and restaurant, near the corner of Main on First street.

Julien & Wilson, dry goods, on First street.

George G. Wright and Joseph C. Knapp, lawyers, office on First street, between Main and Van Buren.

N. R. Dawson, tailor, on First street between Van Buren and Cass.

J. J. Kimberly, dry goods, corner of First and Cass streets.

Steele & Chittenden, dry goods, on First between Cass and Dodge.

James H. Jackson, merchant tailor, corner of Dodge and First streets.

Henry M. Shelby, attorney at law and county attorney, on First between Cass and Dodge streets.

Thomas Dare, tinware, corner of First and Market streets. We called him "Colonel" Dare. How he acquired this title I do not know, unless it was because he was one of those "hale fellows well met." He came to Keosauqua from Fairfield, Jefferson county, the fall previous, where he had been in business for a time as senior in the firm of "Dare, Sweet & Root." The firm had failed in Fairfield and he had come down to our place, I suppose temporarily, until he could select another situation. He was a bachelor but during the flood he was married to a lady of Fairfield, and brought her to Keosauqua as a bride during the high water. I assisted him in getting his tools and machinery onto the dry land. Shortly after this he moved to Osceola, Clarke county, where he established himself in business and reared a family. His son, George, is in the hardware business, now senior of the firm of Dare & Sanford, Osceola, Iowa.

Edwin Manning, general merchandise, corner of Van Buren and First streets. Mr. Manning is perhaps the oldest merchant in the State of Iowa having come to "Ioway Territory" somewhere about the '30s. He was one of the founders of Keosauqua, and the oldest merchant of the place; and although 91 years of age, is physically strong for one of his years. The

old sign of "Manning's Store" still remains, representing a remarkable business career of about 66 years.\*

The Keosauqua House, James Shepherd, proprietor, corner of Van Buren street. This hotel was open for business all the time during the flood. The guests were conveyed back and forth in skiffs. Trestles with planks laid upon them extended from the entrance to the stairway and meals were served in the second story. The guests of the hotel at that time, as I recall them, were: J. B. Miller, lawyer; Dr. William Craig, Dr. C. C. Biser, Madison Dagger, Mr. Welsch, cabinet maker; Stephen S. Elwell, carpenter; and C. C. Nourse, lawyer. Mr. Nourse came there just between the first and second floods. He was recognized at once in his profession and in little more than a year was elected county attorney. He removed to Des Moines in 1858. In 1860 he was elected attorney general of the State; was re-elected in 1862; was subsequently judge and now ranks as one of the leading attorneys of the Polk county bar.

John B. Miller moved to Des Moines in the early '60s and engaged in the mercantile business under the firm name of Manning & Miller, after which he served Polk county as auditor for several years.

Leonard J. Rose, dry goods, corner of First and Cass streets. In 1858 he started for California, with perhaps one of the best outfits ever used in crossing the plains. He was advised to take the southern route, via Albuquerque. He got as far as the Colorado river where his party was attacked by Navajo Indians and nearly all his company massacred and his outfit taken by them. Mr. Rose and his immediate family escaped and returned to Albuquerque, where he remained until the next spring when he went to Santa Fe, New Mexico, and for a time kept the United States Hotel. Later he went to California, settling near Los Angeles, and established an immense vineyard and winery, one of the largest in the state, to which he gave the name "The Sunny Slope." It became one of the objects of interest to the tourist. He ranked as one of the foremost citizens of the state, was president of the Wine Growers' Association, and a member of the state senate. Some two years since his old-time friends were much surprised and grieved to read a newspaper announcement that he had committed suicide. Shortly after another newspaper paragraph told the sad story that a bank at Los Angeles had commenced foreclosure proceedings against his estate for the sum of \$150,000.

*The Keosauqua Jeffersonian*, Orlando E. Jones, proprietor, corner of Dodge and the alley between First and Second streets. I suppose the press used in printing this paper was the first, or among the first, brought into Iowa. It was brought to the State by James Shepherd in the early '40s. On it he printed the first newspaper published in the county, entitled *The Iowa Democrat*. A few years later James B. Howell and James Cowles published a paper entitled *The Des Moines Valley Whig*. In 1849 they bought *The Keokuk Register*, moved to Keokuk and merged the two papers. For

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\*Since this article was written Mr. Manning has passed away; he died in Keosauqua Aug. 16, 1901.

several years they published a paper entitled *The Des Moines Valley Whig and Keokuk Register*. From this has grown the present *Gate City*.

Among the families I recall in the submerged district were those of Joel Walker, on the alley on Cass street; Wesley Walker, on the opposite side of the street; N. R. Dawson, also on the opposite side of the same street; Francis Harrison and Elihu Hinkle, on Dodge street between First and Second; the families of Ormsby and the widow Miller on Van Buren street between First and Second. Living below the lower bayou and near the mill I remember the families of F. F. Anderson and Russo King, or "Major" King as he was familiarly called. Between the upper and lower bayous the water only reached to the land as far as Second street. I have lived on the Des Moines river since 1840 and the flood of '51 was the highest water I have known in that river.

In January, 1866, there was a spell of warm weather and an ice gorge came down upon us at Keosauqua in the night time. The water and ice reached about the same point as in the flood of 1851. This was a much severer flood, though of short duration. It was the custom to ring the Congregational church bell in case of fire. About 12 o'clock at night I was awakened by the ringing of the bell. My wife said, "There must be a fire." I replied, "No; I think it is water this time." When I got down to the river I found the ice and water overflowing its banks and the people making their escape from the flood in all directions. In a short time the gorge gave way and the water receded. In a little while it rose again so rapidly that some of the merchants who had gone to their stores were caught and had to remain surrounded by ice and water until the next morning. About 8 o'clock the gorge again gave way, the water receded and the danger was over. There were immense ice piles in the lagoons and in the streets which did not melt away until the next June.

Mr. Henri K. Pratt of Keokuk gives the following reminiscences of the flood of 1851 and some facts of the old history of Keosauqua:

I came to Keosauqua from Boston, Mass., when a small boy in the winter of 1843, and in 1844 I received my first lesson in politics by being instructed to "Hurrah for Polk and Dallas." In 1843 Jesse M. Shepherd and J. L. T. Mitchell came to Keosauqua and started *The Iowa Democrat*. In 1844 James Shepherd came to Keosauqua and took charge of it. This was before any paper had been started in Keokuk. J. L. T. Mitchell published a paper called *The Keosauqua Times*.

In 1850 Shepherd sold out to Orlando E. Jones, who published *The Keosauqua Jeffersonian*. This I well remember, for one day the foreman, R. E. Beahan, and I were alone in the office. The foreman went down town to get a drink when the sheriff came in and attached the office and locked it up, leaving me sitting on the doorstep. The foreman returned and his language was more forcible than elegant.

L. D. and H. Morris purchased *The Jeffersonian* and published *The Vol. V—27.*



*Western American.* L. D. Morris was a fine and brilliant writer. Morris sold the office to H. and S. M. Mills and they published *The Democratic Union*. Mills sold the paper in 1854 to Millington and Summerlin, and they in turn sold it to J. M. Estes, who published *The Democratic Mirror*. Estes was a better fiddler than editor. He sold the paper to Oliver I. Taylor who published it as *The Des Moines News*. His brother, John M. Taylor, was considered the best local writer in the State. Oliver I. Taylor was a brilliant and scholarly man who could write better poetry than politics. He sold the paper to Shepherd, who was called "the veteran of the press." Shepherd sold the paper to a son of Dr. G. S. Bailey who took the old Washington press out west.

James B. Howell and James H. Cowles started *The Des Moines Valley Whig* in the '40s and published the paper until they removed to Keokuk where they established *The Whig and Register*, now *The Gate City*.

In 1855 H. C. Watkins came to Keosauqua and started *The Keosauqua Republican*. Watkins sold the paper to John S. Stidger, he sold to L. D. Morris, and Morris sold it to Joel Mayne, and I think Mayne sold it to Sloan and Rowley. Rowley still publishes the paper.

James Shepherd died years ago, beloved by all who knew him. He claimed to be the father of all the Masons in Van Buren county, and it was he who first showed Masons the "light" by which they read. J. M. Shepherd died in California a year or so ago, and Mitchell was still living at last accounts.

Seth Millington died in California, and Rufus Summerlin was living in Washington, D. C., when last heard from. Oliver I. Taylor died in Burlington, Iowa, and his brother, John M., died the same month in 1860. H. Mills died in Montreal, Canada, and S. M. Mills in Keokuk, Iowa.

I was a compositor on *The Western American*, *Democratic Union* and *Des Moines News*. I then went to Santa Fe, New Mexico, and on my return I again worked a short time for Shepherd. This was my last work as a compositor. J. S. Shepherd, a son of James Shepherd, is now publishing a paper at Mt. Ayr, Iowa.

I well remember the flood of 1851; the water was all over the front part of the town from two to ten feet deep, and the merchants had to flee to the hilly country. We lived on First street, one block from the levee, in a house where now stands the State Bank. The water rose over our doorstep.

I well remember Delazon Smith, the little giant orator, and Henry Clay Dean, with his eloquence and dirty shirt. Dean used to hold revival meetings in the old court house where sinners were nightly melted like old pewter and run up into christians bright and new. Dean died at his house, called "Rebels Cove," in Missouri, some years ago. Delazon Smith died in Oregon.

Keosauqua has furnished four United States Senators—D. Smith, Geo. G. Wright, James B. Howell and John H. Gear.

Perhaps I have made some errors in my statements, for it is hard to remember so many things away back in my boyhood days.

In the ANNALS OF IOWA, January, 1901, is an article on the flood from *The Western American*, published at Keosauqua, July 5, 1851. It is a very graphic account of the situation at that time. In the same paper of the date of August 9th, there appears this card:

C. C. Nourse, attorney at law, Keosauqua, Iowa. Office in the Court House. N. B. Conveyancing, &c., promptly attended to. Address, post paid.

Mr. C. C. Nourse, now of Des Moines, arrived at Keosauqua about June 1, 1851, "between floods," as one might say. After graduating at Transylvania college he started from Lexington, Ky., for the west by the way of Louisville, by boat. Thence up the swollen Mississippi to St. Louis and thence by steamboat to Burlington. The river was full of flood debris, consisting of fences, sidewalks, outhouses, farm houses, some of them with live chickens on the roof, dead stock of various kinds, corn, and in fact almost every article which would float, giving evidence of devastation by water seldom equalled. Arriving at Burlington he stopped at the Barrett House, now no more, but which has sheltered so many thousands of people seeking homes in the west. Here, in the solitude of his room, he held a "council of war" with himself as to where in Iowa he had better locate. He had been provided with general letters of introduction by Gen. T. A. Edwards and President Dodd, of Transylvania college, and had also a letter from the pastor of the Methodist church of which he was a member. He very wisely concluded to look up Rev. Mr. Dennis, having charge of the Methodist church at Burlington, whom he found to be a very affable and kind-hearted man. The supreme court was then in session, and as the minister was well acquainted with Judges J. F. Kinney, Joseph Williams and Geo. F. Greene, he took Mr. Nourse to their rooms at the Barrett House after the day's session was over and introduced him. He found one of the judges in the very undignified position of lying on his back playing the flute, for Judge Joseph Williams was

the master of many musical instruments. After the ice had been broken the little company indulged in many jokes and pleasantries. In asking Mr. Nourse some questions it leaked out in some way that he was the possessor of a diploma from Transylvania college.

"Where is your diploma?" asked Judge Williams.

"In one of my trunks in my room," answered Mr. Nourse.

"Let us have a look at it," requested the musical judge.

It was quickly produced; but horrors! it was written in Latin, and as none of the judges were very well acquainted with the dead languages they had to do considerable guessing before they arrived at the correct results, modestly aided by Mr. Nourse, who knew the language of the diploma by heart and the interpretation thereof. It was suggested that on the morrow Mr. Nourse should be admitted to the bar. It was usual in those days to appoint a committee to examine candidates for admission, and one of the judges suggested it, but Judge Williams interposed:

"It is entirely unnecessary in this case. The candidate is all right. The clerk will please make out his certificate of admission."

And Clerk J. W. Woods, "Old Timber" as he was familiarly called, made out the necessary document and affixed the seal.

Hearing of an opening in the law office of Mr. Ben Hall, of Keosauqua, Mr. Nourse determined to start for that place at once. He left for Keokuk by stage, and thence to Utica Post Office. The stage driver, Theodore Hohbrecker, in his anxiety to attend a dance at Keosauqua that evening, did not wait for stage connection or anything else, for a dance in those days without a full complement of stage drivers would have been a very tame affair. So to avoid staying one more day on the road, although his fare had been paid, Mr. Nourse concluded to walk to his destination, ten miles away, over muddy roads and with only twenty cents in his pocket.

On arriving at Keosauqua, footsore, mud-be-splashed and

weary, he made anything but a presentable appearance. He made application for board at the house of Mrs. Stannard (mother of ex-Governor Stannard of St. Louis), but she looked upon him with suspicion as there had been a number of horses stolen in the county of late, and in her judgment the applicant for board looked as if he needed a horse more than anything else. He answered all her questions truthfully, but did not fully satisfy her, and though at last she gave a reluctant consent to his staying, he did not accept it, but sought out the Keosauqua House, kept by "Father" Shepherd, which became his home so long as he remained unmarried. During the high water which followed, he traveled from his office to the hotel in a skiff, landed on a couple of benches at the door and climbed to the dining room for meals. Henry Clay Dean was the Methodist preacher at that place in those days. Among others living there were Delazon Smith, Josiah Bonney, James Kennesly who owned the water mill site, Ezra Jones, father-in-law of L. J. Rose who afterwards went to California, and George Duffield who has lived on his beautiful farm overlooking the Des Moines river for more than half a century. Mr. Nourse removed to Des Moines in 1858.

With the telling of the story of the flood at Keosauqua is told, also, that of Bentonsport, Bonaparte, Croton, Athens, Farmington, St. Francisville, and other settlements, for they were also flooded and the inhabitants on the low grounds were compelled to vacate for the time being.

The channel at the river's mouth at that time was more than a mile wide and while nature, with her healing hands, has planted thousands of willows and cottonwoods in the deserted excavations to hide the wounds of that eventful year, a practiced eye can readily mark out the boundary of the flood and imagination can easily picture the thousands of pieces of debris which floated out upon the broad bosom of the Mississippi, entailing a loss upon the pioneer settlers which could never be estimated in sordid dollars and cents.

Some of the counties of Iowa bordering on the Missouri river, especially Monona and Harrison through which the Big and Little Sioux passed, were completely inundated, and the brave pioneers who were seeking homes in that part of Iowa had many watery adventures. In order to give the reader an idea of the waste of waters of that flood year, an extract is given from the "Personal Narrative of Charles Lapointe," a French explorer who sought a home in Harrison county:

About the 15th of May [1851], when Mr. Honore Plotte came down from Fort Pierre in a Mackinaw, I embarked with him bound for Sergeant's Bluffs, from which place I intended to go down to my claim by land. We had had a great deal of rain. The Missouri, as well as all other streams, had overflowed their banks, and the bottoms were all inundated. I had to remain about fifteen days at Sergeant's Bluffs waiting for the roads to become practicable. I purchased four Indian ponies, two French carts, and hired a guide at \$2 a day to pilot me through the water, for there was very little dry land to be seen between this and my place. About the last of May or first of June my guide said he thought he could get me through, so we hitched up and started. The fourth day after traveling through mud and water, we reached a place called Silver Lake.\* Our ponies were then nearly broken down, although they had not made over 35 miles during the four days. As this was the best part of the road my guide said that it would be impossible for us to reach my place with the carts, that we still had 25 miles to make, "and," said he, "you have not seen anything yet; wait till we get near the ferry." He advised making "horse travailles," which consist of two long poles tied about three feet apart and extending eight or ten feet at the far ends, which drag on the ground, with crossbars fastened to them behind the horse, so as to make a kind of a platform on which plunder is loaded.

The travailles being thus prepared and the children loaded on them, we proceeded on our journey. Having made about 10 miles we camped at Laidlow's grove, which was afterward called Ashton's grove and goes by that name still. We were then 16 miles from my place, which we had to reach next day or camp in the water as there was no dry place to be found. We could have made that distance easily in a half day had the road been good. We rose early, and having placed the children to the best advantage on this kind of conveyance, got under march, not expecting to stop to lunch as there was no fit place. On we went, my guide taking the lead, I behind him leading a pony, and my woman behind me also leading one. The nearer we came to the ferry the deeper the water became and the sun was already approaching the western horizon. Finally it came up to the

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\*One of the deserted channels of the Missouri river.

armpit of my guide, and the children were dragged almost afloat on their travails, crying and lamenting, saying, "Father, we will drown—we are going to die in this water—turn back." At times the ponies were swimming, but there was no use of turning back; the timber on the dry land ahead of us was the nearest point; there was nothing to be seen behind us but a sheet of water, and the sun was nearly down. So we pushed on, in spite of the distressing cries of the children, whom we landed safely on dry ground just at dark.

We had not eaten a bite since morning, but the children were so tired, and had been so frightened, that they laid down and, in spite of the mosquitoes which were tremendously bad, went to sleep without asking for supper. This was certainly one of the most distressing days I had ever experienced, but we old folks felt like taking a good cup of coffee after such a day's work. A fire was immediately made, the coffee was soon served, and no time was lost in turning in for the night. The next morning we did not rise very early, but took our time, got up a good breakfast, and then called out for the boatmen. Silas Condit and Amos Chase, both Mormons, the gentlemen of whom I had purchased the place, came to ferry us over, and in a little while I was in my log cabin about 15 feet square. As I had left the carts and my effects at Silver Lake I left the ponies on the other side intending to return next day, but as it seemed impossible to bring my stuff through that deep water with my ponies and carts, I arranged with Mr. Chase to meet me with a yoke of cattle hitched to a large canoe. With that understanding I started next morning with my guide. We pushed the march and arrived at Silver Lake about 10 o'clock at night. Then a tremendous dark cloud arose in the west, and just as we were going to take supper—about the hour of 11—it blew a hurricane, or rather a whirlwind [cyclone], which took our lodge clear up into the air, and then blew the fire into the baggage. It was all we could do to save our plunder, and the lodge we did not find till next day. The latter was so suddenly taken up that we felt like two fools for a moment, not knowing what had become of it. Our supper, as you may say, was good as gone; but, fortunately for us, it was all wind.

The missing articles were hunted up next day, and providentially there came along an acquaintance of Mr. Larpen-teur, with a wagon and four yokes of oxen and a bargain was made to take him to his destination. The baggage and supplies were loaded into the big wagon, and the return trip was made with comparative comfort. The man who had been engaged to meet him with the oxen and the big canoe was met on the way, and, turning back, joined the watery procession. And this was travel and pioneering in Monona and Harrison counties, Iowa, fifty-one years ago. The location

of Mr. Larpenteur's cabin was in Harrison county, two and one-half miles south of the Monona county line. Charles Larpenteur, the explorer and pioneer, died November 15, 1872, and was buried as he requested under a low-spreading red cedar near the site of his old cabin. The grave is marked by a small marble slab, giving name, date of birth and death. The spot is historic and should be carefully cherished by the pioneers of Harrison county.

Fifty-one years ago the sun at intervals peeped through the rifts of watery clouds upon the flooded earth, finding here and there a fruitful field upon the highlands in this sparsely settled State. So he looks down today through the heat of July upon the most productive land of the world; the growing corn in great green waves and the cattle on a thousand hills, hearing in anticipation the hum of the thresher intermingling with the "Harvest Home" song of a happy, prosperous people. Fifty-one years! Is it not reward enough to have lived and wrought in such a glorious State more than half a century?

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AN OFFICE FOR ABE LINCOLN.—A correspondent writes us that some citizens have intended to get up a petition to the president, requesting to appoint his co-laborer against Douglas—Abe Lincoln, of Illinois—to a foreign mission. It is thought that this might console him for his defeat, and at the same time show a proper sympathy on the part of the administration for a man who has struggled hard with it to overthrow the Democracy of Illinois. Will the president appoint Abe Lincoln to a foreign mission to make up for his defeat? That is the question.—*Dubuque Express and Herald*, Nov. 10, 1858.

## CHAPTERS IN IOWA'S FINANCIAL HISTORY.

BY FRANK I. HERBIOTT, PH. D.

*(Concluded from April.)*

### III.

One does not proceed far in a study of the finance of American states before he discovers the importance of constitutional limitations upon the powers of state legislatures. In the supreme statutes of a majority of the commonwealths the purposes, subjects and methods of taxation have been prescribed with greater or less detail. Above all these and paramount are the limitations of the constitution of the United States and the jurisdiction of the national government. These restrictions have perforce exercised a predominant influence in the financial history of the various states. They have proven rocks of offense and defense. The concurrent and conflicting jurisdictions of state and national governments have again and again put to naught the efforts of those who sought by legislative enactments to improve the methods of assessing and collecting the public revenues. In the constitutional provisions of the states the property rights of individuals, both private and corporate, have almost always found sure and sufficient protection from hostile class legislation and from most forms of adverse discriminations in the assessment of taxes even where the statutes invalidated obviously aimed at the promotion of the public interests.

Adopted, in most cases, forty and fifty years ago, such constitutional limitations were drafted with conditions of industry in contemplation markedly different from those now confronting the law-maker. Their framers scarcely appreciated the nature and tendencies of modern industrial organization. It is not presumptuous to say that they did not anticipate the vast and momentous changes that we have witnessed in recent years. The course of financial legislation consequently has been materially different from what it



would have been but for the interposition of the constitutional guarantees. Yet courts, while they have construed constitutions strictly, and have nullified numerous acts that violated their prohibitions, nevertheless have been considerably influenced by the drift of industry and experience and the pressure of public opinion.

The fact of predominant importance in the history of corporation taxes in Iowa is the provision in the constitution of 1857, section 2, article VIII, which requires that:

"The property of all corporations for pecuniary profit, shall be subject to taxation *the same* as that of individuals."

The general purport of the section appears to be obvious. Yet analysis of its provisions in the light of experience since the adoption of the constitution shows that various constructions can be placed upon its terms. The constitutional debates, strangely enough, afford us little or no light as to the intent of the framers because of the fact that the section met with no opposition in the convention although from the proceedings we do obtain important information as to the interpretation warranted. The constitution of 1846 was silent upon the subject.

But it is easily seen from the discussions that took place upon those sections affecting banks and incorporations generally that there was considerable dissatisfaction with the burdens of local finance. Counties were heavily indebted on account of "Internal Improvements" and railroad construction.\* And it is a fair presumption that companies that were promoting manufactures and railroads had been allowed greater or less exemptions from taxation as a part of the inducements offered them to invest their capital in the state and to assist in the upbuilding of ambitious communities. The excessive burdens which counties took upon themselves and the disappointments here and there over the material results naturally created the disposition to subject them to taxation. It was with a view to putting a stop to the inju-

\* See Constitutional Debates, volume I, pp. 290-300, 307, 314, 330.

ditions exemptions and relief of corporations from tax burdens and insuring equal and uniform taxation of corporations as with private persons, that the convention adopted that section of the constitution.\*

Its provisions, *prima facie* require and guarantee the universal application of the General Property tax in the assessment of corporations. Property, real and personal, was no doubt assumed by the framers of the constitution to be the best general standard for measuring the ability of citizens and corporations to contribute to the support of government. Such was the general theory and practice of taxation in the State prior to that time.

But closer examination of the section shows that the language is not exclusive; it does not compel the legislature to bring all its enactments within a particular mode or kind of tax. There were in force at the time the constitutional convention was in session, sundry sorts of taxes on corporations, to which we have referred already, of which we may presume the convention took cognizance and did not deem undesirable. It is apparent that the terms of the section do not prohibit license taxes or the taxation of occupations, privileges or incomes if the legislature should see fit to impose them. Moreover, while the property of corporations must be subjected to taxation if the property of private citizens is so subject, there is no limitation whatever upon the power of the legislature to take various methods, however unlike they may be, for determining the value of corporate property subject to assessment; they may be arbitrary and in practical effect very inequitable yet they are permissible if the act is not local or special in character and its provisions apply uniformly to all persons within the class or industry defined by the statute.

These conclusions are not only warranted by the language of the constitution but they are the necessary inferences

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\* See observations of Justice Beek in *City of Dubuque vs. The Illinois Central Railroad Co.*, 39 Iowa, p. 69, and also those of Justice Cole, *Ibid*, pp. 97-98.

from the very important fact that the convention refused to include in the section the limitation first proposed by the committee on incorporations, namely, that "their property shall be liable to taxation *in the same manner as natural persons.*" So far as the writer knows the vital significance of that omission has been little considered, either in the opinions rendered by the courts or in the public discussions relating to the effect of the provision adopted. \*

The courts of Iowa have been called upon many times to pass on the meaning and define the scope of the provision of section 2, of article VIII. The earlier decisions, although the bench that handed them down was not always unanimous, have been continuously reaffirmed. So that while one finds in the first opinions here and there some-

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\* On January 26, 1857, Mr. James F. Wilson, delegate from Jefferson county, afterwards one of Iowa's distinguished representatives and senators at Washington, introduced a resolution in the convention instructing the committee on incorporations "to inquire into the expediency of amending the 8th article of the constitution by adding thereto the following section:

"Section —, That the property of corporations now existing, or hereafter created shall forever be subjected to taxation, the same as property of individuals." *Constitutional Debates*, p. 38.

This was agreed to and on January 30th the following was reported and proposed as section 2:

"Corporations may sue and be sued, and their property shall be liable to taxation in the same manner as natural persons; and the liabilities, powers, privileges, and duties of stockholders in corporations may be fixed and defined by law, subject to the provisions hereof." *Ibid*, p. 96.

This was amended on February 6th by substituting "the" for "their" before "property" and after it inserting "of all corporations for pecuniary profit." (p. 239). On February 12th, Mr. Wilson moved the reference of the entire article to a select committee. This committee reported February 23d, recommending that all the first clause and all of the third beginning with "and the liabilities" be stricken out and the following substituted for the clause relative to this taxation of corporations:

"The property of all corporations for pecuniary profit, now existing or hereafter created, shall forever be subject to taxation, the same as property of individuals." (p. 648).

When the report came up February 26th Mr. Wilson moved the adoption of the section as proposed by the select committee. His motion was lost by a vote of 7 to 11 (pp. 779-780). This matter was, however, reconsidered (p. 785). The section was again reported March 4th by the committee on revision as amended by the select committee (p. 1022). But the committee to which the entire constitution was referred for critical examination prior to enrollment and signing out out "now existing or hereafter created" and "forever" giving the present section (p. 1064).

In 1899 Attorney General Milton Remley in his argument on behalf of the State (pp. 7-8) in the case of *The Hawkeye Ins. Co. vs. French*, pointed out the omission just noted and insisted upon its vital importance in construing the section.

what of confusion in the lines of argument there has long been complete agreement as to the force and effect of the provisions of the section.

The very wide range of the power of the legislature with respect to methods for fixing or arriving at the assessable value of corporate property was clearly announced in a decision given by the court in 1869. In 1868, the legislature enacted the law, already noted, whereby express and telegraph companies were assessed on forty per cent of their receipts. It was resisted on the ground that it was arbitrary in the extreme, that assessors did not assess the real value of the company's property or so much as attempt to do so as in the case of individual property, and further that it was in effect a tax on income and not a tax on property. Justice Cole, speaking for the court, in the *U. S. Express Co. vs. Ellyson*, observed:

It must be borne in mind that we have not in this State, as they have in Wisconsin, a constitutional provision declaring that the "rule of taxation shall be uniform." Nor, as in Ohio declaring "that laws shall be passed taxing, by uniform rule, all moneys, credits, investments in bonds, stocks, joint stock companies, or otherwise; also all real and personal property according to its true value in money."

A careful reading of the law in controversy must discover to every candid mind, that it simply subjects the property of express and telegraph companies to taxation, and prescribes a rule (arbitrary, or even unreasonable it may be) whereby the amount of that property shall be ascertained, to-wit: forty per cent of the gross receipts within the particular taxing district, from its business during the preceding year.

The court refuses to consider the objection that the tax is upon income, holding "in our view of the law, as above expressed, it only imposes a tax upon property, and prescribes the means of ascertaining the amount of it—the method of assessing it."\*

There united in that opinion Justices John F. Dillon, Geo. G. Wright, and James E. Beck—the strongest bench Iowa ever has had. Their holding with respect to the power of the general assembly to take various methods for assessment has been reaffirmed many times, notably in *Du-*

\* 28 Iowa, pp. 377, 379, 380.

*buque vs. C. D. & M. R. Co.* (47 Iowa 196); *Central Ia. R. Co. vs. Bd. of Supervisors* (67-199); *Pringhar State Bank vs. Rerick* (96-238); and *Hawkeye Ins. Co. vs. French* (109-585). In the latter case, decided in 1899, the language of Justice Deemer is explicit upon this point:

We are not to be understood as questioning the right of the legislature to adopt different methods for ascertaining values, adapted to the various peculiarities of the property, or its right to fix the *situs* of property, both real and personal, although, in the exercise of such rights, inequalities must, of necessity, result.

In the Ellyson case the court plainly declared that it was within the power of the general assembly not only to prescribe the conditions and methods of assessment for taxation but also to predetermine value regardless of the fluctuations of circumstances that between buyer and seller in the market influence prices and values. It is not necessary under that decision that assessors should exercise their individual judgment and be given discretion to adjust valuations to such fluctuations.

The extent to which uniformity of taxation is enjoined by the constitution, the real meaning of uniformity and the latitude allowed the legislature in imposing other taxes than the general property tax were outlined by the court in 1870 in the case of *Warren vs. Henly* (31-31), Justice Beck in the course of his opinion, saying:

They [taxes] must be uniform. By this I understand that they must not be imposed alone, nor unequally, upon particular individuals or classes. This rule, however, I understand, is applicable generally to the *principle or plan* of taxation, and not to specific or particular taxes. It means that all individuals and all classes shall be uniformly taxed. It does not mean that certain particular taxes, as income taxes, licenses, specific taxes upon certain property used as instruments of profit, or articles of luxury, shall be prohibited. These are not uniform in one sense; that is, all do not pay them. They are and must be uniform in another sense; that is, all possessing particular incomes, exercising certain business, and owning the specified property, must be subject to the same tax. They are again not uniform in another sense, for under them the burden of taxation is not uniformly borne. *All* incomes may not be taxed; those of a certain amount may be exempt; licenses may not be imposed upon the exercise

of all branches of business, and all articles of property used for profit or luxury may not be specifically taxed. The rule means that all individuals and all classes must contribute uniformly with like individuals and like classes to the burden of taxation. The manner of imposing this burden must, of necessity, be left to the discretion of the legislative branch of the government. That a tax or a system of taxation may not bear equally upon all, when weighed in the nicest balance of equity and justice, is no reason for holding that it conflicts with the fundamental and essential rule under consideration.\*

In 1899 in the case of *The Scottish Union and National Insurance Company vs. John Herriott, Treasurer of State*, in holding valid the differential state tax on the premium income of foreign insurance companies doing business in Iowa, the court, while conceding that the statute might be subject to attack if it assumed to give the state treasury exclusively the proceeds of a tax on the property of such companies, held very decidedly that any kind or degree of tax on business, or on the privileges of engaging in business in the state was permissible under Iowa's constitution. The court further held that it is not required that the tax should be "uniform" in the sense that it should be universally assessed at the same time upon all lines of business, or upon all business rights or privileges. It is competent for the legislature to discriminate or to classify and impose business or license taxes upon such lines of industry or privileges as public policy may indicate to be desirable.†

#### IV.

It is when we come to study the development of state and local taxation in Iowa that we discover the far-reaching importance of the second section of article VIII. In many respects the chief controversies that have been waged in the courts—at any rate those in which the tax-payers took the keenest interest—have related to its effect upon the rights or powers of minor civil divisions in the assessment and taxation of the property of corporations within the local taxing

\* See 31 Iowa, pp. 39-40.

† 109 Iowa, p. 613.

areas. In the earlier laws, as we have seen, the legislature to a greater or less extent denied, at least apparently intended to deny, to cities, towns and townships the right to levy taxes upon certain classes of corporations, reserving such right, or the benefit of the taxes, to the State entirely, or to the State and counties jointly. This restriction on local taxation in a short time became a cause of complaint, particularly in the older and larger cities in the eastern portion of the State. Dubuque, Clinton, Davenport, Muscatine and Burlington became, after 1860, centers of railroad traffic. They soon possessed large and valuable railroad properties, which were entitled to police and fire protection as was the property of private citizens. The law of 1862 which exempted railroads from local assessment was therefore felt by local taxpayers to be unjust.

Despite the prohibition the local authorities of Davenport ignored its provisions and proceeded to assess the personal as well as the real property of the railroad within their jurisdiction. They contended that the act providing for a tax on the gross earnings of railroads related simply to county and State taxes and did not abrogate the prior statutory provisions authorizing cities to levy on all properties within their bounds; and further that it was unconstitutional, as in a case brought by the city in 1859 in an attempt to assess non-resident holders of mortgage bonds given by the Mississippi & Missouri Railroad the supreme court declared that the constitutional guarantee required that the burden of taxation should be "borne equally by all"; the property of one is liable to the same extent as that of another; of corporations like that of individuals. \*

The city was successful in the lower court, and in the supreme court, by reason of an equal division of the bench, the decision was affirmed without the issue being clearly decided. The bearing of section 2, article VIII, was only incidentally noted but not considered.† In 1869 the court,

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\* The City of Davenport vs. The M. & M. R. R. Co. (12-530).

† The City of Davenport vs. The M. & M. R. R. Co. (16-348).

reaffirmed, but again with dissent, the right of cities to tax corporate properties notwithstanding the companies had paid the tax on their gross earnings to the State; the court, however, avoided passing upon the constitutional question.\* It was not until 1874 that the effect of the provision in the matter of State *versus* local taxation was announced in the case of the *City of Davenport vs. The C., R. I. & P. R. R. Co.* (38-633). The legislature in enacting the law of 1872 providing for the present method of assessing railroads had exempted them from the payment of all local levies assessed previous to the passage of the act.† That exemption was resisted by the cities on the ground that the constitution required that corporations should pay the same taxes upon their property that private individuals sustained upon their property. The court declared (with dissent however), that "each shall be taxed for the same objects, and in the same degree, so that individuals shall not be required to pay any taxes on *their property* which are not also assessed and laid upon the *property of corporations* of the class named, nor in any greater proportion." (38-644).

In another case decided at the same term, the *City of Dubuque vs. The Illinois Central R. R.* (39-97), Justice Cole dissented from this view (as he had in each preceding case),‡ holding that "the manifest purpose and intent of the section is, to place the property of corporations just like the property of individuals, completely within the legislative power for the purposes of taxation; so that the legislature could use the same authority and discretion in the enactment of laws for the taxation of the property of corporations, as it could use in the enactment of laws for the taxation of the property of individuals. . . . The sole practical effect of the section is, to clothe the legislature with the authority to subject to taxation the property of corporations, although

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\* The Dunleith & Dubuque Bridge Co. *vs.* the City of Dubuque (32-427).

† Laws of 1872, chapter 28, section 9.



by the terms of their charters previously granted, they were exempted from taxation."

In other words under the majority opinion exclusive State taxes were held to be contrary to the constitution. The same burdens, the full weight of each and all tax levies ordered in every community, must fall upon the property of all corporations within the taxing district that fall upon manufacturers, merchants or house-owners within the same district. It is not competent for the legislature to deny to local authorities the power to compel resident corporations to contribute equally with private citizens to the support of local government according to the value of their property. The rulings in these cases were reaffirmed in 1899 in the case of *The Hawkeye Ins. Co. vs. French* (109-585), when the State tax on domestic insurance companies was pronounced invalid.

The same question from a somewhat different point of view was considered in another leading case arising under the law of 1872. By that act the value of a railroad was to be ascertained and fixed by the census board, since known as the executive council. The officers of the roads were required to report the value of all the miscellaneous properties of their roads, as well as the value of their road bed and rolling stock, to the State board. The council was then required to place a value on the property. But the value so fixed was not certified back to the local tax officers of each county along the line of the road in proportion to the actual or reported value of the property within each local taxing district. The assessed value of all the properties of the entire road in the State was "lumped" and then parceled or "spread out" through urban and rural districts equally according to their single track mileage. Under this method the great values found in the cities were extended to the country districts and the taxable properties of the cities were by so much reduced. This arbitrary apportionment of the railroad values of the State was forthwith contested by the cities on the ground that in reducing their valuations within the corporate limits

railroads were relieved at the expense of private tax-payers. The court was much divided. The majority, however, sustained the law, following the ruling in *U. S. Express vs. Ellyson* (28-370): The legislature had determined the *situs* of railway property and prescribed the method for its valuation and upon the assessment all local taxes were to be levied. There was, in their opinion, no denial of the right to tax railroads locally. The fact that there was a distribution of values, whereby the rural districts gained at the expense of the urban communities was an inequity that was an unavoidable incident of the method adopted, but it did not render the law invalid.

One experiences no little perplexity in following the tortuous courses of judicial opinion in construing the constitutional provision governing the taxation of corporations in Iowa. And the more one studies the several decisions and the circumstances of each case, the more the conviction grows that the court gave heed more to the inequalities locally experienced under the statutes in controversy, against which there was great popular protest, than to what was a fair and reasonable construction of the law and the constitution. This seemed to have been particularly true of all the cases involving the law of 1872, except the last. The court has derived two constructions from language that one may fairly presume meant one of two things but not both. The vital clause of section 2, article VIII, "Shall be subject to taxation the same as that of individuals," has been held to mean sameness of tax burdens and variety in methods of assessment, a construction that seems arbitrary. If the words, *the same*, on which the whole matter turns, do not mean and do not enjoin that precisely the same methods shall be pursued in assessing corporate property and in collecting the taxes levied that are authorized in the taxation of individuals, it is difficult to perceive wherein they command that precisely the same burdens shall fall upon corporate and private property. For either conclusion the premises are the same and it would

seem that they should compel the same construction, be it as to methods of taxation or as to the benefits or results. The nature of the changes made in the section in the constitutional convention, and the fact that during the debates there was no sign of opposition to the method of taxing railroads and insurance companies then pursued, tend strongly to justify the conclusion of Justice Cole and the contention of Attorney General Remley, that the intent of the constitutional convention was simply to bring corporations within legislative authority and prohibit their exemption from taxation; that it is competent for the legislature to determine not only whether they shall be taxed in one way or another, but whether the State or the local taxing power, or both, shall obtain the proceeds of the taxes assessed. If the method adopted proves unsatisfactory in practice, whether because the taxes collected are insufficient, or because they are inequitably assessed, the remedy is within legislative discretion; the rate of tax can be increased or the method and machinery for assessment improved and made more effective.

The practical consequences flowing from the construction placed upon the constitution in the matter of State and local taxation have been of the utmost importance in the history of the State. It is not an exaggeration to say that no other one thing has been so potent in obstructing improvement in Iowa's revenue laws as the view of the court just outlined. It has been an effectual barrier to the divorcement of State and local sources of revenue. When we consider the very serious and constantly recurring inequalities in the burdens borne by the counties with respect to State taxes due to the constant efforts of each county to escape a part of its share by under-valuation in local assessments, it may well be doubted if the cities and townships did not achieve a costly victory in the decisions nullifying the exclusive State taxes on corporations.

## V.

In several other respects the courts have played a prominent part in the history of the development of corporation taxes in Iowa. The first act levying a tax on the capital stock of national banks was declared void because the tax was assessed against securities of the federal government exempt from taxation,\* and the legislature was forced, in 1868, to follow the course of New York and other states and assess banks upon the shares of their capital stock.† Numerous attempts to tax United States bonds have since been defeated by the courts. With the exception of the cases affecting the construction of section 2 of article VIII the most important line of decisions relate to the taxability of corporate property, shares of stock and surplus funds, and to the deduction of corporate and individual indebtedness in the assessment of corporations and shareholders.

In the earlier decisions of the court strong disapproval was expressed respecting the simultaneous taxation of both the property of corporations and the shares of capital stock, on the ground that it was double taxation. In *Tallman vs. Treasurer of Butler Co.*, it was held that the tax on the shares of stock of railroads was the only tax assessable on such property under the code of 1851, and all attempts to tax the real estate were defeated,‡ and in the case of the *United States Express Company vs. Ellyson*, while not denying the possible legality of double taxation, the court observed that it is "so unjust as naturally to excite the disfavor of both courts and legislators."|| But in 1882 in *Cook vs. The City of Burlington*, the court expressly held that "duplicate taxation" was not only not "in excess of the legislative power" but that no injustice was necessarily inflicted on corporate undertakings when both the property of the companies and the shares of

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\* See *Hubbard vs. Board of Supervisors of Johnson Co.*, 23 Iowa p. 130.

† *Laws of Iowa*, 1868, chapter 153; and the case of *Morseman vs. Younkin*, 27 Iowa p. 360.

‡ See 12 Iowa, p. 531.

|| See 28 Iowa, p. 378.

stock were made liable for taxation.\* The corporation and the shareholders are separate and distinct persons, just as are mortgagor and mortgagee, and the value of their several holdings depends upon clearly defined and different foundations. Any other view, it was declared, "would open the door into a sea of troubles in the administration of the revenue laws of the State."

As regards the nature of shares of stock in considering their liability for assessment the supreme court has reversed its first rulings. In 1887 in *Bridgman vs. The City of Keokuk*,† shares of stock were declared to be not "credits" in the hands of holders, or "debts" owing by the corporation to the shareholders, but they were classifiable as ordinary property; and owners were denied the right to deduct indebtedness therefrom in making their returns to the assessors. The year following in the notable case of the *Equitable Life Insurance Co. vs. The Board of Equalization of Des Moines*, the court squarely held that shares of stock represented a debt of the company to its shareholders which could be deducted from the amount of the company's moneys and credits. And the value of the shares which may be deducted, represent the total assets of a company, not only the capital stock but the surplus, undivided profits, and reserve funds. In the case of insurance companies policies of insurance in force were further declared to be obligations that came within the deductible debts.‡ The effect of the court's decision in this case was to relieve Iowa domestic or local insurance companies from taxation; and they enjoyed immunity from tax burdens until the recodification of 1897. In 1892 the supreme court went a step farther and held in the case of the *First National Bank of Albia vs. The City Council of Albia*, that shares of stock in the hands of holders were

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\* See 59 Iowa, p. 251.

† See 72 Iowa, p. 42.

‡ See 74 Iowa, p. 178. See also *Campbell vs. Centerville*, 69 Iowa, p. 439; *Iowa State Savings Bank vs. Burlington*, 96 Iowa, p. 787; and *Ottumwa Savings Bank vs. Ottumwa*, 96 Iowa, p. 176.

"credits" from which "debts" owing by the holder could be deducted by him in making his returns to the assessor.\*

## VI.

The history of corporation taxes in Iowa to be complete should indicate not only the course of actual legislation and the drift of judicial decisions but exhibit the growth of public discussion and opinion which, as a rule, gives impetus to the enactment of laws and influences more or less the views of courts. It is almost, if not fully, as important to know the character and extent of such popular discussion, the theories or views most current and most urgently pressed on legislative consideration, even if the advocates failed to secure the favor of the predominant party, as it is to know the measures finally agreed upon. Laws are so frequently compromises between conflicting forces or interests, or mere make-shifts passed to meet a political exigency, that unless we know the nature of public discussion prior to statutory enactments we will not always appreciate their real historical significance.

We find two well-marked periods in the development of corporation taxes in Iowa within which the subject aroused widespread public interest, the workings of the existing laws were subjected to much scrutiny and various reforms were advocated with considerable emphasis. The first period ranges from 1862 to 1873. The second begins about 1890 and continues down to 1902. The two periods differed somewhat with respect to the character of the public discussion prevailing in each.

During the first period there was, as compared with the second, comparatively little consideration of the merits of the various methods of taxing corporations. In 1862 it was proposed that railroads should be taxed locally as other property,<sup>†</sup> but the law taxing them on their gross earnings was

\* See 86 Iowa, p. 28.

† See bill introduced by Mr. T. H. Stanton described in editorial in Iowa State Register, Feb. 12, 1862.

adopted. This law was simply the basis or starting point for a more animated discussion. There was soon apparent, particularly in the eastern counties, a general feeling that railroads were not contributing as much revenue as other classes of property.\* The reservation to the State and county treasuries of the taxes paid by railroads, as we have seen, produced great complaint. The demand that railroad and other corporate property be subjected to the same local burdens that private citizens were was steadily and unceasingly pressed. This demand was urged the more strongly in some of the counties because of the heavy burdens of indebtedness which they had assumed to aid in the construction of the railroads which, in many cases, had not been completed as promised. The complaints on this score were so serious that repudiation was attempted in several instances and an appeal for relief was made to the legislature. In the legislative debates in 1870 the statute denying cities the right to tax railroads was roundly denounced.† The decisions of the supreme court, outlined in a preceding section, forced the subject upon the legislature.

The local taxation of corporations thus became the main objective of public discussion. From the nature of the local contests and the drift of judicial opinion the general property tax was advocated as a matter of course. The railroads owned large amounts of real estate in the cities. Private citizens were taxed on their real and personal property and the logic of the situation seemed to require that corporations be likewise taxed on their shops, machinery, depots and yards. The relative advantages of the different methods of corporate taxation were discussed to some extent in the debates in 1870 but generally speaking the matter of chief interest was the local taxation of the property of such corporations rather than the manner in which such property should be valued for the purposes of taxation.‡ There was a serious

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\* See report of Treasurer of State, 1870, p. 12.

† See Des Moines Bulletin, Legislative Supplement, No. 20, for March 7, 1870.

‡ Ibid, Nos. 27, 42, 43, 51-54.

effort made to secure the adoption of the Illinois law of 1853 under which the property of railroads was assessed by local assessors.\* The result of the agitation was the passage of the act imposing a graduated tax on the gross earnings of the railroads.†

But the adjustment was not very satisfactory, and public interest continued. The decision of the supreme court in the Dunleith and Dubuque Bridge Co. case, in which the right of cities to tax corporations, regardless of legislative prohibition, was conceded, precipitated matters. The railroad managers were forced to urge legislation to protect their properties from what may be deemed excessive local assessments.‡ Valuation of their property was admitted but they urged assessments by a state board, uniformity in valuation, and the equal distribution of their valuation on a mileage basis. This was vigorously opposed by the representatives of the cities.§ But the railroads enlisted the support of the representatives of the agricultural interests because the law proposed by them apportioned to the rural townships values actually in city areas. Feeling was evidently intense for in the legal battle which followed the attorneys for the cities boldly and bluntly charged that the law was passed by the influence of a corrupt lobby,¶ and Judge Beck in his dissenting opinion gives countenance to the charges.¶

In the first period one occasionally finds evidence that some consideration was given the matter of the incidence of taxes placed on railroads. When the first discussion arose in 1862 the opponents of "radical" legislation dwelt on the unwisdom of placing heavy burdens on railroads then in the process of building extensions for the reason that their taxes would by so much retard the completion or extension

\* Ibid, No. 37, and Iowa Senate Journal, 1870, pp. 160, 224.

† Laws of 1870, chapter 103.

‡ See argument of Mr. Thos. Withrow on rehearing in *Dubuque vs. C., D. & M. R. Co.* (Abstracts and Arguments, vol. 91).

§ See protest of John H. Gear and others, House Journal, March 13, 1872, pp. 424-5.

¶ See petition for rehearing in *Dubuque vs. C., D. & M. R. Co.*

¶ 47 Iowa, p. 204.



of the roads.\* Later when the regulation of traffic rates became such a vital issue it was frequently urged that unless the legislature superimposed definite tariff schedules it would be fruitless to enact a tax measure as the railroads would simply increase their freight and passenger rates and recoup themselves for the taxes they might be compelled to pay.†

Although the general property tax was adopted for railroads in 1872 we find in the first inaugural address of Governor Cyrus O. Carpenter a noteworthy recommendation that entitles him to more than honorable mention in the financial history of the State. He urged the taxation of the "franchise" as the most satisfactory basis for determining the just taxable valuation of railroads. His is the first state paper in which we find any other method of assessment than the general property tax suggested. His language is worth quoting. After pointing out that it is not feasible to adapt the "same mode of assessment" to railroads that is "applied to the assessment of private property," he says: "The value of 'a railroad is evidently not in its right of way, embankments, masonry, bridges, ties, iron, machinery, locomotives, cars, buildings, &c., &c., but in the essential franchise, and the value of this franchise is dependent upon dividends.'"‡ The legislature adopted Governor Carpenter's recommendation relative to the method of assessing railroads but not his suggestion urging that the value of the franchise be taken as the basis for valuation.

Between 1872 and the beginning of what is here designated as the second period, beginning about 1890, there were a number of official recommendations that should be noted as sort of landmarks in the progress of public opinion.

In 1875 Mr. Buren R. Sherman in his report as auditor of state called attention to the escape from taxation of telegraph, telephone, fast freight, and Pullman car companies,

\* See editorial Iowa State Register, Feb. 12, 1862.

† Ibid, Feb. 17, 1872; also, Iowa Homestead and Western Farm Journal, Feb. 23, 1872.

‡ See Governor Carpenter's inaugural, 1872, p. 20.

and the impracticability of their taxation by local authorities, and he advocated convincingly the supervision of their assessment by the State board.\* His suggestions were commended by Governor C. C. Carpenter in 1876,† and by Governor J. G. Newbold in 1878‡ with the effect that the legislature, as already pointed out, placed the assessment of such companies under the State's executive council. Later, in 1886, when Mr. Sherman became governor, he strongly urged the entire divorcement of State and local sources of taxation and the support of the State government from corporation taxes, chiefly from railroads.||

The first suggestion of the advisability of separating State and local sources of revenue, so far as the writer can discover, was made by Mr. John H. Ames in 1878, in a paper in *The Western Jurist* (Vol. XII, p. 152), published at Des Moines, entitled "The Taxation of Real Property and Corporations." He advocated the plan adopted in Pennsylvania as the most effective method of abolishing the evils of undervaluation. In the discussion preceding the appointment of the revenue commission in 1892 this plan was again urged.§

In 1887 Governor William Larrabee, as a member of the executive council, urged that body to adopt net earnings as the basis for determining the aggregate valuation of the railroads of the State, proposing that the earnings be capitalized at the current interest rate. His resolution was not adopted. Its introduction, however, led to an increase in the assessed value of such property.¶

In the senate that year Senator C. H. Gatch of Des Moines introduced a measure providing for a general "franchise" tax on corporations.\*\* The tax he proposed was to be

\* See report of auditor of state, 1875, p. 7; also report for 1877, p. 8.

† See Gov. C. C. Carpenter's message, 1876, p. 4.

‡ Gov. J. G. Newbold's message, 1878, p. 6.

|| See Gov. Buren R. Sherman's message, 1886, pp. 4-5.

§ See article on "Tax Reform," *Homestead*, vol. 38, p. 121, Feb. 5, 1892.

¶ See Record of Proceedings of the executive council, March 7, 1887.

\*\* See senate file 20, session 1888.

a tax on the capital of a company collectible only when it was organized, or applied for a renewal of its articles of incorporation or amended them. It was not such a tax as Gov. Carpenter advocated in 1872, or as was recently adopted in New York on the recommendation of Governor Roosevelt. In most respects Senator Gatch's franchise tax was simply an incorporation fee or license tax. The measure encountered strenuous opposition and failed to pass not only in 1888 but again in 1890 and again in 1892.\*

Meantime public discussion of the problem of taxation was increasing. It culminated in the appointment of the revenue commission in 1892. Then began the agitation for reform in corporate taxation that has been more or less persistent from that time down to the present. The methods of raising revenue then in force were generally conceded to be "burdensome, unequal and unfair" and there was a vigorous demand for some system of taxation that would command "the respect and confidence of the people."† Public discussion has been widespread and for the most part enlightening. Methods have been presented and considered with considerable vigor in official papers and in the press of the State. Questions of the incidence and industrial effect of different methods of assessment have been debated as well as their fiscal benefits or efficiency as financial measures. Interest in these matters has been at times very keen, influencing the drift of political opinion and party action.

The revenue commission in their report in 1893 recommended the franchise tax advocated by Senator Gatch and also a general corporation tax for ordinary business corporations. The method of assessment urged was their valuation upon the basis of the market value of their shares of stock and the collection of the taxes levied through the corporations.‡ They recommended the taxation of telegraph, tele-

\* In 1893 a law was passed providing for the collection of such a fee. See chapter 98, laws 1893.

† Preamble of the act creating the revenue commission, chapter 72, laws 24th G. A.

‡ See report of revenue commission, pp. 15, 31-37.

phone and express companies upon their gross receipts from business "originating and terminating in this State," at the uniform rate of three per cent. Insurance and guarantee companies likewise were to be taxed three per cent of their premiums. The taxes collected were to be "in lieu of all other State and local," and were to be paid into the State treasury for the use of the State.\* There were no material changes advocated in the taxation of railroads with the exception that "for the purpose of assisting the executive council to more fully determine the actual value of the property of railroads" more detailed information was required of their officers in their annual reports with regard to their capital stock, operating expenses and their earnings.†

One member of the commission, Col. Charles A. Clark of Cedar Rapids, urged the commission to recommend the taxation of railroads upon the basis of their net earnings. The writer has before him a manuscript copy of the bill proposed by Col. Clark in which capitalization of net earnings was the method of arriving at the valuation. Where a road extended outside the State he would have pursued the "unit" plan of assessment. Col. Clark, however, did not file his views as a minority report.

The commission did not make these recommendations in their formal report and give a resume of their reasons for urging their adoption, but simply incorporated them in a draft of a law which they submitted along with the report. Their proposed law met with decided and successful opposition; but the debates made clear not only the need of a thoroughgoing reform in the principles and procedure of taxation, but also the need for a general overhauling of the statutes and a code commission was authorized to revise and recodify all the laws.‡ The code commission in their report and "proposed revision," made in 1896, included nearly all

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\* See report of revenue commission, pp. 47-50.

† Ibid, pp. 50-53.

‡ See chapter 115, laws 1894.

of the recommendations of the revenue commission, which were enacted into law at the extra session of the assembly in 1897.\*

The method proposed for the assessment of general business corporations aroused the chief opposition. Assessment upon market value of capital stock, and solely through the corporations, was considered a "radical" departure from the traditional practice of the State. Among the many measures considered, those relating to the taxation of loan and trust companies and building and loan associations elicited vigorous discussion. At that session the policy of discriminating between United States and foreign insurance companies was adopted. Another measure proposed at that session was that offered by Senator Thomas A. Cheshire of Des Moines, proposing to tax express, telegraph and telephone companies, palace, dining, sleeping and chair car companies upon the market value of their stock and bonds less the value of any realty taxed locally. Where their lines or operations extended beyond the State they were to be assessed as units and that proportion of the entire valuation taken for assessment that the mileage in Iowa bore to the entire mileage of the systems. The bill reproduced the Indiana law.† It failed to pass in the senate, but was introduced in the house and passed; the senate, however, would not concur.

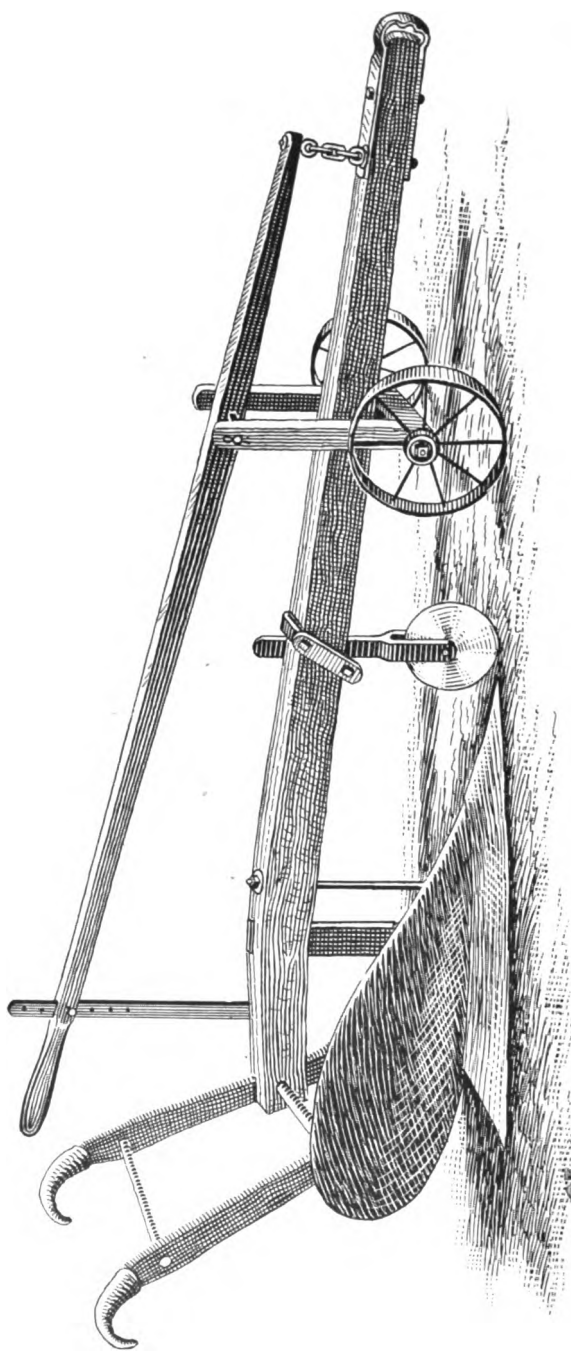
Notwithstanding the changes wrought in the methods of corporate taxation by the recodification of 1897, public discussion of the subject did not lessen, but increased. This was due chiefly to three causes: (1) Litigation involving the taxation of insurance companies; (2) Agitation for the taxation of corporations controlling communication and transportation upon the market value of their stock and bonds; and, (3) Controversies over the assessment of railroads.

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\* See report of code commission, 1896, pp. 48-50, and proposed revision, title VII, sections 19-25; also code, 1897, sections 1323-46.

† See Senate Journal, extra session, 1897, pp. 519, 550.





AN OLD-TIME IOWA BREAKING-PLOW.

This cut gives a fair semblance of one of these ancient implements, though few in use in the fifties were as smoothly made. One in the Historical Museum has a wooden mould-board, a 'jay' or 'shear' from the anvil of the local blacksmith, with cow-horn handles. Mr. Coffin describes the old breaking-plow so accurately that the reader, with the aid of this engraving, will readily understand its parts and how it was operated.

## BREAKING PRAIRIE.

BY HON. L. S. COFFIN.

How few of our people who have been residents of Iowa during the last quarter of the last century, either by immigration or by birth, have any conception of the meaning of the expression, "breaking prairie!" The old prairie breaking-plow has disappeared from sight as completely as the elk and the buffalo. So true is this, that the authorities of our State Agricultural College have been hunting for one for the museum of that institution, as an object-lesson and a reminder to their students of the days and ways of early farm life on the prairies, of which they know very little or nothing.

Let us permit the old "breaking-plow" to stand in its wide furrow of 20 to 32 inches, a few minutes, while we digress far enough from our subject to wish it were possible that another object-lesson could be laid before the students of our grand institution of learning at Ames. That object-lesson, if my wish could be realized, would be an average 100-acre New England farm, as it was fifty to seventy years ago, and as it is to-day, with all its appliances, laid down there near the college farm. The young and middle-aged people of this State, who have been born in Iowa and live on its rockless, hilless, stumpless and matchless soil, have but little realizing sense of the incomparable advantages they have in being residents of such a State.

It is the custom with many of the graduates of our institutions of learning, to spend a year or more abroad. I could wish that the graduates from the agricultural course could go to some of the New England states and work a year or so on some of those farms. The benefit would be almost incalculable. But we cannot now take the time to explain how and why. To many of the farmers of Iowa, who were New England born, no explanation is needed.

But to return to the old prairie breaking-plow which we



left standing in the furrow. How shall I introduce the younger readers of THE ANNALS OF IOWA to it? I hope its editor may be able to secure a picture of a real *bona fide* old prairie breaking-plow.\* All attempts to present a word picture of it must fail to give any person who has never seen one a true idea of the real thing. These plows, as a rule, were very large. They were made to cut and turn a furrow from twenty to thirty inches wide and sometimes even wider. The beam was a straight stick of strong timber seven to twelve feet long. The forward end of this beam was carried by a pair of trucks or wheels, and into the top of the axle of these wheels were framed two stout, upright pieces just far enough apart to allow the forward end of the plow-beam to nicely fit in between them. To the forward end of the beam and on top of it, there was fastened by a link or clevis, a long lever, running between these stout standards in the axle of the trucks, and fastened to them by a strong bolt running through both standards and lever; this bolt, acting as a fulcrum for the lever, was in easy reach of the man having charge of the plow. By raising or depressing the rear end of this lever the depth of the furrow was gauged, and by depressing the lever low enough, the plow could be thrown entirely out of the ground. One of the wheels of the truck ran in the furrow and was from two to four inches larger than the one that ran on the sod. This, of course, was necessary so as to have an even level rest for the forward end of the plow-beam. The mould-boards of these plows were sometimes made of wood protected by narrow strips of steel or band-iron, and fastened to the mould-board. In some cases these mould-boards were made entirely of iron rods, which generally gave the best satisfaction. The share of these plows—"shear," as we western folks called it—had to be made of the very best steel so as to carry a keen edge. The original prairie sod was one web of small tough roots, and hence the necessity of a razor-

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\*The reader will observe that Farmer Coffin's request has received due attention.

like edge on the "shear" to secure good work and ease to the team.

And next, the "prairie-breaking" plow team? Who sees the like of it today? A string of from three to six yokes of oxen hitched to this long plow-beam, the driver clad in somewhat of a cowboy style, and armed with a whip, the handle of which resembled a long, slender fishing-rod, with a lash that when wielded by an expert was so severe that the oxen had learned to fear it as much as the New England oxen did the Yankee ox-goad with its brad.

The season for "breaking prairie" varied as the spring and summer were early or late, wet or dry. The best results were had by beginning to plow after the grass had a pretty good start, and quitting the work some time before it was ready for the scythe. The main object aimed at was to secure as complete a rotting of the sod as possible. To this end the plow was gauged to cut only one and one-half to two inches deep. Then, if the mould-board was so shaped as to "kink" the sod as it was turned over, all the better, as in the early days of "prairie-breaking" very little use was made of the ground the first year. The object was to have the land in as good a shape as possible for sowing wheat the following spring. A dry season, thin breaking, "kinky" furrows, and not too long breaking accomplished this, and made the putting in of wheat the following spring an easy task. But on the contrary, if broken too deeply, and the furrows laid flat and smooth, or in a wet season, or if broken too late, the job of seeding the wheat on tough sod was a hard and slow one.

The outfit for "prairie-breaking" was usually about as follows: three to six yokes of oxen, a covered wagon, a small kit of tools, and among these always a good assortment of files for sharpening the plow-share, a few cooking utensils, and sometimes a dog and pony. The oxen, when the day's work was done, were turned loose to feed on the grass. To one or more was attached a far-sounding bell, so as to betray

their whereabouts at all times. The pony and dog came in good play for company, and in gathering up the oxen when wanted. The season for breaking would average about two months. The price per acre for breaking varied from \$2.50 to \$4.50, as the man was boarded or as he "found himself." In latter years when it was learned that flax could be raised to good advantage on new breaking, and that it helped to rot the sod, the breaking season commenced much earlier.

Three yokes of good-sized oxen drawing a 24-inch plow, with two men to manage the work, would ordinarily break about two acres a day; five yokes with a 36-inch plow, requiring no more men to "run the machine," would break three acres a day. When the plow was kept running continuously, the "shear" had to be taken to the blacksmith as often as once a week to be drawn out thin, so that a keen knife-edge could be easily put on it with a file, by the men who managed the plow. If the team was going around an 80-acre tract of prairie, the "lay" or "shear" had to be filed after each round to do the best work. The skillful "breaker" tried to run his plow one and one-half inches deep and no deeper. This was for the purpose of splitting the sod across the mass of tough fibrous roots, which had lain undisturbed for uncounted years and had formed a network of interlaced sinews as difficult to cut as india rubber, where the prairie was inclined to be wet; and it was not easy to find an entire 80-acre tract that was not intersected with numerous "sloughs," across which the breaking-plow had to run. In many places the sod in these "sloughs" was so tough that it was with the greatest difficulty that the plow could be kept in the ground. If it ran out of the ground, this tough, leathery sod would flop back into the furrow as swiftly as the falling of a row of bricks set up on end, and the man and driver had to turn the long ribbon of tough sod over by hand—if they could not make a "balk." In the flat, wet prairie, it sometimes took from two to three years for the tough-sod to

decompose sufficiently to produce a full crop. The plow had to be kept in perfect order to turn this kind of prairie sod over, and the "lay" had to have an edge as keen as a scythe to do good work. There were usually two "lays" or "shears" fitted to each plow, so that the team need not be idle while the boy with the mustang went often from five to eight miles to the nearest blacksmith to get a "lay" sharpened. Sometimes the oxen would stray off among the "barrens," or follow the course of some stream for miles and hide among the willows to take a vacation, and frequently they were not found until after two or three days of weary search by the men and boy, while the plow which ought to be earning six or nine dollars a day was lying idle on the great prairie.

There were men who equipped "a brigade" for breaking and carried on a thriving business from about the first day of May to the end of July.

When the rush of immigration began in the spring of 1854, there were not nearly enough breaking-teams in the country to supply the demand. In some cases the "new-comers" would consent to have a portion of their prairie farms broken up in April, and on this early breaking they would plant "sod corn." The process was simple; a man with an axe would follow the line of every second or third furrow, strike the blade deep in the ground, a boy or girl would follow and drop three or four kernels of corn into the hole and bring one foot down "right smart" on the hole in the sod, and the deed was done. No cultivation was required after planting, and in the fall a half crop of corn was frequently gathered without expense. Those who were not able to get breaking done at the best time for subduing the sod, were often glad to have some done in the latter part of July or the first half of August. So for several years the "breaking brigades" were able to run their teams for four months each year, and it was profitable business.

With all the crudeness, with all the exposure, with all the privations and hard times—for there were hard times in

those days—yet, the passing of those pioneer days with the quaint old “prairie breaking-plow,” the string of oxen, the old prairie-schooner wagon, the elk and deer, with now and then a buffalo, the prairie chickens, the “dug-outs”, sod houses and log cabins, give to us old pioneer settlers a tinge of sadness difficult to express in words; for with all these have gone a great deal of that community and fellowship of neighborhood feeling, so common and so heartily expressed from one to another in the abounding hospitality and in the kindly exchange of help in those days. Then those living miles apart were friends and neighbors. Now the families living on adjoining quarter sections are strangers. Today it seems that each one thinks he must “go it alone,” as did the old “prairie breaking-plow,” which usually did go it alone, for it was so constructed as to hold itself; except at the beginning and at the end of the furrows there was little handling of the rear end of the long lever. It was easily made to take the sod and to leave it at the farther end.

While we say good-bye to this bygone “breaking-plow,” let us not forget that it—like those early and hardy pioneers, rude though they were in some respects, like the old plow and other tools in that day—has bequeathed to us, who are reaping the rich harvest of their sowing, an inheritance of which we can be proud, and for which I most truly hope we are grateful.

WILLOWEDGE FARM, NEAR FT. DODGE, MAY, 1902.

NOTE.—Farmer Coffin does not mention the “colter” attached to the plow-beam, but the artist who drew the original of our cut has added it. At first it was a steel blade fastened to the beam, and extending down close to the point of the “shear,” to cut the sod preparatory to its being turned over; but later on the rolling-colter was invented, as we are informed, by John Deere, of Moline, Ill., who also invented the steel plow. This sharp, circular disk cut the sod much better than the primitive straight blade. The word is spelled variously, as “colter,” “coulter,” and “cutter.”—EDITOR.

## COUNCIL BLUFFS IN 1852.

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Hon. Thomas J. Bunn, ex-mayor and ex-postmaster of Bloomington, Illinois, has had a picturesque and varied experience and nothing is more enjoyable than to catch him in one of his reminiscent moods and listen to his dramatic talk of pioneer days. Recently he detailed his experience in Council Bluffs fifty years ago, to Mr. E. M. Prince, secretary of the McLean County (Ill.) Historical Society, who has kindly furnished a copy to THE ANNALS, as follows:

I came to Bloomington, Illinois, with my father in 1833, when only three months old. I have been by turns printer, blacksmith, dry goods clerk, land agent, speculator and politician. In 1866 I opened the first coal-shaft in Bloomington and discovered the underground body of water from which Bloomington draws its present supply. My life at least has been a busy one.

In 1852 my older brother Ben and I took the gold fever and started for California. At Peoria we had engaged passage to St. Louis on the Illinois river steamer, *Prairie State*. But I was taken down with fever and ague which delayed us. The *Prairie State* blew up at Pekin on that trip. After waiting in vain a few days for me to recover, my brother went on and I was to follow as soon as I got over "the shakes," and meet him at Council Bluffs. At St. Louis I had intended to take the steamer *Kansas* for the upper Missouri, but was delayed and had to take another steamer which overtook the *Kansas* at Lexington, Missouri, and just as we were about to pass it the *Kansas* blew up. Above the old Kansas City landing the Missouri river was so treacherous that the boat did not run at night but tied up to the bank and waited until daylight. After a tedious passage we reached Council Bluffs, then called Kaneshville. By a misunderstanding I missed my brother who waited for me at the lower crossing of the Missouri about ten miles below Kaneshville. I was stranded in a strange land hundreds of miles away from home with no acquaintances and little money. I was a mere slip of a blue-eyed boy, only nineteen years of age, but full of life, fun and mischief.

Council Bluffs was then the "wide open" town of the western frontier. Iowa, except a fringe of towns and settlements on its eastern border, was an almost unbroken prairie wilderness. Beyond the Missouri was another wilderness of plain and mighty mountain ranges stretching thousands of miles to the Pacific, with only a few "forts," or trading posts like Bridger or Laramie to break the monotony of the wilderness. It was the last town between the "coast and the states." Bordering the Missouri river was a low, alluvial, narrow plain, and back of it the bluffs, which were pierced by an opening which extended on each side back of the bluffs. It was like the figure Y, its foot extending from the river through the bluffs and the arms of the Y extending north and south back of the bluffs. Down these ravines during heavy rains ran quite a large amount of water which, however, was quickly absorbed by the sandy soil. The bluffs were covered with scrubby oaks, and on both sides of the Y there were Indian burial places. The bodies, wrapped in bark, cloth or skins, were put in the limbs of trees to which they were fastened. These places had apparently been long used for this purpose, for there were many bones under the trees and the burial cases were in all stages of decay. The settlement extended from the river along the stream and both arms of the Y.

The buildings were all log cabins; I do not think there was a frame building in the town. Many of the St. Louis merchants had established branch houses there where the thousand and one things the necessities or fancies of the emigrants induced them to buy, could be found. These supplies came by the river steamers from St. Louis. Most of the inhabitants were Mormons living in tents and log cabins. Driven out of Missouri and Illinois they were gathering there for their long journey to Salt Lake. They had two log churches, one on the north branch of the Y and one on the south. The latter was about 100x75 feet, one and a half stories, with rude slab benches seating probably 800. There

were about 1500 Mormons there and in that immediate vicinity. They were all—men, women, and children—missionaries, always ready to argue for their religion, having the Bible at their tongues' end. They published two weekly papers, *The Frontier Guardian* and *The Kaneshville Bugle*.

Besides the Mormons there was a motley population of some three or four hundred roustabouts from the river boats, clerks and merchants in charge of the stores, whisky slingers, gamblers, fast women, and the drunken, thieving, riff-raff that usually makes up a large part of the population of such a place. There was a constant stream of gold seekers passing through by all sorts of conveyances, four-horse and two-horse, and mule teams, ox teams, horseback and muleback, in all sorts of vehicles from the prairie schooner to the buggy. I have seen as many as a thousand teams encamped there at once completing their outfitting and getting ready for their long journey. Adjoining the town on the east was a large Indian reservation, and the town was always swarming with dirty Pawnee bucks, squalid squaws and their half-naked children.

I do not think there were any lawyers there then. Indeed, they had no use for judge or jury. The bullet of the revolver was the sole legal tender of justice. Whoever got the drop on his opponent was the best man and there was no trouble about an inquest.

The recklessness of the gambling mania was over all. Every one seemed willing, anxious to risk his all on the turn of a card or a throw of the dice. I had learned the printer's trade in Illinois and fortunately found work on Elder Orson Hyde's Mormon paper, *The Frontier Guardian*. The king of the gamblers was a man by the name of Johnson, at least that was the name by which he was known. He was a young man, evidently well educated, tall, fine manners, never used intoxicating liquors or tobacco, and never indulged in profane language. Well dressed he looked rather like a parson than a sporting man. He took a great fancy to me and told



me he was from Buffalo, New York, where his mother and sister resided; that they had a hard time in life, that he had taken up gambling as the quickest and easiest way of providing for them and that as soon as he had done that he would quit the business and leave it forever. The principal drinking and gambling place was called the Gem saloon, a long log building with a bar at each end and card tables and a complete gambling outfit in the center. It was open from one week's end to the other. The sound of clinking glasses, the rattle of dice, the drunken oath, the Bacchanalian song never died out. All restraint was thrown to the winds. It seemed as if all the passing gold seekers as well as the professional gamblers wanted to try their luck at the gaming table.

Johnson could act the drunken man to perfection. One evening he came reeling into the Gem and asked in a maudlin way if anyone wanted a game. Among those present were two young men from Wisconsin, emigrants on their way to California, apparently hard-working, honest farmer boys, who probably had never played for money before. Carried away by the prevailing excitement, and perhaps thinking they had "a soft snap" in a drunken man, they accepted Johnson's invitation. The game opened, Johnson knew how to lead them on, and it did not end until late at night, when the boys found themselves stripped of everything—their team even had been staked and lost.

Raking the money off the table into his pocket Johnson went to his sleeping room. This was in another long one-story log building—the rooms were partitioned off with calico and were just large enough for a bed. Johnson and I slept together in the room next the door. In an hour or two there came a loud knocking outside. We both got up and taking our revolvers from under our pillows went to the door. Johnson inquired who was there, and was told that the Wisconsin boys wanted to see him. He unlocked the door and admitted them and asked what they wanted. They replied they

wanted money enough to take them home, otherwise they would have to walk and beg their way back. They did not blame him for their loss, they had lost in a fair game and only asked enough to get them home. He told them to meet him at the wagon yard where their teams were the next morning, and he would see about it. At the appointed time the whole town was there as the request got noised abroad and everyone wanted to see what Johnson would do.

Well shaven and well dressed he looked more like a college professor than a gambler. The boys again said they did not ask him to refund what he had won, only lend them enough to take them back home. He replied that they were not penniless as they still had their outfit worth considerable money which they had not played away. This surprised them as they thought the outfit had gone with the team, but said he, "if I should let you have money you would blow it in the first game you come to." "Oh! no, we wouldn't," they replied; "we have quit gambling forever." Then he said, "I don't know that it would make any difference, but I would like to have you take an oath that you will never gamble any more." They said they were perfectly willing to do so, and then came the strange scene, a boss gambler swearing two of his victims with their right hands uplifted to heaven never again to gamble. It was a solemn scene, the two stalwart young men, bronzed by toil in the sun, hands hardened by daily work with the ax and plow, with bowed heads, repeating after the earnest, elegant Johnson—"In the presence of Almighty God, and these witnesses, I do most solemnly promise and swear hereafter forever to wholly abstain from all and every kind of gambling, betting and games of chance."

Then ensued the most singular event in my somewhat varied life. In the presence of these three or four hundred people, professional gamblers, saloon keepers, and toughs of every description, Johnson delivered the most eloquent lecture against gambling I ever heard. He then gave the boys

all the money he had won from them—fifteen hundred dollars—and then said, “I suppose that you would like to go to California.” “Yes,” they replied, “that is what we started for.” “Well,” said he, “the team might as well go with the money, take the team. Go on your way and behave yourselves.” What became of either party I never knew, the boys started on their long western journey, and that fall when I returned to Illinois Johnson came as far as St. Louis with me, and his last words were “Tommy, *never*, NEVER, NEVER touch a card,” but whether he quit I don’t know, probably not, for once a gambler always a gambler is the usual rule. The craving for excitement usually breaks the best resolutions of those who once get accustomed to games of chance.

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EARLY IOWA HISTORY.—The original Council Bluffs was on the west side of the Missouri river, and was so named by Lewis and Clark, because of the council with the Otoe and Missouri Indians they held there August 3, 1804. It was on the bluff where Fort Calhoun was afterwards built. It is in what is now Washington county, Nebraska. (See Iowa Historical Record, x, 74.) As to the “neutral ground”, it was a strip forty miles wide from the Mississippi to the Des Moines. By treaty of August 10, 1825, a dividing line between the Sioux and the Sacs and Foxes was created for the purpose of keeping those tribes from the wars with each other to which they had been addicted. They still quarrelled, however, and another treaty was made July 15, 1830, by which the Sioux ceded a strip of twenty miles north of said dividing line to the United States, and the Sacs and Foxes ceded a strip of twenty miles south of said line to the United States. This was “neutral ground”. After the Black Hawk war it was turned over to the Winnebagoes by treaty of September 15, 1832, in exchange for their lands east of the Mississippi, and occupied by them until 1845-6. —*Dr. Wm. Salter in Des Moines Register, Feb. 23, 1902.*

## INDIAN AFFAIRS IN IOWA TERRITORY, 1839-'43.

LETTER BY GOV. ROBERT LUCAS.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, I. T., }  
BURLINGTON, JUNE, 12, 1839. }

*Sir*.—By the last mail I received your communication of the 16th ult., enclosing ten scales of vaccine\* matter for the benefit of the Indians in this Superintendency. On the receipt of which I forthwith assigned to the Agent of the Sac and Fox Indians \$166.66 of the allowance of \$500, and three scales of the vaccine matter—and to the Agent of the Seoux Indians the residue, \$233.33 and seven scales of the vaccine matter.

Genl. Street being at this place at the time, I handed to him the scales of matter together with a copy of the instructions of the 29th of April, and your letter of the 16th ult., and authorized him to employ a physician to carry into effect the wishes of the Department. I also transmitted to Maj. Taliaferro, by mail (there being no other means of conveyance) seven scales of the vaccine matter, with copies of your letters of the 29th of April and 16th ult., with instructions to employ physicians to vaccinate the Seoux Indians—which I presume will be promptly attended to.

We labor under great inconvenience in this Superintendency for want of regular mails. We have no mail between this place and the Sac and Fox Agency, a distance of about eighty miles; and the mail to St. Peters as well as the mails from Washington City are very tardy and irregular in their arrivals. Sometimes communications are several weeks on their way from St. Peters to this place by mail, and they are usually from three to four weeks on the way from Washington City.

This being the most remote Superintendency in the U. S. from the City of Washington, or the longest in receiving intelligence from the head of the Department, I would suggest

\* We preserve the Governor's quaint spelling of the words "vaccine" and "Sioux."

whether the good of the service does not require that it should be furnished at an early period in the season with the means of fulfilling all the treaty stipulations with the Indians, and the payment of their annuities promptly at the time prescribed by government.

I have not up to this date received any account of the allowances made to this Superintendency or any other information relative to the funds to be disbursed to the Indians the present year. If the disbursements are not made at an early period in the season it will be impossible for the agents and superintendents to have their annual accounts closed and transmitted to Washington City by the 1st of October, as required by the general regulations.

I suggested in a former communication, and again repeat it, that I would be thankful to receive from the Indian Department at Washington such special instructions as would enable me to fulfill with promptness and accuracy the various duties required of me as Superintendent. This being a new Superintendency I can derive no aid from former proceedings as I have no old records to refer to, neither have I the means of knowing how the business has heretofore been transacted with the Indians now residing in this superintendency. Any instructions, forms, diagrams or other documents that would aid me in acquiring a perfect knowledge of the duties pertaining to the office of superintendent, in accordance with the rules of the Department of Indian Affairs at Washington, will be thankfully received and promptly attended to.

With sincerest respect,

I am your Obt. Sert.,

ROBERT LUCAS,

Gov. & Supt. Ind. Affairs.

HON. T. HARTLEY CRAWFORD,

Commissioner of Indian Affairs,

Washington City.

## BITTER COMPLAINT OF GOV. JOHN CHAMBERS.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE,  
BURLINGTON, IOWA TERR'TY, 24TH FEB'Y, 1843. }

*Sir*:—In the pressure of executive duties towards the close of the late session of the territorial legislature, I omitted to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th ult., enclosing a copy of one from G. W. Ewing, Esq., to you. Mr. Ewing describes very correctly, I have no doubt, some of the many infamous practices resorted to by unprincipled men to cheat and abuse the Indians, and he might with great propriety have extended his representations to *some* of those he calls "regular traders," whose dealings with them are characterized by the vilest extortion—a species of fraud over which the officers of your department can exercise no control or supervision, without (a case of rare occurrence) they happen to be called upon in the negotiation of a treaty, to inspect their accounts, preparatory to making a treaty provision for the payment of their claims. And even in that case all their cash dealings and exchanges for furs and skins escape examination. With all your experience and the greatest degree of information to be obtained from official sources, you cannot, I apprehend, have more than a very imperfect idea of the "regular" Indian trade. If the vengeance of Heaven is ever inflicted upon man in this life, it seems to me we must yet see some signal evidence of it among these "regular traders." It would be worthy the labors of a casuist to determine whether the wretch who sells a diseased or stolen horse to a poor Indian, or the "regular trader" who sells him goods of no intrinsic value to him at nine hundred per cent advance on the cost, is the greater rascal.

It is deeply to be regretted that all your efforts to induce Congress to change the system have been unsuccessful. Until it is changed your utmost exertions to protect the Indian race against fraud, imposition and abuse will prove ineffectual. I have thought that if the system could even be so

modified as to compel the licensed trader to furnish sworn copies of their invoices, and submit their goods to a comparison with them and to inspection, and their books and accounts to thorough examination, and compel them to render quarterly or semi-annual abstracts of their sales on the oaths of themselves and their clerks, and a statement of all money, skins, furs, etc., received from the Indians, it might by a rigid scrutiny be made to some extent a means of restraining their extortions and frauds; but to make such a scrutiny effectual, it would be necessary to employ agents who neither resided in the Indian country or were in habits of intercourse with the traders or the Indians. I wish most sincerely that Congress in its zeal for reform would take this subject up, and that the committees on Indian affairs would, in the right spirit, consult with you on the reformation of the system. I would most cheerfully travel to Washington to afford them all the information and aid in my power. It makes my heart sick to dwell upon the injuries and injustice to which the Indian race is subjected by the injudicious system by which our intercourse with them is governed, and the utter impracticability of correcting it while the practice of sending licensed traders among them prevails. Why, sir, I acknowledge that (although personally I am not a timid man) officially I fear these "regular traders," because I cannot, by any power I possess, or influence I can obtain or exert, control, treat with, or influence the Indians in opposition to their interests or wishes. Nor does the evil stop there. When a treaty is to be made and their claims against the Indians are to be liquidated, some of them come prepared to show your commissioners the hazard they incur in disobliging them, by a curtailment of their iniquitous demands. Letters from distinguished senators and members of Congress are presented, introducing them as strangers, (though well known) and recommending them as gentlemen of integrity, high standing and great influence, and I suppose they might, in great truth add, what would be equivalent to all the rest, distin-

guished for their *great wealth*, acquired in the Indian trade. I feel painfully the necessity of making the best of things *as they are*, having no power to correct the evils out of which they have grown, and by which they are supported; but I hope to live to see the time in which the necessity of yielding to circumstances will no longer exist, and if so I will certainly endeavor to place some of those "distinguished" gentlemen before the councils of the nation in their true character.

In the examination of the accounts of the traders against the Sac and Fox Indians at the late treaty with them, it was found in one instance that the advance upon the cost of the goods charged to the tribe, ranged from one hundred to nine hundred per cent., and that the articles charged at the highest rate of profit were, in most instances, those of least actual use or value to them. And now what power, I would ask, have you or your subordinates to correct such abuses? You have no power I apprehend to dictate the advance these people shall be permitted to charge the Indians upon the cost of their goods, or what description of goods they shall deal in; if not, it is a matter of *conscience* with them. If you are called upon in the negotiation of a treaty to make provision for the payment of the claims of these traders against the Indians, you can subject them to an examination of their accounts, and can curtail them if manifestly unreasonable; but suppose they are so much so as to amount to extortion, can your superintendent of Indian Affairs, or Agent, or commissioner, take the ground that the license under which such extortion has been committed ought to be revoked? And if he did what would be the consequences? Why, that scores of members of Congress would be brought forward to support the aggrieved "regular trader" and prove his high character for integrity, fair dealing, etc., and by implication that he was persecuted by some petty government functionary.

But I am intruding a very long letter upon you, perhaps unnecessarily, and certainly, on what would not appear to a



stranger unacquainted with the subject to be a very appropriate occasion for discussing the merits of our system of Indian intercourse; but you will understand the feeling which induces me to place these "regular traders" in juxtaposition with the *irregular*, complained of by Mr. Ewing, and will I trust excuse the length to which it has spun out this communication.

Your instructions growing out of Mr. Ewing's letter will be communicated to the agents in this superintendency, with strict injunctions to effect their object as far as practicable.

I send you enclosed a copy of an act passed at the recent session of the territorial legislature, to prevent and punish the offense of selling intoxicating liquors to the Indians; it is not what I wished, but the best I could obtain.

Very respectfully your ob't Serv't,

JOHN CHAMBERS.

T. HARTLEY CRAWFORD, Esq.,

Comr. Ind. Affairs, Department of War,  
Washington City.

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THE PRINTING of the public laws of the territory in the newspapers we consider of the highest importance to the public. Our farmers and mechanics should be made acquainted with all laws of a public bearing, and there is no manner in which their circulation can be diffused more widely than through the columns of a public journal. We therefore hope that the legislature will select three or four papers in the territory in which to publish the laws, either at a fixed compensation, or at a stated price per page of the printed laws.—*Davenport (Iowa) Sun*, Nov. 14, 1840.

## OUR INDIANS.

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The census of 1900 was the first to include the untaxed Indians in the statistics of the total population. The results of this enumeration, printed in the latest Bulletin of the Census Bureau, include 129,518 untaxed Indians in the total population of 76,303,387. This does not take in the Indians of Alaska, however, who would swell the number considerably.

These wards of the nation are rather less numerous than had been supposed. The handbook "Statistics of the Indian Tribes," published by the government in 1899, estimated the number of Indians at nearly 250,000, basing these figures mainly upon the Indian agency reports. The fact, however, that fewer than 130,000 untaxed Indians were counted in the last census does not indicate that they are rapidly dying out. It has long been known that half-breeds have figured to a large extent in the census returns as white persons. Inter-marriages between white men and Indian women have become numerous in the past twenty years, most of all in the Indian territory, but also in other centers of Indian population. The pure bloods are becoming less numerous, not by extinction but by absorption into the mass of the whites around them.

The enumeration of the Indians last year was probably a close approximation of their actual number. The fact that they are less numerous than they were generally supposed to be is an interesting confirmation of the conclusions reached by the most careful students of our Indian tribes, who have asserted for years that the pure bloods were decreasing and the mixed bloods increasing in number. It was estimated by Mr. Lewis H. Morgan, for example, that the admixture of white blood in the Sioux, Chippewa and Pottawattamie families had lightened the color of their entire tribes from one-sixth to one-fourth. According to Prof. Daniel Wilson of Toronto, not a single pure blood Indian remains in some of

the Canadian bands. About half of the Cherokees, the largest nation of the Indian territory, are half or quarter breeds. The mixed bloods in Minnesota are not classed as Sioux or Chippewas, but as white persons. Many of them are well educated and highly respected citizens, graduates of the best schools in the west; and some of their fathers gave their names to counties in the state, were its territorial governors, or helped form its state constitution.

Those philanthropists who deplore the "unhappy fate" of the Indians seldom take into account the fact that the aboriginal population was always extremely sparse and never could have become large in the nomad conditions under which it lived. All the evidence seems to prove conclusively that the New England Indians never exceeded 20,000. Bancroft could find no reason to believe that more than 300,000 Indians ever inhabited, at one time, the vast area between the Atlantic and the Rocky Mountains, the St. Lawrence and the Gulf of Mexico. Hunting tribes greatly predominated over the settled, agricultural tribes who were in a state of decline when the whites first came to America. Large populations have never been found among men who lived by the chase. It is not surprising that there were incessant wars among the hunting tribes in order to preserve or enlarge their territory. According to Sir John Lubbock, the proportion of game animals to the population in communities living by the chase must be 750 to the man. These animals must be renewed from year to year; if the population increases, the number of animals must be largely increased; thus it happened that the preservation of human life was much less important than the preservation of game in aboriginal America; the tribes attacked each other to keep the game for themselves. The changed conditions that have made the life of an Indian more important than that of the animals which nourished him can scarcely be regarded as an unmixed evil.—*N. Y. Sun, June 12, 1901.*





**POWESHIEK.**

An Iowa (Fox) Indian Chief from whom one of our counties was named.

# ANNALS OF IOWA.

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## EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT.

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### THE INDIAN CHIEF POWESHIEK.

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McKenney and Hall, in their "Indian Tribes of North America," present a portrait of this "celebrated brave of the Musquakie or Fox nation," from which our engraving was made, but their biographical memoranda is very brief. They say that he was a "daring warrior, and held a respectable standing in council, as a man of prudence and capacity," but add that "nothing very striking in his history has reached us." These authors spell the name "Powasheek," explaining that it signifies "To wash the water off."

The late Judge A. R. Fulton, however, in his "Red Men of Iowa," writes more at length of this noted Indian, whose name was given to one of our richest inland counties, quoting freely from the late Col. S. C. Trowbridge of Iowa City, "who knew him personally." He spells his name "Poweshiek," stating that it signifies "The Roused Bear." Judge Fulton devotes three pages to such biographical details as were familiar to Col. Trowbridge, which are undoubtedly correct. From 1843 to 1845 Poweshiek made his home in the vicinity of the present city of Des Moines. He removed south with his people in the latter year, stopping awhile in Missouri, but later settled in Kansas. The date of his death is unknown.

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### TWO HISTORIC PORTRAITS.

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Since issuing the last ANNALS the Historical Department has received oil portraits of James Harlan, the illustrious Senator, and Francis Springer, the distinguished jurist who

is so well remembered as president of the Iowa Constitutional Convention of 1857. The portrait of Mr. Harlan was purchased by the legislature from Mrs. N. C. Deering, of Osage. It was painted in the later sixties or early seventies by Constantino Brumidi, a famous Greek-Italian artist, who did not live to complete the frescos which he projected in the rotunda of the National Capitol at Washington. In Mr. Deering's earlier residence in the federal city, while he was serving as a clerk in one of the departments, he volunteered to assist Mr. Harlan as an amanuensis. That was in the era of old-fashioned economy, before the days of private secretaries and multiplied clerkships. For this work, which continued some months, Mr. Deering declined to receive any compensation. Mr. Harlan, however, made Mr. and Mrs. Deering a present of a sum of money to which they decided to add sufficient to secure this portrait. Afterwards, Mr. Deering was elected a member of the U. S. House of Representatives, where he served three terms. His death occurred several years ago, since which time this portrait has remained in the family residence at Osage. At the request of the writer, Mrs. Deering sent it the Historical Art Gallery, where it had been hanging by that of his great colleague, J. W. Grimes. The subject was brought to the attention of the legislature, when a concurrent resolution was adopted, providing for a joint committee to consider the matter of its purchase. The committee reported in favor of purchasing the portrait, at a cost of \$1,000. This report was adopted by both houses and the sum was accepted by Mrs. Deering. The portrait is an excellent likeness of Mr. Harlan as he appeared while in the U. S. Senate. With the exception of James W. McDill, Jesse B. Howell and Jonathan P. Dolliver, the State now owns oil portraits of our U. S. Senators, and for the most part they are excellent paintings.

The portrait of Judge Francis Springer was painted by Louis Mayer, a well known artist of Milwaukee, Wis. It was received with the following letter, which explains itself:

DES MOINES, May 7, 1902.

HON. CHARLES ALDRICH, Curator Historical Department of Iowa, Des Moines, Iowa:

*Dear Sir:*—The children of Francis Springer have thought that they could in no way better honor his name, nor serve the State more acceptably, than by offering his portrait to its Historical Department, to be placed among those of the men with whom he was associated for more than half a century, in the building of this great State. The fact of having been thus associated in so grand a work was accounted by him the highest honor of his declining years. The portrait, of which we herewith beg acceptance for the State, was painted by Louis Mayer, of Milwaukee. It will be formally presented on our behalf by our father's oldest surviving friend, the venerable pastor, Dr. William Salter, who since the State began, has ministered to the joys and sorrows of her people, and whose voice has been heard, in words of comfort, at the stricken firesides of so many who helped to make her history what it is. May his grand old age be bright with the knowledge that all Iowa claims him as a friend, and that young and old alike love, honor and revere him.

With great respect, we are, faithfully yours,

FRANK SPRINGER, Las Vegas, N. M.

ARTHUR SPRINGER, Wapello, Iowa.

CHARLES SPRINGER, Springer, N. M.

NELLIE SPRINGER LETTS, Columbus Junction, Ia.

On the above date, and on behalf of the children of Francis Springer, in the Iowa Historical Art Gallery, this portrait was presented by the Rev. Dr. William Salter, of Burlington. For this occasion it had been hung on the north wall, and draped with the beautiful American flag which floated over the National House of Representatives on the occasion of the memorial services in honor of the late President McKinley. Dr. Salter gave his hearers an interesting sketch of the life of Francis Springer, with a judicial estimate of his worth as a man and of his valuable services to the State. It was noticed that the veteran clergyman, now in his 81st year, read his neat and beautiful manuscript without the aid of glasses. This manuscript is now in the Historical Department, and is to be placed in a fine binding and preserved as a precious souvenir of an interesting historical event. At the conclusion of his address, the knot was loosened by Mrs. Nellie Springer Letts, daughter of the statesman, and the flag gracefully descended, unveil-



ing the splendid portrait. On behalf of the State, in an eloquent address, this gift was appropriately accepted by Governor Albert B. Cummins, who also to some extent reviewed his distinguished career. The closest attention was given to the speakers by the audience. The hall was well filled and the assemblage was presided over by Hon. P. M. Casady, a State Senator of 1848-50, who left his impress upon those times by reporting and securing the passage of a bill which prescribed the geographical limits and provided names for fifty of the counties in the western half of Iowa. Judge Springer's autobiography was printed in *THE ANNALS*, Vol. II, 3d series, pp. 569-85, and his name will be found in the indexes of all the volumes. The reception of this excellent portrait thus rounds out the efforts of relatives, appreciative friends, and the State, to keep green the memory of the illustrious pioneer.

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#### A LIFE OF THEODORE S. PARVIN.

Shortly after the death of this distinguished pioneer, the subject of writing his biography was discussed to some extent, but mainly, as we suppose, in Masonic circles. While his life was so largely devoted to Masonry, he was yet a large factor in the early history of the Territory and State, as well as in its educational development in later years. Few long lives are so completely devoted to the public service and the public welfare. And now that some time has elapsed since he went to his grave, full of years and honors, those who knew him intimately can form a fair judgment as to the value of the story of his life. In these times the rush of events soon covers every grave with the mantle of oblivion, but wherever we have heard the subject discussed, an earnest desire is invariably expressed that the story of Parvin's life shall be told, for the benefit of future generations, and the preservation of much valuable history. Primarily, this task should be undertaken under the auspices of the Masonic

Order, but the story of his useful career in other fields of effort and usefulness should by no means be neglected. It is to be hoped that this subject may receive early attention from the Masonic Grand Lodge, as well as from his more immediate friends.

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### DEWEY AND INGHAM.

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During the years of the civil war in which the State of Iowa was incurring heavy expenditures incident to the raising, arming, subsisting, and sending to the front her volunteer soldiers, she had the services of two men—John N. Dewey and Schuyler R. Ingham—who deserve to be held in grateful remembrance. They were members of the board of commissioners named as such in the first section of chapter 10, laws of the extra session of the 8th general assembly, “an act providing for auditing all accounts and disbursements arising under the call for volunteers from Iowa, and also for all men organized as State militia of Iowa.” This act was approved May 28, 1861. These gentlemen were associated at times with other well-known business men in the discharge of their onerous and most responsible duties, but the consensus of opinion during these years gave them the largest measure of credit for the excellent work performed by the commission. In this work they “did the State some service,” a fact which was known and appreciated in every community from which soldiers enlisted for the Union armies. This involved great expense and men were found quite ready to “make money” by it. But when an account came to be acted upon by Dewey and Ingham it had to pass through a most critical ordeal, though they were never charged with acting unjustly, or in a spirit of narrow, pinching economy. Each was a man of positive convictions, and from their determination to pay no padded bills against the State or general government they could not be swerved in the smallest degree. Perhaps the highest compliment that can be paid

to the memory of these auditing commissioners is this—that they enjoyed to the fullest extent the confidence of Samuel J. Kirkwood, our illustrious War Governor.

Col. Dewey was born in Hanover, N. H., Feb. 3, 1814; he died in Des Moines, Iowa, Sept. 9, 1889. He had studied civil engineering, which profession he followed for ten years in the employ of railroad companies in New England and New York. He settled in Des Moines in 1855, where he was engaged in engineering, surveying, and dealing in real estate. He was a business man of large capacity and experience, standing high in the confidence of his wide circle of acquaintance. He was often chosen to positions of public trust in the city where he lived, and was one of the first board of capitol commissioners, but his most important service was performed under the law quoted above. When he passed away, aside from an appreciative notice by his friend James S. Clarkson, but little attention was given to the event, because, no doubt, his days of usefulness were long past and his life for many years had been a quiet one. But the State has had few abler and certainly no more upright and conscientious public servant. Col. Schuyler R. Ingham “still lives,” a resident, we believe, of New York City. He has been widely known more than a quarter of a century as a business man of great ability, especially successful in the management of large operations.

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### ESTIMATES OF JUDGE SPRINGER.

The addresses and other proceedings upon the occasion of the presentation of Judge Francis Springer's portrait were too voluminous to be published in our pages. We have therefore made some selections from the letters received in response to invitations. The first selection is the brief letter, evidently written by a tremulous hand, of Hon. Henry J. Skiff, a member of the constitutional convention of 1857, representing the counties of Poweshiek, Jasper, Marshall and Tama:

NEWTON, MAY 5.

The infirmities of my 81 years force me to send regrets for my inability to be present at the unveiling of the portrait of the old president, Francis Springer, May 7, which you very kindly invited me to attend.

Very truly yours,

H. J. SKIFF.

Judge W. I. Babb, of Mt. Pleasant, wrote as follows:

In 1867, when I was admitted to the bar, Judge Springer was the judge of this district, and the earliest years of my practice were in his court. He was always somewhat dignified and reserved in manner, but really kind and courteous in his intercourse with all, but more markedly so with the younger members of the bar. He was an upright, able and impartial judge and at all times commanded the fullest confidence of the bar and the general public. He always honored Iowa when he served her, and she does right in honoring his memory now.

The following sentence is from the response of Hon. G. W. Ball, State senator from Johnson county:

Judge Springer was an honored citizen and his services to the State have engraved his name high on the roll of her eminent citizens, and it is just and proper that his portrait should be hung by the side of theirs in the art gallery of the Historical Department.

Hon. F. M. Moleberry, State senator from Louisa and Muscatine counties, wrote us as follows from his home at Columbus Junction:

The Hon. Francis Springer was a character whom nearly every one in this county knew personally, and to know him was to respect and admire him for his many excellent qualities. It was not my pleasure to know him until toward the close of his long and eventful career; on several occasions, however, it was my privilege to talk to him and with him about the practice of the law in the early days of our statehood, and as he talked, in his kind, genial manner, it was truly an inspiration to the youthful practitioner, and could not help but create a desire on the part of the struggling young lawyer to emulate such an eminent jurist and just judge. I remember him as a genial, kind, lovable character, not at all ostentatious, always ready to aid those in need of his assistance, and nothing seemed to give him more pleasure during the declining years of his life than to discourse with the young lawyer, and by so doing instill into his mind some of the principles which should guide him in the practice of the profession. So far as I personally am concerned I shall not count as lost the time thus occupied with our deceased friend. Judge Springer's influence certainly had much to do in forming the early history of the State, and it is a matter of pride to all the citizens of this county, and particularly this village, that so honored and honorable a gentleman should have resided here. We feel that it is very fitting that his portrait should adorn the walls of the historical building, and we appreciate the very valuable gift of his heirs, and shall always feel that we have a peculiar interest in the history and historical building of the State.

Hon. John F. Dillon, one of the most distinguished Iowa jurists, but now a resident of New York City, wrote as follows:

For nearly two generations Judge Springer was a citizen of Iowa, and for more than a generation a distinguished and even eminent citizen. He was held in great esteem, not only for his ability and learning, but also for his irreproachable private character and sterling worth in all the attributes of a good citizen. He left to his family and to the State the priceless possession of an unspotted record. When I was a member of the supreme court of Iowa Judge Springer's decisions sometimes came before us for review. I am able to state the high opinion which all the judges of that court had of Judge Springer's learning and judicial ability. There was a strong presumption that any decision or judgment by Judge Springer was correct, and it so proved, for he was rarely reversed. I am glad that his memory is held in respect by the people of Iowa.

Letters were also received from Mayor James Brenton of Des Moines, Col. G. W. Crosley of Webster City, Col. W. S. Dungan of Chariton, Hon. Charles Linderman of Clarinda, ex-clerk of the supreme court, Hon. Eugene Secor of Forest City, Newton R. Parvin of Cedar Rapids, Hon. Isaac Brandt of Des Moines, Prof. B. F. Shambaugh of Iowa City, and others.

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### A VALUABLE COUNTY HISTORY.

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There has lately been issued from the Kenyon Press, Des Moines, a History of Dickinson County, Iowa, which we believe will take rank among the valuable works of local history hitherto published in our State. It was written by Hon. Rodney A. Smith, a pioneer settler, who has resided on the bank of West Okoboji lake since the massacre of the settlers in 1857. Mr. Smith was a soldier in the relief expedition of 1857, and represented Dickinson, Emmet, Palo Alto and Clay counties in the twelfth general assembly. He is, with a single exception, the oldest living resident of that county. No man could be better informed upon the history of that region, "all of which he saw and part of which he was." During the intervening years—more than the lifetime of a generation—he has collected the data for this his life-work. The county and its thriving towns and villages have grown up under his observation. For many years he knew the most of its people and has always been constantly in touch with its growing interests. While he makes no pretension to scholarship, his work tells a continuous story of growth and development, progress and improvement, from the days of the white settlements which immediately followed the Indian troubles until the present time. Its 600 pages are a repository of facts.

The work opens with a full history of the Indian troubles of that region, of which the massacre and relief expedition were the chief features. This narrative fills eleven of the chapters. Mr. Smith has copied freely from the writings of other observers, as Gov. C. C. Carpenter, Hon. John F. Duncombe, Capt. Charles B. Richards, Lieut. John N. Maxwell, W. K. Laughlin, Mrs. Sharp, and the pages of *THE ANNALS OF IOWA*, but always with due credit.

The settlement and organization of the county run through five chapters and are especially full and complete.

Five or six chapters are devoted to Indian troubles in the northwest during the civil war, including the service of the border brigade. After the civil war the resumption of settlement was like beginning anew.

Another interesting episode was the grasshopper invasion, which occupies two chapters, and here again the author copies from the graphic account of Gov. Carpenter.

Six chapters are devoted to the various towns in the county, of which Spirit Lake is the foremost.

There is a very interesting chapter on railroads, detailing at length the efforts of the people to have them extended into that region.

Two chapters are given to fish and game, their original status and rapid disappearance, and the efforts put forth to preserve them. The history of fish and game in Iowa, and the attempts to propagate the food fishes, are really epitomized by Mr. Smith.

This work is illustrated with excellent portraits of several people who were prominent in the Spirit Lake expedition, and there are many half-tones of scenery about the various lakes. The book is a beautiful one, reflecting much credit upon the author and publishers. It deserves a wide sale in northwestern Iowa, of which it presents a very full history. The purpose of Mr. Smith has been to narrate facts and incidents, as he knew them to have transpired, and not to make it in any sense a vehicle of personal adulation, like too many of the so-called county histories.

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### UNVEILING AND DEDICATING THE KINSMAN MONUMENT.

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This event, which was announced in *THE ANNALS* for January last, took place at Council Bluffs, the home of Col. W. H. Kinsman before he entered the Union army, on the 17th of May last. It was one of the most important historical events that has taken place in recent years on the Missouri slope. Primarily it was the inspiration and work of Gen. Grenville M. Dodge, though he found hundreds of willing hands to assist him in the patriotic undertaking. It was paid for from contributions by Col. Kinsman's old comrades of the 4th and 23d Iowa Infantry regiments, a labor of love on their part. The monument was made from a design drawn by Gen. Dodge. It is a most symmetrical and beautiful gray granite pillar, 20 feet in height. The base is 4 feet 6 inches square. The word "Kinsman" stands out in large letters on the second base, and a bronze medallion portrait of the soldier was placed upon the die. The monument also has several tasteful decorations engraved upon the granite. There was a great procession to the cemetery, in which old and young soldiers, children from the public schools, and citizens generally participated. Gen. Dodge called the assemblage surrounding the monument to order and spoke as follows:

**MY COMRADES, FRIENDS AND CITIZENS:** We meet here to honor and commemorate a comrade, whom I had known probably longer and better than any one here present, and one very dear to me. It is not, however, my intention to speak to you of him. I paid my tribute to him in official reports that are a matter of record, and within the year, but before his body was found, I wrote my recollections of him that were published in the January number of *THE ANNALS OF IOWA*. There are others present who will pay eloquent tribute to his memory.

It is a great pleasure and satisfaction to me to see so many of his comrades, friends, citizens and school children present, and I wish to impress upon them the lesson which this day teaches. It is thirty-nine years ago today since the soldier fell in battle, and after long search his comrades have rescued his remains from that memorable field, buried them here, and erected this simple but appropriate monument to his memory, proving that no matter how humble the position of this patriot whose loyalty to his country determined him to defend it, his acts and his services have never been forgotten. Let me assure these young people who are here before me, that if ever their country calls it should be not only a duty but a pleasure for them to respond, as our comrade Kinsman did, and they like him will be remembered and honored; and if he could speak to you today he would say to you, that above all things, loyalty to one's country is the citizens' first duty; that it is the law of both God and man, and should never for one moment be forgotten.

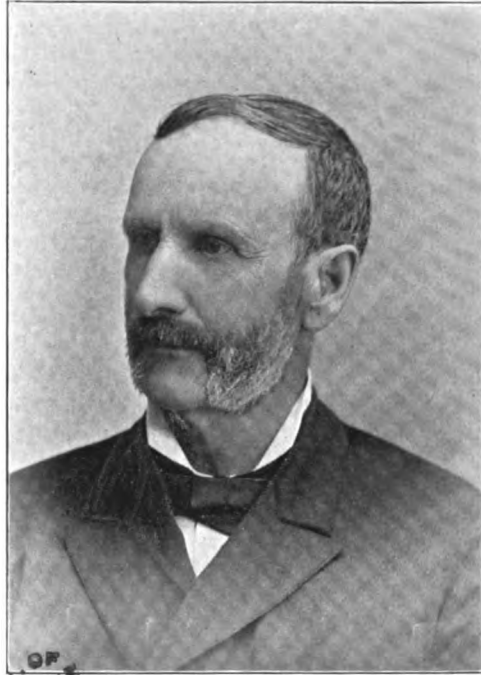
I wish, on behalf of the comrades, of the citizens, of the friends and scholars, to thank most cordially Lieut. J. A. Straight, Jesse Truitt and Comrade Oldham of the 23d Iowa, for that labor of love which resulted in locating and sending the remains of Col. Kinsman to his home. Mr. Oldham died soon after his return from Vicksburg. I wish also to thank the firm of Sheely & Lean of this city, the manufacturers of the simple but beautiful monument we have erected in this appropriate spot.

This shaft has wound around it the Star Spangled Banner, the banner that was carried in the celebrated charge at Black River bayou, where the brave and gallant 23d Iowa, led by the intrepid Colonel Kinsman, won a great victory, Kinsman laying down his life upon the enemy's entrenchments.

Gen. Dodge then gave the signal and the large American flag with which the monument was draped fell to the ground. The band played "The Star Spangled Banner," and the audience rising joined in singing the national anthem. Farther speaking followed, eulogies of Col. Kinsman being pronounced by Emmet Tinley, Lieut. J. A. Straight and J. W. Deweese.







OF  
N. M.  
HUBBARD

THE LATE JUDGE N. M. HUBBARD.  
1829-1902.

## NOTABLE DEATHS.

NATHANIEL MEAD HUBBARD was born in Oswego, N. Y., Sept. 24, 1829; he died in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, June 12, 1902. From a sketch in "Progressive Men of Iowa," which is no doubt authoritative, we derive most of the following facts: He was the son of Ansel Hubbard, a Methodist clergyman and farmer, whose New England ancestry went back to 1624. In his boyhood days he had to battle against adverse conditions which he conquered in his determination to attain an education. An elder sister was his first teacher when he was a hard-worked boy on the farm. "By the aid of a pine knot in the evenings," says his biographer, "after his regular work was done, he began his earnest efforts to educate himself." As soon as he had made sufficient progress, he taught school and carried on his studies out of school hours. At the age of 20 he entered Alfred university, a Seventh Day Baptist college, at Alfred Center, Allegany county, N. Y., a short distance west of Hornellsville. After his graduation he studied law at the latter place. Coming west in 1854, he located in Marion, Iowa. At the outbreak of the civil war he entered the Union army, in which he served three years. He raised Co. F of the 20th Iowa Infantry, of which he was commissioned captain. In 1863 he was appointed provost marshal on the staff of Gen. F. J. Herron. He also served in the same capacity and as judge advocate on the staff of Gen. O. E. C. Ord. He resigned on account of disability April 20, 1865, and was brevetted major March 16, 1867, for meritorious services. He had long been a member of the Iowa Commandery of the Loyal Legion, and was president of the Society of the Army of the Frontier. In November after his return he was appointed district judge, to fill a vacancy. He left the bench the following year to enter the legal department of the Chicago & Northwestern Railway Co., in which service he remained down to the time of his death. He removed to Cedar Rapids in 1870. During the thirty-six years which elapsed after Judge Hubbard entered upon that engagement—1866-1902—no man in Iowa achieved a higher position as a lawyer or became a more dominant factor in its politics. His life was one of the greatest activity, and he won distinguished success in most of the contests in which he was necessarily engaged. While never craving political honors for himself, for many years his friendship for an aspirant for nomination or appointment counted as much as did that of Thurlow Weed in the state of New York. It would require a volume to tell the story of so active and influential a life, and we have little doubt that some such memorial will be prepared and published by his friends. His sudden death called forth expressions of respect and sympathy throughout the State, and from leading men in other parts of the country. We do not recall another instance in which the press of Iowa has devoted so much space to the record of a life. This was especially noticeable in the case of *The Register*, of Des Moines, ten of the broad columns of which were given up to "Memories of Judge Hubbard," by his friend, Hon. James S. Clarkson. He once asked the judge whom he estimated as Iowa's greatest men. Judge H. replied that Samuel F. Miller and James W. Grimes were "the greatest Iowa men in greatness born." He placed Mr. Grimes next to Lincoln in ability, at that time, saying, "Grimes had the cleanest and strongest mental ray among Iowa men," and he mentioned especially his great services as chairman of the senate committee on naval affairs during the civil war. Judge Hubbard's death was due to an accident. "He was driving from one of his farms to the other on a wagon with dump-boards, as he used to do in his boyhood days." The jolting frightened the team, which ran away, throwing him to the ground where a hind wheel passed over him. He was so seriously injured that he died three days afterwards.

THOMAS WILSON was born in New Brighton, Beaver county, Pa., July 13, 1832; he died in Washington, D. C., May 4, 1902. He received only a common school education when he started out to make his own way in the world, at first as an apprentice in Salem, O., to learn carriage making. Two years later he returned to New Brighton, remaining with his parents and working at his trade until he attained his majority. Coming west he served as a journeyman carriage maker in St. Louis, Mo., Troy, Ill., and elsewhere, finally settling in Marietta, Marshall county, where he followed his trade for some years, his principal work being the making of heavy plows used for breaking new prairie land. He was chosen deputy clerk of the district court and served in this capacity for some years, during which time he turned his attention to law, reading Blackstone and Kent after the day's work. He completed his law studies in the office of Finch & Crocker in Des Moines, after which he was admitted to the bar. He practiced for some time in Marietta with considerable success. He took an active part in the famous contest between Marietta and Marshalltown, which was one of the most vigorously prosecuted county-seat fights that ever occurred in Iowa, the contending parties at one time coming very near bloodshed. Marshalltown finally won the victory, which completely wiped out the pretensions and ambitions of Marietta. At the beginning of the civil war he assisted in raising Co. A, 2d Iowa Cavalry, of which Hon. W. P. Hepburn was the captain. Hepburn was soon promoted to lieutenant-colonel when Wilson became captain of the company. He served with his regiment until September, 1864, when, having been mustered out with the brevet rank of colonel, he went to Washington for the purpose of adjusting his accounts with the government in connection with the service. From this time forward Washington continued to be his home. For a long time he had a large practice before the court of claims and the United States supreme court. He retired from his profession in 1881, when he was appointed consul to Ghent, Belgium. After a few years he was transferred to Nantes, and afterwards to Nice. He had for many years before going to Europe taken great interest in the study of archaeology, having explored many prehistoric mounds in the vicinity of his birthplace. He continued his studies and investigations in this direction during the time he was in Europe. Upon his return to this country he was appointed curator of archaeology in the Smithsonian Institution. Since he gave his attention to the study of archaeology he has written several books which have been published under the auspices of the U. S. National Museum, among which the following may be mentioned: "A Study of Prehistoric Anthropology," (1888); "Results of an Inquiry as to the Existence of Man in North America During the Paleolithic Period of the Stone Age," (1888); "Criminal Anthropology" (1890); "Primitive Industry," (1892); "Minute Stone Implements from India," (1892); "The Swastika, the Earliest Known Symbol," (1895); "Prehistoric Art, or the Origin of Art as Manifested in the Works of Prehistoric Man," (1897), and "Arrowpoints, Spearheads and Knives of Prehistoric Time," (1898). Col. Wilson made a success of everything he ever undertook. He was an excellent mechanic, a good lawyer, a soldier who made a proud record in active service, and he won a high place among the scientific men of America. He took an active interest in the Historical Department of Iowa, and had made to its collections several important additions.

LUCIEN L. AINSWORTH was born in New Woodstock, New York, June 21, 1831; he died in West Union, Fayette county, Iowa, April 19, 1902. Mr. Ainsworth received his education in the public schools of New York and the Oneida Conference seminary at Cazenovia, N. Y. Studying law, he was admitted to the bar in Madison county, N. Y., in 1854. In 1855 he came to Belvidere, Ill., whence after a few months of practice he removed

to West Union, which was afterwards his home. During the civil war he recruited a company and was commissioned captain of Co. C, 6th Iowa Cavalry, Jan. 31, 1863. He took part during the following year in the campaign against the Indians, and was mustered out with his regiment at Sioux City, Oct. 7, 1865. He was elected to the State senate in 1859, where he served four years. As a member of the judiciary committee he bore an important part in the revision of the laws. In 1871 he was chosen a representative in the 14th general assembly, where he again served on the judiciary committee which prepared the Code of 1873. The following year he was elected to congress from the Third Iowa district, serving one term, declining a renomination. Mr. Ainsworth was well known throughout the State as an able lawyer, a genial, excellent gentleman, and a man of many friends.

COL. ELLIOTT SHURTZ died at the Soldiers' Home in Marshalltown, April 12, 1902. He was a native of Ohio, and at the time of his death was 74 years of age. He enlisted from his native state and served through the Mexican war with credit. At the outbreak of the rebellion he went to the front with Co. H, 13th Iowa Infantry, of which he was lieutenant. He participated in the battle of Shiloh, in which he bore a very active part, and was so severely wounded that he had to retire from the service for a time. Upon his recovery, he raised and organized Co. I, 8th Iowa Cavalry, and returned to the front as its captain. He participated in the memorable Atlanta campaign, in which he was wounded and taken prisoner. A portion of one hand was shot away. After his return from the front he resided in Marshalltown until his death. General Grant appointed him postmaster of that city during his first term as president, in which position Col. Shurtz remained for twelve years. He served also as a member of the city council. Few men of his rank in the Union army came out of it with a prouder record. At his final muster-out he was brevetted lieutenant-colonel.

TALTON E. CLARK was born in Nicholasville, Ky., Oct. 18, 1845; he died in Los Angeles, Cal., April 20, 1902. In 1854 his parents settled in Missouri, where he passed his boyhood. When the war broke out his family removed to Nebraska. In 1867 he came to Clarinda, where his father had charge of the Presbyterian church. In 1868 he entered the law office of Col. Wm. P. Hepburn and in 1870 was admitted to the bar. For thirty-five years he has been a resident of Clarinda and a recognized leader of the bar of southwestern Iowa. As a pleader, and in his power over a jury, his success was remarkable. For eight years he represented the Fremont-Page district in the State senate, serving in the 19th, 20th, 21st and 22d general assemblies. His legislative record was a brilliant one. He was an earnest advocate of temperance and sustained the prohibitory law. Senator Clark was an eloquent speaker, with a droll humor that gave him great power over audiences. For years he had been a member of the school board and was always interested in the cause of education.

ISRAEL ANDERSON was born in Greene county, Pa., Feb. 28, 1815; he died in Keokuk, Iowa, June 25, 1902. He came to Van Buren county, Iowa, in 1837 but after 1840 resided in Keokuk. At the time of his death he was the oldest settler of Lee county. In 1849 he was elected sheriff, serving for two years. In 1868 he made a trip by wagon to Pike's Peak. When the war broke out he was mustered into service as captain of Co. C, Third Iowa Cavalry, and served until 1863, when he was severely wounded. On returning home he was again elected sheriff. At the end of his term he started in a small way the business now well known as the Anderson Canning works. Captain Anderson was a natural soldier, fond of adventure

and danger. At the time of the boundary trouble between Iowa and Missouri, the governor of Iowa appointed him to an important military position. He helped to capture the sheriff of Clark county, Mo., for trying to collect taxes from Iowa residents. He was well acquainted with the Indian chiefs Black Hawk and Keokuk.

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JOHN MEYER was born near Bellefonte, Pa., Feb. 26, 1824; he died in Newton, Iowa, May 14, 1902. His early years were spent on his father's farm. In 1847 he entered Oberlin college, and graduated from that institution in 1853. In 1856 he removed to Newton, Iowa, where he taught for a year in Williamsburg academy and then engaged in merchandizing. He represented Jasper county in the regular and extra sessions of the 9th general assembly. When the war broke out he helped to organize three companies and was elected captain of company K, 20th Iowa Infantry. His military record was a brilliant one, including service in many of the most noted battles. He was discharged with a lieut. colonel's commission at the close of the war. Soon after reaching home he was elected State senator, serving in the 11th and 12th general assemblies, and again in the 17th and 18th. For years he was a trustee of Iowa college at Grinnell. In early days he was an abolitionist and all his life an advocate of the temperance cause.

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DANIEL A. POORMAN was born in Lancaster, Ohio, August 5, 1831; he died in Des Moines, May 4, 1902. Mr. Poorman received his education in Williams college and in Wittenberg college, Springfield, Ohio. From the last named institution he graduated in 1854. He then went to California for a short time, but soon returned to Ohio. In 1857 he came west and settled in Indianola, Iowa. The same year he was elected surveyor of Warren county. In 1861-62 he served as deputy state treasurer; in 1867-68 he was employed by the government as book keeper at Forts D. A. Russell and Kearney. In 1870 he returned to Des Moines where he resided until his death. He was considered one of the most expert book keepers in the State, and his services were required in examining records for boards of supervisors in several counties. For ten years past he had examined the books for the Latter Day Saints, at Lamoni.

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HOWARD WINSLOW TILTON was born in Frankfort, Maine, June 9, 1849; he died in Council Bluffs, June 17, 1902. When a child the family removed to Milwaukee, where his father became well known in the state as a prominent Methodist minister. Mr. Tilton graduated from Lawrence university, Appleton, Wis., in 1874, and began newspaper work soon after on *The Chicago Post*. He afterwards worked on the *Janesville, Wis., Gazette*. Twenty years ago he came to Council Bluffs and took charge of the Council Bluffs department of *The Omaha Bee*. Since 1896 he had been editor of *The Nonpareil*. His literary and executive ability were of a high order, and he will be greatly missed from the ranks of Iowa journalists. His well known "Lay Sermons" first appeared in *The Nonpareil*, and were afterwards published in book form. Mr. Tilton had for several years been a trustee of Tabor college.

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E. L. SMITH was born in Poland, O., March 30, 1830; he died in Des Moines, May 5, 1902. Mr. Smith had been in the employ of the U. S. Express Company more than 45 years, during 37 of which he had resided in Des Moines. In this capacity he had become widely known throughout the State. He was distinguished for his fidelity to the interests of his employers, and for his geniality and courtesy in the transaction of the large and varied business which passed through his hands.





*B. A. Chyhan*

## JOURNALS OF IOWA.

1. **How many times did you see the defendant?**

1. 2. 3.

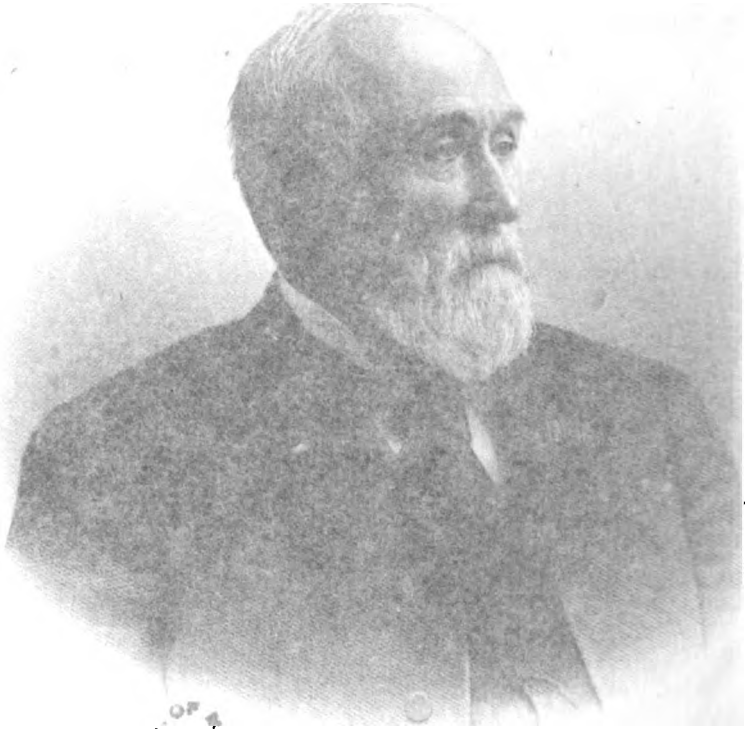
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# ANNALS OF IOWA.

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VOL. V, No. 7.

DES MOINES, IOWA, OCTOBER, 1902.

3D SERIES.

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## THE IOWA NORTHERN BORDER BRIGADE OF 1862-3.

BY CAPT. WILLIAM H. INGHAM.

The news of the Sioux outbreak in Minnesota, under the leadership of Little Crow, reached the Algona settlement in the latter part of August, 1862. It received but little attention at the time, however, more than to be passed along from one to another with such comment as each saw fit to make. Ordinarily it would have created quite a stir among the border settlers of the State, but the war in the south, for which urgent calls were being made for more men, absorbed attention. President Lincoln had made a call for three hundred thousand in June, and again for as many more on August 4, with an order for a draft to meet any deficiency in case the quotas of the different states were not filled by August 15. Governor Kirkwood had issued several proclamations to the people of Iowa in which he made strong and earnest appeals for prompt enlistments to fill up the new regiments forming and the depleted ranks of the old ones that were fighting at the front. He also expressed a great desire that Iowa might furnish her quota of men without delay, and so avoid the necessity of making a draft. This, with the prospect of a long continued struggle, caused a depression that made it the darkest hour of the entire war. Under these conditions it was hardly possible for an Indian disturbance not close at hand to get the attention of even the border settlers of the State, who were naturally so largely interested.

At that time Algona was dependent on a tri-weekly mail

from Fort Dodge and a semi-weekly from Blue Earth City to bring the news. As railroads and telegraph lines were almost unknown west of the Mississippi, it was slow in coming as compared with the present time. Later mails seemed to confirm the first report of the outbreak, and when it was learned that a large section of country had been overrun by the Indians, all the settlements destroyed and many people massacred; that New Ulm was being closely besieged, and that the settlers on the Blue Earth river and for some distance to the east had abandoned their homes, it created an alarm all along the exposed border of the State. It was very evident that only prompt action of some kind that would tend to allay the fears of the people could possibly hold the settlements and prevent a like panic and stampede in Iowa. For this purpose the people of the county, especially those subject to military duty, were hurriedly notified to gather at the town hall in Algona to organize a military company and for such further action as might be thought best for the security of the settlements. About the same time similar action was taken by the citizens of Emmet county at Estherville, in order to hold the settlements on the west branch of the Des Moines river. At the appointed time for the meeting at Algona, nearly all of those notified and many others were present. On motion of J. E. Stacy, Dr. J. R. Armstrong was called to the chair. He briefly stated the situation and the object of the meeting. Enlistments were then made and the company was fully organized in a very short time, without a dissenting voice. As the new company had no arms or ammunition, Lewis H. Smith was chosen to go to Des Moines and procure a supply, and also to do whatever else might be necessary to put the company in proper form. It then fell to the lot of William B. Carey and myself to go to Mankato and see the disturbed section of country, and learn the extent of the trouble and also what was being done for the protection of the Minnesota border, that the people in our own State might be better informed as to what should be done.

On the following morning Mr. Carey and I were off on horseback and crossed the thirty miles of unsettled prairie to Hagen's place, at the upper grove on the Blue Earth river. From there on the vacant homes and stock at large showed too plainly what had taken place. We found a company of militia, at Blue Earth City where we stopped over night, busily engaged in preparing for defense and in caring for the town. As we passed through Winnebago City on our way to Mankato the next day, we saw a mounted field piece standing at the roadside with about a bushel of cast iron broken up into small pieces, lying at its side, to be used instead of shot and shell; it gave the place quite a warlike appearance. On reaching Mankato we learned that the Sioux had withdrawn from their attack upon New Ulm and that the citizens and fugitives, some two thousand in all, had abandoned the town and gone to different parts in the older settlements of the state, taking with them many from Mankato as they passed through. The next morning we were told that there were several at the hospital who had been wounded at Lake Shetek. We called on them and found among the number, Mr. Ireland, who had the reputation of being "one man that the Indians could not kill." He seemed to be fully entitled to this distinction, as he had walked about fifty miles, with others, in making his escape, after having been wounded some eight times. We found him quite feeble, as he told us in a faltering voice that the settlements on the west branch of the Des Moines river from Lake Shetek to the Iowa boundary, and in the country from the lake to New Ulm, through which he had traveled while getting away, had all been broken up by the Indians and the greater part of the settlers had been killed. We were not able to find any person in town who could furnish us with definite information such as was wanted. So on learning that there were likely to be troops stationed at New Ulm some twenty-five miles up the Minnesota river, we decided to go there and see more of the effects of the outbreak. On our way the broken down fences

and the appearance of the road and fields near by all went to show the intense excitement of the people as they hurried and crowded on their way, after leaving the town, and the terrifying scenes which they had witnessed. When we arrived at the once thrifty town of fifteen hundred inhabitants, we found only the business houses, a large hotel and a brick building left to mark its location. The blackened ruins of homes, and the bullet marked buildings, showed plainly the effects of the two different attacks made by the Sioux for its capture. It may be of interest to introduce a brief sketch of the time and manner in which these attacks were made.

The Sioux commenced their depredations and murderous work early on the morning of August 18, 1862, at the Lower Mission, and then worked down the Minnesota River during the day to within six miles of New Ulm, burning the homes and killing many of the settlers on their way. During the afternoon several fugitives reached the town and told the people what was being done up the river. Soon after, many more began to arrive. This created the wildest excitement and caused the entire population to gather at the business center, where they quickly went to work putting up a barricade around a large square for protection. On the following day the work on the barricades was vigorously pushed forward without any signs of Indians until the middle of the afternoon, when columns of smoke were seen to rise above the timber in different localities. As other columns were soon noticed nearer by, the imprisoned people well knew what to expect. By six o'clock one hundred Indians or more made their appearance and began burning the buildings at the outskirts of the town. They then undertook to reach the central part, fighting with the citizens from house to house as they went, and using the dense smoke from the burning buildings as a screen to protect themselves from being seen. The consternation in the camp at this point was at its highest pitch. Fortunately, just at this time Mr. Boardman with fifteen mounted men came into town from

St. Peter. He and his men, without stopping, went charging down the street firing their guns rapidly as they went. This brought out all the available forces from the barricaded square, and they at once joined in the fight. Altogether they drove the Indians back, who evidently thought large reinforcements had arrived and so took to their horses and went away after a loss of several killed and wounded on both sides. About nine o'clock the camp was greatly relieved by the arrival of Judge Flandreau from St. Peter with one hundred men. He was then chosen to take command. Early on the following morning about one hundred men from Mankato and LeSeur arrived and joined the forces. As there were no Indians in sight all hands were set at work strengthening the barricades. This, with scouting the country a few miles out, burying the dead and caring for the camp, kept the force busy until the 23d inst., when Little Crow with some five hundred warriors made his appearance. After considerable skirmishing outside of the town they finally obliged Judge Flandreau and his men to fall back and seek shelter within the town. They then nearly surrounded the town when a desperate fight began which lasted until dark with no marked advantage on either side. Judge Flandreau now ordered the barricaded square to be made as small as possible about the two thousand people huddled together, and the surplus material to be used for strengthening the works. He then ordered all wooden buildings standing outside of the square to be burned. This was done in order to prevent the Indians from carrying on a skulking fight from house to house as they had done the day before and oblige them to come out into an open field. The prompt action of Judge Flandreau undoubtedly saved the town from a general massacre, as the Indians after making a feeble attack and firing random shots from the hill at the west during the next forenoon, withdrew and went off northward. The authorities after burying the dead and caring for the wounded decided it would be best for the people to abandon the town, as there

were no means at hand for taking proper care of so many sick and wounded persons. A complete abandonment was made on the 25th inst., five days previous to the arrival of Mr. Carey and myself. We found Captain Dane with a squad of cavalry in command; he kindly invited us to stop with him over night at the hotel building where he and his men were making their headquarters. During the evening we listened to the reports of those who had been out on detail, ranging through the desolated settlements for the purpose of burying the dead and rescuing any who had escaped. From these reports it was very evident that the Indians had lost none of their usual cunning in devising means to torture, before their death, many of their unfortunate victims, especially women and children. Judging from the number of dead already reported, Captain Dane was of the opinion that the massacre would prove to be the largest in the history of the country. Later it was found to number eight hundred victims or more, making it nearly three times as great as the famous Wyoming Valley massacre in 1778.

It being important that we should return soon, we decided to take a direct course for Algona by way of Iowa Lake and so save time. Learning that a couple of soldiers were detailed to burn a building in which they had found the putrid body of one of the unfortunates, early the next morning, a mile or two out on our way, we arranged to be called in time to breakfast with the company mess and go with them. In starting out through the town we passed a line of the barricade that had not been disturbed. It was made up in sections of cord wood, lumber, wagon wheels, piled up layer upon layer, and kegs of nails set upright, tier upon tier, with broken joints. Quite a large section was built up with trunks and boxes filled with goods from the stores, that were still exposed to the weather. More than one hundred and fifty lumber wagons had entered into its make-up, with everything else available. The wagons had been taken away for the purpose of carrying the women and

children as well as the sick and wounded, at the time the town was abandoned. We soon brought up at the doomed building and saw its lonely occupant lying upon the floor. He added one more to the list of the unknown dead, as there was nothing about his person by which he might be identified. We now left our escort to perform their task while we went on our way. During the forenoon we came to a newly made, unoccupied, log structure, marked "Fort Madelia," in large letters, evidently having been put up by the settlers for a place of refuge where they might be better prepared to defend themselves in case the Indians should make an attack. At noon we went to a farm to feed our horses. In looking about we noticed a large field of grain ready for the stack. In the yard there were several finished stacks; one was partly finished with the rack over turned near-by and a part of the load lying under it on the ground. Going to the house not far away we passed through the open front gate and walked up to the open door; the spirit of the home seemed to say, "Just in time. Walk in. Dinner is ready and waiting for you." We went in and found the table fully prepared for the meal; a large baked goose was lying on the platter, with carving knife and fork at its side. Had it not been waiting so long and had Captain Dane not cautioned us about eating anything found at the homes on our way, on account of possible poison, we should have been inclined to accept the seeming invitation. As it was, we preferred a vegetable lunch such as we could find in the well kept garden near-by. Everything about this home seemed to be in order and undisturbed, so that from what we had seen it became an easy matter to read the circumstances under which the family had left. The last load of grain before dinner was being put into the stack. The conque shell lying on the shelf had been used in giving the dinner call. When the grain was about two-thirds unloaded parties came out of the oak openings near-by and gave the alarm of Indians. A few persons stopped to raise the rack



from the wagon and turn it off. The wagon box was hurriedly put on, the folks from the house rushed out, not stopping to take anything with them or even to close the door, and all were off. Thousands of people over a large part of the state of Minnesota abandoned their homes in a similar manner at all hours of day and night, whenever the alarm was given. There was an immense loss of property in consequence, but this was nothing in comparison with the injury and suffering from exposure and excitement on the part of the people themselves. After lunch our course led us across a large unsettled prairie, as at that time no settlements had been made away from the timber.

It may be presumed that from the time we left New Ulm we were alert in noticing whatever might be going on about us, so that when we saw some large, dark objects in front, crossing our course to the east, and so far away in the smoky, dusty air that we could not make out what they were, we gave them our closest attention. We watched them carefully for some distance, with the thought of Indians uppermost in our minds. Whatever they were, however, it was quieting to know that they were going away from us at good speed. But when they were seen to stop and soon after turn about and retrace their course partly toward us we were decidedly anxious. We rode on quickly to where we could plainly see them when passing in front and stopped. We did not have to wait long, however, before we were well pleased to see the objects that we had been watching develop into two teams and wagons, with several men in each. The men were standing up, beating, prodding and urging their teams in a way to bring out their best possible speed. It now became a puzzling matter for us to determine what the cause might be for such a terrible fright. If it was from seeing us we could not account for their stopping and then turning back partly toward us. It was more likely that they had seen Indians in front or something mistaken for them, from whom they were trying to make their escape. If they had really

seen Indians we felt it to be rather important for us to know it and to plan accordingly, as we were not armed. Under the circumstances Mr. Carey and I decided to overtake them as quickly as possible and learn the cause of their fright, so that if it came from us we could make ourselves known and thereby relieve them and also save their teams from further violent work. When we rode up to their side and called on them to stop, they only made a greater effort in urging their teams forward. Finding we could not get their attention in this way, we rode up partly in front of the horses, and managed to make ourselves known, when their teams were slowly brought to a halt. We found the party to be made up of Norwegians who hardly knew how to give expression to their feelings when they found they were not to be harmed. When they recovered sufficiently to talk we were told that on first seeing us they became very much alarmed, thinking we were Indians, and so hurried their teams as best they could on their way. After going some distance it occurred to them that the whole country was being overrun by Sioux and that it would be useless for them to go any farther expecting to escape. They then quickly unloaded their goods and started back hoping to reach their cabins, some five miles from where we were, up the Watonwan River. They also told us that when the first alarm of Indians reached their settlement they had taken their families to Albert Lea but had returned to get a supply of bedding and other articles for their use, and were on their way back when they first saw us coming from the north. We now got off from our horses while they got out of their wagons and so we met and became acquainted, with a vigorous handshake over the affair. As I remember, it was a pretty good feeling group just then on the prairie of the Watonwan. After talking it over they decided to go back to their homes and stay over night and invited us to go with them, which we did. It proved to be very fortunate for us as we found good quarters for the night and were well cared for by our newly made friends. On the following

morning, before parting with them, they asked to be advised as to the safety of their returning and wintering their stock on the farms. We answered them at once that we should not like to take the risk. They evidently did return, however, and quite likely lost their lives by so doing, in the following March, as a report came out at that time that the Sioux had killed a party of Norwegians at the head waters of the Watonwan.

Our trip from here on, through an unsettled section of country to Iowa Lake was uneventful; there we stayed over night at the Thompson home. We had now traveled beyond the places where Captain Dane's cautious advice could apply and so made free use of the abundance of supplies found at this home. From that place we reached home by one more day's travel, on Sept. 2, 1862, making six days in all from the start. We found that Mr. Smith had returned from Des Moines without being able to do anything for the company, as Governor Kirkwood had called Mr. S. R. Ingham of Des Moines to his aid and had commissioned him to take full charge of the Northern Border disturbance, as shown by the following order, dated August 29, 1862, the day before Mr. Carey and myself started for Minnesota:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, DES MOINES, August 29, 1862.

*S. R. Ingham, Esq.:*

SIR:—I am informed there is probable danger of an attack by hostile Indians, on the inhabitants of the Northwestern portion of our State. Arms and powder will be sent to you at Fort Dodge. Lead and caps will be sent with you. I hand you an order on the Auditor of State for one thousand dollars.

You will please proceed at once to Fort Dodge and to such other points there as you may deem proper. Use the arms, ammunition and money placed at your disposal in such manner as your judgment may dictate as best to promote the object in view, to-wit: the protection of the inhabitants of the frontier. It would be well to communicate with Captain Millard commanding the company of mounted men raised for U.S. service at Sioux City. Place any men you may deem it advisable to raise under his command. Use your discretion in all things, and exercise any power I could exercise if I were present, according to your best discretion.

Please report to me in writing.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.





**JAMES A. SAWYERS.**

**He served in the Mexican War; First Lieutenant Sioux City Volunteer Cavalry,  
1861-62; Lieutenant-Colonel Iowa Northern Border Brigade, 1862-63;  
died in California, March 27, 1898.**

Under this order from Gov. Kirkwood, Mr. Ingham came to the north part of the State and after consulting with the people in several of the northern counties arrived in Algona on Sept. 2, 1862, the date of our return from New Ulm. On meeting him we made a brief verbal report as to what we had seen and learned about the massacre in Minnesota. A meeting of the people was then called to be held at the town hall next day, Sept. 3, at which Mr. Ingham, after listening to the views of several speakers as to what should be done to quiet the excitement and for the protection of the settlers, authorized the enlistment of forty men to be furnished by Humboldt, Palo Alto, Kossuth and Emmet counties. These were recruited without delay and were quickly organized into a company and sent out to Iowa Lake and Estherville to meet the pressing emergency. Under a subsequent order, dated Sept. 12, 1862, from Gov. Kirkwood, Mr. Ingham organized four more companies for the border service, stationing one company at Iowa Lake and the remaining companies at posts along the exposed border of the settlements from Spirit Lake to Sioux City. After Lt.-Col. James A. Sawyers\* had been elected and had taken command of the forces, Mr. Ingham filed his report with Gov. Kirkwood. This report furnishes a full and complete history of all that was done up to that time for the protection of the northern border of the State, as follows:

*To His Excellency, S. J. Kirkwood, Governor of Iowa:*

SIR:—Under your instructions placed in my hands August 29, 1862, I have the honor to report, that in compliance therewith, I at once proceeded to the northern border of our State to ascertain the extent of the supposed

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\* James A. Sawyers was born in Tennessee, Dec. 16, 1824. He died in California on the 7th day of March, 1896, and was buried at Sioux City on the 3d day of April, 1896. He served in the Mexican war in Company E, First Tennessee Cavalry. On Sept. 27, 1861, he enlisted in the Sioux City Volunteer Cavalry to go south in the war of the rebellion. But at this time the Indians were troublesome on the frontier and the company was required in Indian service. He was elected first lieutenant by his company, and served until Aug. 1862. He was urged by Gov. Kirkwood to accept a commission as lieutenant-colonel of the Northern Border Brigade of the Iowa State Militia, which he did Sept. 1, 1862. He was mustered out Sept. 19, 1863. The most important service Col. Sawyers ever rendered the government of the United States was doubtless the opening of the road from the mouth of the Niobrara river to Virginia City in Montana.

difficulties, and to do the needful for the protection of our frontier settlements, should circumstances warrant or demand.

I visited Dickinson, Emmet, Palo Alto, Kossuth, Humboldt, and Webster counties, found many of the inhabitants in a high state of excitement, and laboring under constant fear of an attack by Indians. Quite a number of families were leaving their homes and moving into the more thickly settled portions of the State.

This feeling, however, seemed to be more intense and to run higher in the more inland and remote counties from the border, than in the border counties themselves. In Emmet and Kossuth, both border counties, I had the settlers called together in order that I might learn from them their views and wishes as to what ought to be done for their safety, or rather what was necessary to satisfy and quiet their fears and apprehensions. They expressed themselves freely and were very temperate in their demands.

They said all they wanted or deemed necessary for the protection of the northern border was a small force of mounted men stationed on the east and west forks of the Des Moines river, to act in concert with the United States troops, then stationed at Spirit Lake; but that this force must be made up of men, such as they could choose from amongst themselves, who were familiar with the country and had been engaged in hunting and trapping for years, and were more or less familiar with the habits and customs of the Indians, one of which men would be worth half a dozen such as the State had sent up there on one or two former occasions.

In a small force of this kind they would have confidence, but would not feel safe with a much larger force of young and inexperienced men, such as are usually raised in the more central portions of the State. I at once authorized a company to be raised in Emmet, Kossuth, Palo Alto and Humboldt counties. Within five days forty men were enlisted; held an election for officers, were mustered in, furnished with arms and ammunition, and placed on duty,—twenty at Chain Lakes and twenty at Estherville on the west fork of the Des Moines river.

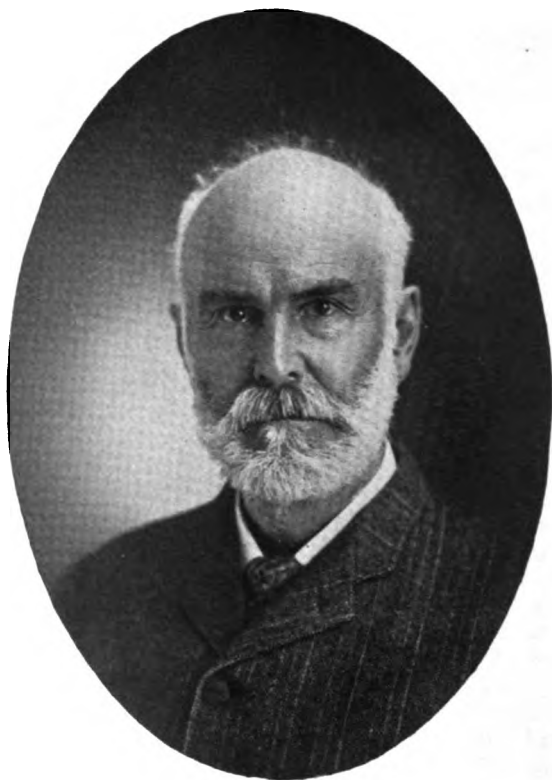
I authorized them to fill up the company to eighty men, if necessity should demand such an addition to the force. At Spirit Lake, in Dickinson county, I found some forty men stationed under command of Lieut. Sawyers of Capt. Millard's company, Sioux City Cavalry in the United States service. From the best information I could obtain I deemed this a sufficient force and therefore took no action to increase the protection at this point, further than to furnish the settlers with thirty stand of arms, and a small amount of ammunition, for which I took a bond as hereinafter stated.

Not being able to see Captain Millard, he being at Sioux City, I did not place the company raised under his command, but simply made an arrangement with Lieut. Sawyers by which the forces were to act together until such time as I should be able to see the captain.

I found that arms and ammunition had been distributed in several of the counties by the State, but owing to the reckless waste of ammunition







**LEWIS H. SMITH,**

**Pioneer settler of Kossuth county: First Lieutenant and Quarter-  
master of the Iowa Northern Brigade. Mustered  
into State service September 7, 1862.**

in shooting game, and the total want of care for the arms, when the time came when they were needed, they were either not to be found, or when found were almost wholly unfit for service. The arms in many instances, as I was reliably informed, had been carried or traded off, and as to ammunition, they had none; it had all been wasted on small game. In order to avoid this in the future, I advised the collecting together of the arms, putting them in order, and in all localities thickly settled enough to make it practicable, that they be deposited, together with what ammunition might be found, in some one place in charge of some reliable person, who should make it his business to look after and take care of them. This, in my opinion, is the only way that State arms can be made of much avail to the great majority of the settlers, particularly in all localities where the population is sufficiently dense to warrant it. In this way they would always be in order and ready for use. It would be economy on the part of the State, to pay even a reasonable compensation to some good man in each locality where distribution is made, to take charge of and hold himself responsible for them.

The settlers of Emmet and Kossuth counties were very desirous of having arms distributed to them, but owing to the limited number of arms and the small amount of ammunition at my disposal, I was unable to do so.

At Ft. Dodge, I received from the adjutant general, arms and ammunition as follows, to-wit:

One hundred and ninety-four Austrian rifles, 48 Springfield muskets, 3 kegs of powder, 293 lbs. of lead, 2,000 percussion caps, 5,000 cartridges. I received from Hon. J. H. Hatch, acting quartermaster at Des Moines, 1,000 cartridges, and of the clerk of the district court of Webster county, 2,600 percussion caps belonging to the State. I purchased at Ft. Dodge 10 lbs. of buck shot. Of the above described articles, the following were delivered to the commanding officer of the company stationed at Chain Lakes and Etherville, to-wit:

Sixty Austrian rifles, 20 Springfield muskets, 2,000 cartridges, 26½ lbs. powder, 80 lbs. lead, 2,500 percussion caps, 10 lbs. buck shot.

The following were delivered to Adolphus Jenkins for the use of settlers in Emmet county: Seven lbs. powder, 10 lbs. lead, 800 percussion caps.

To Martin Coonan for the use of settlers in Palo Alto county: Five lbs. powder, 10 lbs. lead, 800 percussion caps, and to Henry Barkman and Leonidas Congleton, for the use of settlers in Dickinson county: Ten Austrian rifles, 20 Springfield muskets, 15 lbs. powder, 20 lbs. lead, 500 percussion caps.

Bonds were taken for the arms and ammunition distributed as aforesaid.

All the arms and ammunition remaining on hand were subsequently turned over to Quartermaster Lewis H. Smith.

Having done all that seemed necessary for the protection of the settlers of the more exposed of the northern border counties, I returned to Fort Dodge on the 8th day of September, intending to proceed at once to Sioux

City, and make all necessary arrangements for the protection of the settlements on the northwestern border.

At that point I was informed that the legislature, then in extra session, had passed a bill providing for the raising of troops for the protection of our borders against hostile Indians. I therefore deemed it best to report myself to you for further instructions, and did so report on the 10th day of September. On the 18th day of that month you placed in my hands the following instructions, together with your General Orders No. 1.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, DES MOINES, Sept. 12, 1862.

GENERAL ORDERS No. 1.

1. The number of companies that will be received for service under the Act to provide for the protection of the northwestern frontier of Iowa from the hostile Indians, passed at the extra session of 1862, and the Acts amendatory thereof, is as follows, viz: One to be raised at Sioux City, one at Denison, Crawford county, one at Fort Dodge, one at Webster City, and one now stationed at Chain Lakes and Estherville.

2. These companies shall contain not less than forty nor more than eighty each. They will elect the company officers allowed, and in the manner prescribed by law. As soon as company elections are held, certificates of the result must be sent to the Adjutant General for commissions. After being mustered and sworn in, they will proceed, on a day to be fixed by S. R. Ingham, to vote at their several places of rendezvous by ballot for a Lieutenant-Colonel to command the whole. The returns of this election will be made to such point as Mr. Ingham may direct, and these canvassed by five tellers, one to be selected by each company, and the result sent to the Adjutant General. The highest number of votes cast for any one candidate shall elect.

3. The men and horses will be inspected and mustered in by Mr. Ingham. They must be fit for the proposed duty, also equipments.

4. The points at which the troops will be stationed, will, in the first place, be fixed by Mr. Ingham, and afterwards by the Lieutenant-Colonel elect.

5. Sufficient tools will be furnished to enable the men at such points as may be designated to erect block houses for quarters, and inclose grounds with a stockade. These houses and grounds are intended as rallying points in the future for the settlers in cases like the present, at which they can maintain themselves until help can reach them. This, in my judgment, is the only way in which security can ever be given to the border. The State cannot, and the United States will not, maintain an army all the time in the field for their protection, and unless some means can be devised by which the settlers can be prevented from abandoning their homes in case of alarm, it will be long before settlements will be made. These block houses, it seems to me, afford a means by which this may be done.

6. The officers and men composing these companies, so long as they remain in service, shall devote themselves exclusively to their duty. It is made the duty of each officer commanding a company or squad stationed at any post, to keep a daily record of absentees, with the causes for which leaves of absence have been given. Leaves of absence must not be given merely for the convenience of the person seeking it, but for sickness only; or for some cause affecting the public interest, which must in each case be stated on the returns. Absentees without leave must be noted on the rolls in all cases, and their pay will be stopped for the time they were absent, and for an equal time after their return, unless excused for some cause which in all cases must be reported to the Governor for his approval.

Consolidated monthly reports will be made by each company up to

the first day of each and every month, which reports must be transmitted to the Adjutant General within ten days thereafter.

Drunkenness of either officers, non-commissioned officers or privates, while on duty, will be deemed sufficient cause for dismissal from service without compensation or pay.

7. Each man shall be required to furnish his own horse and equipments. Subsistence and forage will be furnished by the State. The same pay will be allowed for this service as is now provided for like service by the United States.

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD, Governor of Iowa.

ADDITIONAL INSTRUCTIONS BY GOV. KIRKWOOD.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, DES MOINES, IOWA, September 13, 1862.

*S. R. Ingham, Esq.:*

SIR:—You are intrusted with the organization of the forces provided by law for the defense of the northwestern frontier, and with furnishing them with subsistence and forage during and after their organization; also, with the posting of the troops raised at such points as are best calculated to effect the object proposed, until the election of the officer who will command the entire force, and generally with the execution of the orders issued of this date in connection with this force.

It is impossible to foresee the contingencies that may arise, rendering necessary a change in these orders for the prompt exercise of powers not therein contained, and delay for the purpose of consulting me might result disastrously. In order to avoid these results, as far as possible, I hereby confer upon you all the powers I myself have in this regard. You may change, alter, modify, or add to the orders named, as in your sound discretion you may deem best. You may make such other and further orders as the exigencies of the case may, in your judgment, render necessary. In short, you may do all things necessary for the protection of the frontier, as fully as I could do if I were personally present, and did the same.

The first object is the security of the frontier; the second, that this object be effected as economically as is consistent with its prompt and certain attainment.

All officers and citizens are enjoined to co-operate with you, and yield to you the same assistance and obedience they would to me, and I hereby ratify and confirm all you may do in the premises.

And you are further fully authorized to employ any person or persons whom, in your judgment, you may deem necessary to assist you in the execution of your commission.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,  
SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

DES MOINES, IOWA, Sept. 13, 1862.

*S. R. Ingham, Esq.:*

SIR:—You are hereby authorized and empowered to collect together all the arms and equipments, or so many as you may desire, belonging to the State, now in the possession of any person or persons in the northern and northwestern portions thereof, and distribute them according to your best judgment, for the use of troops and settlers in the protection of the northwestern frontier.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,  
SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

In pursuance of these orders and instructions, I proceeded to Fort Dodge, and mustered and swore into the service of the State, for nine

months, unless sooner discharged, the company raised at that place, first inspecting the horses and equipments, and having them appraised.

I then proceeded with due dispatch to Webster City, Denison and Sioux City; and in like manner mustered in the companies raised at those places.

In the inspection of the horses and equipments, it was found utterly impracticable to be governed by a strict compliance with the rules and regulations which govern the United States service. In each of the companies accepted, many of the horses and equipments were of an inferior character; but being convinced that the utmost exertion had been made by the members of the companies to procure those that were better, without success, and it being evident that to reject such as were furnished would only work a detriment to the service, they were in many instances accepted with the understanding, however, in some cases, that others should soon be substituted, that would more nearly comply with the requirements of the service.

These four companies, and the one that had previously been stationed at Chain Lakes and Estherville, were all that were authorized under your General Orders, and mustered in all about two hundred and fifty men, rank and file.

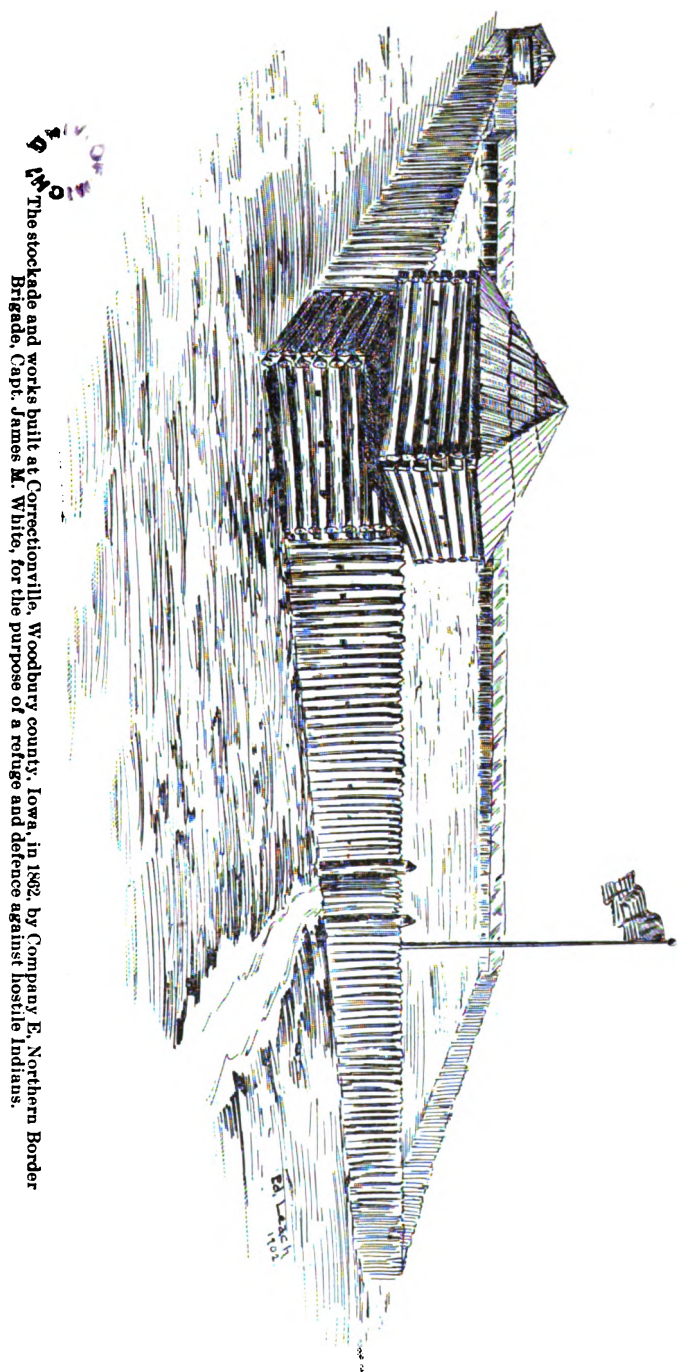
As each of the companies were sworn in, marching orders were at once given to the commanding officer, and such other orders as seemed advisable for the purpose of carrying out the objects in view, as expressed in your orders and instructions.

One company was stationed at Chain Lakes, one at Estherville, and portions of companies at each of the following points, to-wit: Acheyedan, Peterson, Cherokee, Ida, Sac City, Correctionville, West Fork, Little Sioux and Melbourne, thus forming, in conjunction with the portions of Capt. Millard's Company stationed at Sioux City and Spirit Lake, a complete line of communication between Chain Lakes and Sioux City.

After consulting the feelings and wishes of the settlers along the line, and after a careful survey of the grounds, it was determined to erect block houses and stockades at the following points, to-wit: Correctionville, Cherokee, Peterson, Estherville, and Chain Lakes.

At Spirit Lake a stockade had already been built around the court house by Lieut. Sawyers. The court house being constructed of brick makes the work of a very permanent and durable character. In making these locations, I was of course governed in a great degree by the desires and wishes of the settlers, at the expense of what might be regarded by military men as a proper location, in a strict military point of view. In conceding these points to them, I assumed that in as much as the State was constructing the works solely for their use and benefit, if the settlers themselves were satisfied, certainly the State would be.

At the points above indicated are the principal settlements on our extreme Northwestern border, and they are the only ones at which it was necessary to construct works as contemplated in your orders. This plan of protection was well received by most of the settlers, and at all the places



The stockade and works built at Correctionville, Woodbury county, Iowa, in 1862, by Company E, Northern Border  
 Brigade, Capt. James M. White, for the purpose of a refuge and defence against hostile Indians.



named, except Peterson, they furnished the timber with which to carry it out, free of cost to the State; and not only this, but in some instances delivered it on the ground. At Peterson the parties owning the largest bodies of timber refused to furnish it without being paid five dollars per M., standing in the tree. Regarding this as ungenerous, to say the least, in as much as the use to which it was to be put was for their own benefit, I gave orders to the captain in command at that post to get what material and assistance he could from such of the settlers as showed a disposition to favor the enterprise in a practical manner, and if he found that enough timber was not furnished in that way to complete the work, to cut such additional amount as might be necessary, keeping a correct account of it and returning the same to me, together with the owner's name; and in doing so, to assess the amount as nearly equal as possible to the different owners in proportion to the number of acres owned by each.

In some of the localities, owing to the scarcity of timber, sods were used to good advantage in the construction of the works, particularly so in building the stables.

I am informed that the orders for building the block houses and stockades have all been carried into effect, and that the work in most instances is fast approaching completion.

One of the greatest obstacles to be met with in maintaining a force of mounted men on the northwestern border (and none other is fit for the service) is in providing forage at anything like reasonable cost. This was overcome, in a measure, however, by each company or squad going to work and putting up hay as soon as they reached their several posts. But owing to the lateness of the season when they were placed on duty, enough could not be obtained in this way and what they did get was of an inferior quality. Corn and oats are raised in but limited quantities as yet, in the immediate vicinity of the posts, and what surplus the inhabitants have to dispose of is held at extremely high prices, when it is considered that they have no market for it except the one created by the demand for supplies for the use of the troops. Most of the corn and oats have to be hauled from twenty to sixty miles, which increased the cost very materially by the time they are delivered at the post. Still, notwithstanding these difficulties, up to this time, Quartermaster Lewis H. Smith, through his indomitable energy and perseverance has been able to supply them at comparatively low prices; but I am apprehensive that holders will undertake to force prices up before spring, should it be necessary to keep the troops there until that time.

In accordance with your orders, I fixed Friday, the 7th of November, as the day on which the several companies should hold an election for Lieutenant Colonel to command the whole. At the election so held James A. Sawyers, 1st lieutenant of Capt. Millard's company, was chosen. And permit me to say that an excellent selection was made. In my opinion, no better man could have been found for this service.

From information in my possession, I am entirely satisfied that it will be unnecessary to keep this entire force on duty after the completion of



the block-houses and stockades, on which they are now engaged. These completed, in my opinion, unless some new phase of the Indian troubles presents itself, at least two of the companies could be mustered out without detriment to the service. There is one whole company stationed at Estherville, also one at Chain Lakes. After the completion of the works, one company could as well hold both these posts. Three companies are stationed along the line further west. One could be mustered out and the remaining two divided in such a manner as to afford all necessary protection. The increased protection afforded to the settlers by the block-houses and stockades, in case of an attack, would more than counterbalance the diminution of the force.

Herewith I hand a report from Quartermaster Lewis H. Smith, showing the amount of arms, accoutrements and ammunition received and distributed by him. All of which is respectfully submitted.

S. R. INGHAM.

From the foregoing report it will be noticed that twenty men from the first company enlisted were ordered to report at Estherville, where Lieut. Coverdale was to take command, while the balance of the company was ordered to Iowa Lake under my charge. On our arrival at the lake we took possession of the Thompson home for temporary quarters, while engaged in making hay and putting up stabling for our horses. We had been there only a few days before receiving a copy of the Governor's General Orders No. 1, dated Sept. 12, 1862. After a suitable site for the buildings and stockade, as contemplated in these orders, was selected, I left the work in charge of Lieut. McKnight and went to Estherville. Here I found Lieut. Coverdale and men occupying the school house for their quarters, which had already been stockaded by the citizens with two-inch plank, with stabling inside the inclosure for their horses. While looking about for a site for the works, as contemplated in the order, Robert E. Ridley generously offered to donate for this purpose lots one, two and three in block fifty-nine, as shown by the town plat. As this site was satisfactory to all parties concerned, his offer was accepted, when he and his wife Esther, after whom the town of Estherville takes its name, conveyed them to the State free of charge. It will be noticed in the report, that Co. B, Capt. William Williams (our old time Major Williams

of Fort Dodge), was ordered to report at Iowa Lake and complete the works there. On their arrival Lieut. McKnight and men came to Estherville, when for the first time the members of Co. A were all brought together for roll call. The people at Estherville manifested much interest in the construction of the works, and gave encouragement to the company in many ways. As this was the only post with a sawmill and plenty of timber near by, the works were laid out on rather a more extensive plan than at any of the other posts on the line. Then the larger settlements on the west branch of the Des Moines would necessarily require this, in case there should be any occasion for the settlers to make use of them thereafter as a place of refuge. From now on we were kept busy as well as the other companies in getting out material for their respective works. In addition to this there were the camp duties, drilling, scouting, target practice, and the keeping up of communication between the different posts and the U. S. forces at Fairmont, Minn., and at Sioux City. Now and then government dispatches were passed along the line, and whenever of great importance they were sent through from post to post on limited time. This service came to be known as the "pony express." A part of the brigade was supplied with Austrian rifles from Gen. Fremont's famous purchase. While they were not the best, they were probably the best that could be obtained at that time. Many of the cartridges were defective so that when discharged it became a question as to the direction in which they were likely to do the most harm, as many of the boys will remember.

It was the latter part of November before Lieut.-Col. Sawyers made his first inspection of the several posts on the line and reported to Gov. Kirkwood under date of Dec. 15, 1862. As no final report was made by him on the works at Iowa Lake, owing undoubtedly to the mustering out of this company soon after the works were completed, only that part of the report concerning the Iowa Lake post is here given.

## REPORT OF LIEUT.-COL. SAWYERS.

SIOUX CITY, IOWA, Dec. 15, 1862.

*To His Excellency, Samuel J. Kirkwood:*

SIR:—In compliance with an order from Col. S. B. Ingham, by order from the Governor, dated at Fort Dodge, Nov. 12, 1862, I have the honor to report that I have visited the different detachments comprising the northwestern frontier forces, and find the progress of the work up to Dec. 1, 1862, as follows:

Captain Williams' company, B, stationed at Iowa Lake, have built and completed five buildings for quarters and have the timber in readiness for two more, which when completed will enclose the west side of the enclosure 160 feet. On the east side of the square they have built and completed excellent stabling, 140 feet long, with two tiers of stalls and a passage way between the tiers, enclosed with strong sod walls with port holes and by log bastions on the south end, with port holes, calculated to cover the entrance to the stable and make the east wall. The stable is substantially built, and covered with poles, grass and sod. The north side is enclosed with a wall of sod eight feet high and five feet thick at the base, with port holes. Bastion on northwest corner complete. They have done the work in a neat and substantial manner. Aside from the work done in constructing quarters and stabling this company have been engaged in digging a wall, cutting and hauling hay, &c.

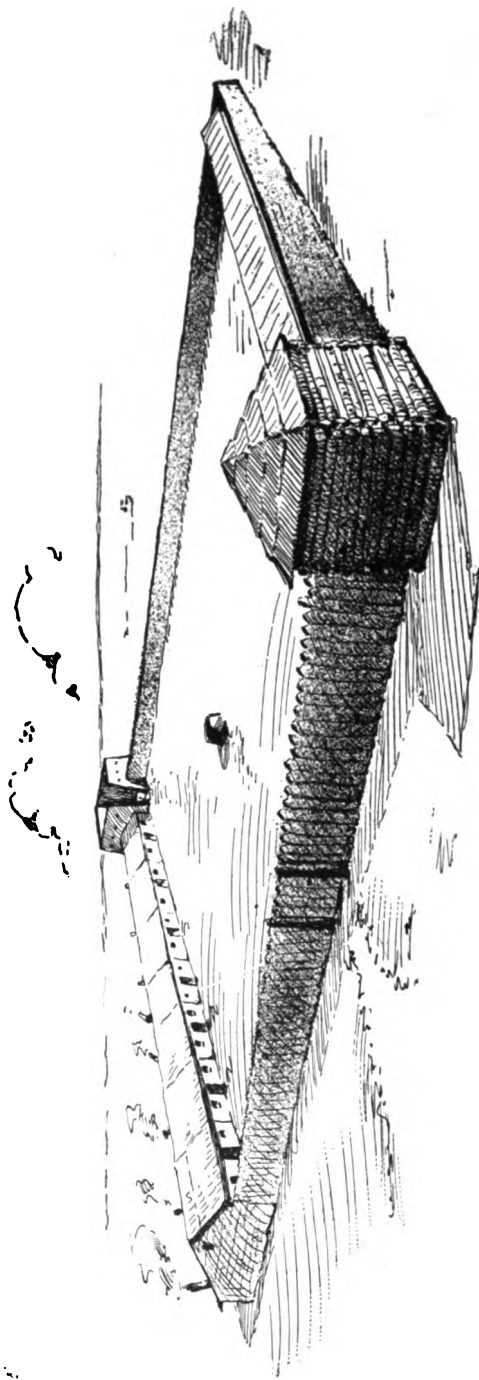
. . . . .  
Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JAMES A. SAWYERS,

Lieut.-Col. Comd'g N. W. F. Forces.

It will be noticed that Col. Sawyers, in making the foregoing report to Gov. Kirkwood, signed his name as commander of the Northwestern Frontier Forces. When the commissions for the officers of the companies were received soon after, no one seemed to be prepared to interpret the meaning of the letters "N. B. B." following the name of the company in each commission. In order to find out I wrote to Gen. Baker asking him to explain. He playfully answered by return mail, "N. B. Baker or Northern Border Brigade, just as you choose." The reading of these mysterious letters was now well understood, and the new name was passed along the line without delay. It appears that the name of the big-souled general might have had something to do with the finding of a name for the northwestern forces. However, it is quite likely to have been only a mere coincidence. From now on





SKETCH OF THE DEFENSIVE WORKS,

Stockade, block-houses, barracks and stables, erected at Iowa Lake in 1862-63, by Company B, Iowa Northern Brigade, Capt. William Williams.

the troops were known as the Northern Border Brigade, as shown by the company and brigade rosters to be found on subsequent pages. The many changes that took place in Co. A, as shown by its roster, were owing to the hurried manner in which its members left their homes to meet the great emergency, with the expectation that only a few weeks' service would be required to quiet the excitement, and more especially to the condition of their horses, which did not strictly meet the requirements of the service later on. It will be noticed the names of Howard Graves and John D. Goff do not appear on the roster of Co. A as it was made up and put in print before their enlistment. Mr. Graves served the company very efficiently as orderly sergeant from the time he joined the company in March, 1863, until it was mustered out on the 26th day of the following September.

As before stated Company B was mustered out of service when the works at Iowa Lake were finished, and thereafter the post was occupied by a small detachment from Co. A. The works at some of the smaller posts down the line had been completed so that Co. D, Capt. James M. Butler, had already been mustered out of service and their places filled by detachments from Companies C and E, so that all the posts were still occupied by State troops. The winter of 1863 quickly passed without cause for alarm from the Indians until in March, when a message from Fort Ridgely passed over the line bidding the troops to be on the lookout as the Sioux were on the move and had already massacred a party of seven Norwegians at the headwaters of the Watonwan. This brought out active operations all along the line and stirred up quite an excitement which lasted only a short time. It was an easy matter for the people now in their excited condition, to transform almost any object seen on the prairie into a lurking, stealthy savage, which gave rise to some disquieting reports. These reports were investigated and explained away whenever coming from any apparently reliable source.

One incident of this kind occurred in April, when several persons came hurrying to the quarters just at evening to see me and reported Indians near by. One of the party, who had barely escaped with others from being captured, as he seemed to think, told me that he, with Mr. and Mrs. Palmer (and I think one other), when on their way up the river to visit their claims in Minnesota, met five Indians at Twelve Mile creek, who had followed and tried to capture them before they could get back to town. He was so agitated at the time that it was difficult to get any definite information from him, but I learned that they had been traveling with a pair of cattle and when getting to the south bluff of the creek, some twelve miles up the river, they had seen the Indians across the deep cut valley on the opposite bluff about eighty rods away. While questioning him closely as to their appearance and what they did, he with the other persons present seemed almost indignant that we did not at once send out all the force in pursuit. He finally made out to tell me that the Indians were lying on the necks of their horses, which they held facing towards them, so as not to be seen, and that they plainly saw their white blankets as they drew them up from near their saddles just as they turned and started off. It took but one glance to see all this, on their part, and in alarm their poor cattle were wheeled about and urged to do their best in covering the distance to town. At the same time a little band of elk might have been seen trotting away in a northeasterly course. The white blanket part of the story told plainly the facts in the case, for whoever is acquainted with wild elk will remember well their appearance when the long yellowish-white hair in helmet form on the rump is raised up as a signal of alarm. This report caused quite an excitement for a short time until the people were partly convinced that these parties might have been mistaken and that elk instead of Indians were at the bottom of the scare. Early the next morning Chas. W. Jarvis, who was well acquainted with the river country, was sent out with oth-

ers to make an examination. When they returned and reported that they had found fresh elk tracks at the place where the Indians had been seen, the usual quiet of the people in town was fully restored, and nothing more of this kind was brought to the attention of the company.

Soon after this occurrence arrangements were made with Mr. Charles Jarvis and family, who were living at Emmet some five miles up the river, to house two or three men of the company, with frequent changes, for scouting purposes on the river above. In this way their daily trips could be extended much further up the river than when starting out from town. This service proved to be very useful in quieting any excitement in the settlements on the river below and was kept up the greater part of the time until the company was mustered out.

The work at Estherville had been delayed for some time in consequence of a new channel some four feet wide being washed out around the dam in the river under the frozen ground. We were obliged to extend the dam across this new channel before the mill could be used in sawing the lumber needed in finishing up the works. Owing to this the works were not completed until June 8, when a final report was made. The final reports of all the other works on the line had already been made by Lt. Col. Sawyers, so that the brigade was liable to be disbanded and mustered out at any time. This did not occur, however, until Sept. 26, 1863, by General Order No. 121, as shown in connection with the final reports, as follows:

HEADQUARTERS NORTHERN BORDER BRIGADE, }  
SPIRIT LAKE, IOWA, April 7th, 1863. }

*To His Excellency, Samuel J. Kirkwood, Governor of Iowa:*

DEAR SIR:—Herewith I submit my final report of the work on block houses and stockade, at Peterson, Clay county, Iowa, together with plan and specifications of same. The erection of said buildings and stockade was assigned to Co. C, commanded by Captain H. N. Crapper, and has been completed in a substantial and workmanlike manner. The block houses and officers' quarters are built of oak and ash timber, ten inches square. The buildings are roofed with soft maple boards jointed together,



and grooved on the sides to convey off the water. The stockade on the west side is built of oak timber six inches thick, sawed. On the east and south, the stockade is built of hewed timbers six inches thick. The well is  $26\frac{1}{4}$  feet deep; the lower half curbed with ash, the upper half with oak plank. The gate is framed together, and planked on both sides.

Your obedient servant,

JAMES A. SAWYERS,

Lieutenant-Colonel N. B. Brigade.

HEADQUARTERS NORTHERN BORDER BRIGADE, }  
SPIRIT LAKE, IOWA, April 7, 1863. }

*To His Excellency, Samuel J. Kirkwood, Governor of Iowa:*

DEAR SIR:—With this, my final report on the progress and condition of work assigned to Company E, commanded by Capt. J. M. White, you will find plans of work at Correctionville and Cherokee, Iowa, together with specifications of the same. The work at the former place was commenced and completed under the supervision of Capt. J. M. White. The work at Cherokee was commenced by Capt. J. M. Butler, Company D, since the disbanding of which company, Lieut. Rustin, of Company E, has had charge of the work, and the same is now complete in accordance with plans submitted. The block house at Cherokee is made of timber one foot square, and is covered with walnut shingles. The stockade is made out of logs faced on one side; there are two rows; the faces of the rows are all brought together so as to break joints. The well is seventeen feet deep, walled with boulders. The gate is framed and planked on both sides.

The buildings at Correctionville are made of timbers one foot square, and are covered with earth. The stockade is made of logs split in two, with the faced side in. The space where those logs join is filled with timbers pinned in on the outside to break joints. The gate is made of hewed timber five inches thick. The wall is sixty feet deep, curbed with hackberry.

Your obedient servant,

JAMES A. SAWYERS,

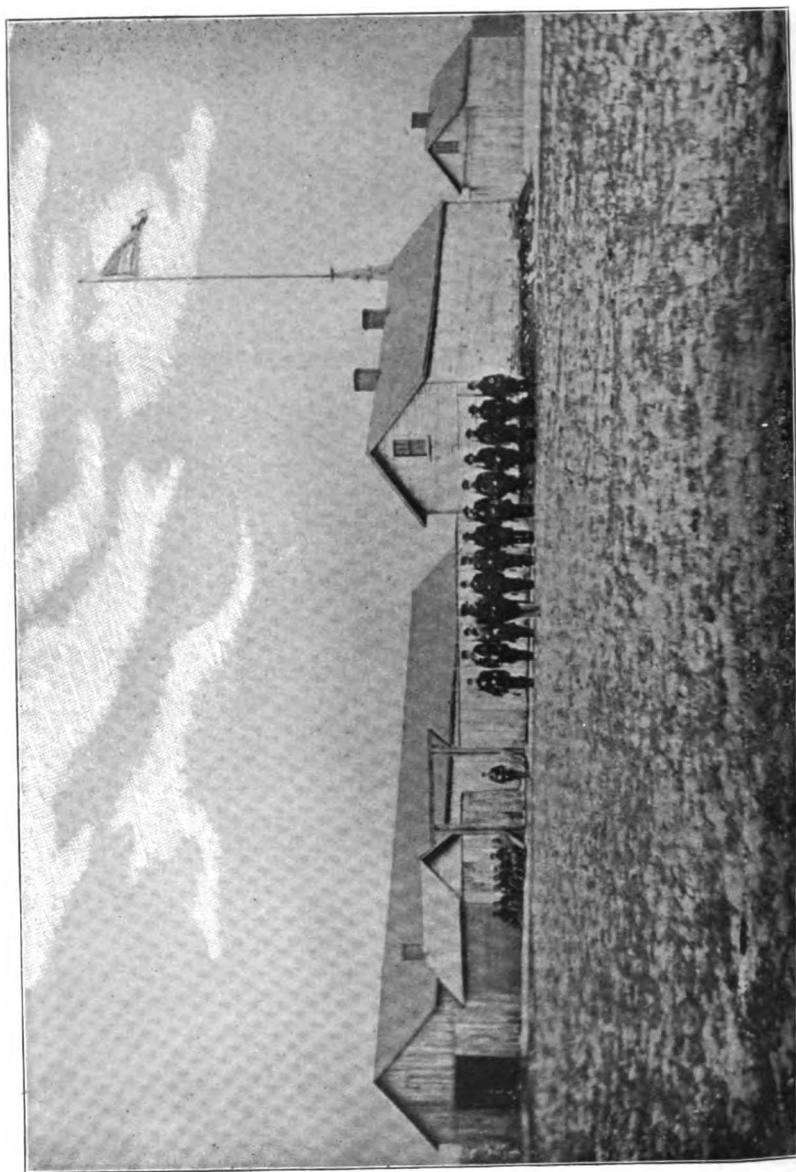
Lieutenant-Colonel N. B. Brigade.

HEADQUARTERS NORTHERN BRIGADE, }  
SPIRIT LAKE, June 8th, 1863. }

*His Excellency, Samuel J. Kirkwood, Governor of Iowa:*

DEAR SIR:—I am pleased to report that the works at Estherville, Iowa, are completed in strict accordance with the accompanying plan, of which the following is a description, and are situated upon a high gravelly bench on the east side of the Des Moines river, and about one hundred rods from it, in the village of Estherville, on Lots Nos. one, two and three, (1, 2 and 3,) Block No. fifty-nine, (59,) conveyed by Robert E. Ridley and wife to the State of Iowa. The ground inclosed is about one hundred and thirty-two feet square, upon the north side of which is located the barracks, being a building fifty-two feet in length, eighteen feet in width, made of timbers eight inches thick, and laid up in the usual manner upon foundation posts of durable wood. It is partitioned off in three rooms, above and below,





Works erected at Estherville, Emmet county, Iowa, in 1862-63, by Company A, Capt. Wm. H. Ingham, Northern Border Brigade, to protect the settlers from incursions of the hostile Indians.

with lined floors throughout; each lower room has an entrance from the inclosure, and one window; the upper part is lighted by windows in each end. The roof is made of shingle, and the body of the building is covered with black walnut siding, and has a sufficient number of port-holes from the lower rooms. It projects six feet beyond eastern line of inclosure, serving as a bastion for the eastern side; it also projects six feet over northern line. Upon each partition rests a large, substantial brick chimney. The office and commissary room (a building fourteen by thirty-two feet) projects six feet over western line, serving the purpose of a bastion, is made of square timbers eight inches thick closely fitted together, and in other respects finished the same as the barracks. The intermediate space between these two buildings is filled up with a stockade of plank eleven feet long, four inches thick, firmly set three feet in the ground, with a cap-piece spiked on top, and has a sufficient number of port-holes. The barn forms the south side, being a frame building with twelve feet posts, is twenty-six feet wide, one hundred and twenty (120) feet long, and rests upon foundation posts. The sides are covered with inch boards, with cracks battened, the ends are covered with four inch plank, forming a portion of east and west sides of work. The roof is made of shingle. There is in each end an outside door ten feet in width, also one in center of side from the inclosure eight feet wide; also a passage through the south side. Each side is partitioned off in double stalls eight feet wide, leaving a space in center through the barn ten feet wide. For the protection of the rear side of the barn, and six feet from it, is a sod wall, five feet at its base and two feet wide on top, seven and one-half feet high, with holes through the same, at the western end of which is a sod bastion covering the side of the works; the space between the wall and the barn at the ends is filled by stockade. The west side of inclosure is stockaded the same as stockade on north side. On the east side, four feet from the barn, is located the guard-house. It is fourteen feet wide, sixteen feet long, forming a portion of east side, and is put up the same as the other buildings. In the center of this side is the passage to the works, filled by two gates six feet in width and the same in height, and same material as the stockade. The balance of this side is stockade same as north side. The sinks are in the northwest corner of the barn, with passages from the yard, using a double stall for the same. The well is near the center of the yard, and is walled up with boulders, and furnishes an abundance of excellent water. The flag-staff is situated near the center of the north line of the works.

You will see from this report, together with the plan of work, that the works at Estherville are more extensive than at any other point on the line, and have been completed under many difficulties. It reflects much credit upon the taste, ability and untiring energy of the commandant of this post. The fortifications along our northwestern frontier are now complete.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

Your obedient servant,

JAMES A. SAWYERS,  
Lieutenant-Colonel N. B. Brigade.

## THE BRIGADE DISBANDED.

STATE OF IOWA, ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE, }  
DAVENPORT, September 26, 1868. }

## GENERAL ORDERS No. 121.

I. The Northern Border Brigade, as now organized, is hereby disbanded.

II. All officers of the Northern Border Brigade are hereby directed to turn over all arms, equipments, ammunition, and all other public property to Lieut. Lewis H. Smith, 2d Quartermaster of said brigade, and who is hereby continued in said office, for the company ordered to be organized by this department, under order of this date, in place of said companies of the Northern Border Brigade, hereby disbanded.

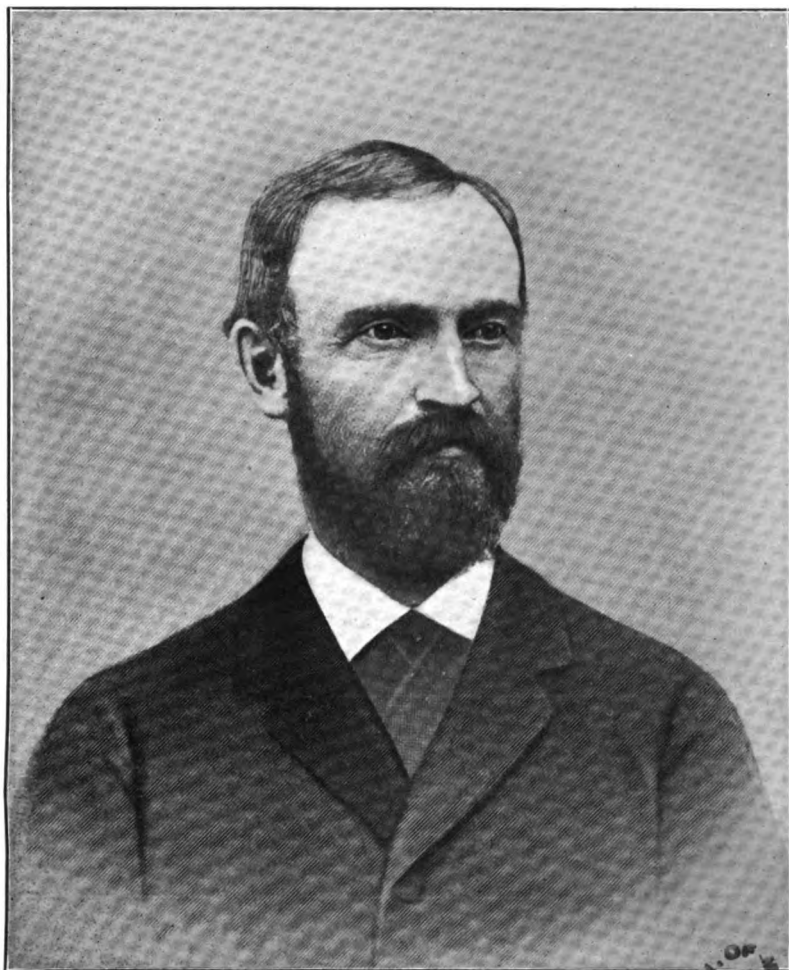
III. Wm. S. Pritchard, of Des Moines, will at once proceed to the post where any of the said companies of the Northern Border Brigade are located, and muster out said companies of said brigade, as herein directed, and will muster in the company to be raised in accordance with these orders; the company to be mustered for service until relieved by U. S. unless sooner discharged by order of the Governor.

IV. Said Pritchard will also inspect all horses, equipments, and arms, and will accept only those fitted for the proposed duty.

By order of the Governor.

N. B. BAKER, Adjt. Gen. of Iowa.

Under this General Order No. 121, and with other instructions, W. S. Pritchard and myself passed along the line of posts occupied by detachments of the brigade for the purpose of mustering them out of service, and at the same time mustering in all persons who might consent to remain and join the new company. Lieut. Lewis L. Estes, with nearly all the men in Co. C, continued in the service, with headquarters at Spirit Lake. Capt. Jerome M. White, with nearly all of his men in Co. E, also remained and became a part of the new company, he serving as second lieutenant, with headquarters at Cherokee. It was well understood at the time that the service would probably be of short duration and only to such time as Gen. Sully might be able to relieve the posts with U. S. troops. The following correspondence will show how active the department was in trying to bring this about. On November 21, 1863, General Orders No. 127 was issued, disbanding the company on January 1, 1864, unless sooner relieved by U. S. troops. This order will be found in connection with the correspondence that now follows:



CHARLES B. RUSTIN,

First Lieutenant of Company E. Enlisted from Sioux City,  
Woodbury county, September 27, 1862.

UNIV. OF MICH.



## CORRESPONDENCE.

BRIG. GEN. SULLY TO THE ADJUTANT GENERAL.

HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT OF DAKOTA, }  
SIOUX CITY, IOWA, Oct. 22, 1863. }*Col. N. B. Baker, Adjutant General, Iowa:*

SIR:—By a late order from the Department of the Northwest, the sixteen counties in the northwest corner of Iowa are placed in my district. I have just returned from the Upper Missouri, and know very little about the points now occupied by State troops in this section, nor for how long a time they have been called into service. Will you be kind enough, therefore, to give me all the information you can in the matter.

I have many places in Dacotah to garrison this winter, but will still have left at this place some three or four companies of cavalry. I expect them here in about a week. At least two or three companies can be placed on duty at points already occupied by State troops, if necessary. But I think it would be better, if possible, to keep the State troops at these points this winter, as they are better acquainted with the country and are already located.

I will send one of my aids up there to-morrow to visit these posts, and will myself visit the line as soon as I can settle up unfinished business here.

With much respect, your obedient servant,

ALF. SULLY, Brigadier General.

THE ADJUTANT GENERAL TO GENERAL SULLY.

STATE OF IOWA, ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE, }  
DAVENPORT, October 29, 1863. }

GENERAL:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 22d inst., and reply that we now have in service only one company for the northern border.

With the exception of this company, the Northern Border Brigade, for the protection of the northern border, has been disbanded.

The headquarters of that company is at Estherville, and it is scattered in squads over a line of nearly 160 miles.

In my opinion one company of your cavalry would be amply sufficient to supply the place of the State company. It certainly would not require over two of your companies.

The State seriously objects to keeping State troops longer at these posts, and for good reasons. If they are not immediately relieved, every day's delay will increase the labor and difficulty of relieving the State company, as the inclement season soon sets in.

We have maintained at State expense five companies on the northern frontier, and can neither obtain credit for the men nor allowance for cash expended, while other states that have raised men for local or temporary purposes have received credit for the men, simply because they were mustered into the United States service. As far as the general government was



concerned, they received as much benefit in one case as in the other, and have had no trouble or expense (to this time, so far as this State is concerned) in the matter. We have an idea that this sort of injustice should cease, and earnestly urge on you that the State company at Estherville may at once be relieved by the cavalry under your command.

Upon notice received from you that you have given the requisite orders the governor will issue the proper orders to disband the State company at Estherville.

This is urged for another reason: We are called on for more troops, and if we can not get credit for the Northern Border Brigade, we would like to give them a chance to enlist where we can obtain credit.

With great respect, truly yours,

N. B. BAKER, A. G. of Iowa.

*Brig. Gen. Sully, Commanding, &c., Sioux City, Iowa.*

STATE OF IOWA, ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE, }  
DAVENPORT, November 21, 1863.

GENERAL:—Major General Pope advises the governor, that he has no authority to order the muster in of our State troops, on the northwestern frontier, for the special duty of protecting our frontier. He doubts very much whether the War Department would accept such troops for that special service, and writes that "General Sully has sufficient force to replace your State troops whenever a military force is needed on your frontier, and he has orders to do so. The services of your State troops on the frontier, are, therefore, in my judgment, unnecessary."

Under these circumstances, I have ordered the mustering out of our company 1st of January, 1864, or sooner, if relieved by United States troops, and on being advised by you of the fact that you will relieve said troops. The mustering out officer is Capt. Wm. H. Ingham, of Estherville, Iowa. Please advise him and this office of the earliest practicable day when you can relieve the State troops. The muster out will be made certainly, and at all events on the 1st of January, 1864, and I respectfully urge immediate action on the part of the United States, and report to me and Capt. Ingham. The company is detailed along a line of 180 miles, and some time will necessarily be required in arranging details and reliefs. I deem it very important for the frontier, the protection of our citizens and the safe keeping of the block houses now erected, &c., that the United States station sufficient details at once at the several posts where the State troops are now located.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, truly yours,

N. B. BAKER, Adjutant General of Iowa.

*General Alf. Sully, Brigadier General Commanding, Sioux City, Iowa.*

P. S.—Please have the block houses and stables receipted for to the State by proper officer.

Your quartermaster can take forage and commissary stores, upon pro-



**CHARLES ATKINS,**  
**Second Lieutenant of Company E. Enlisted from Onawa,**  
**Monona county, September 27, 1862.**



per appraisal and on furnishing proper vouchers for payment of same by the United States. I so write to Lieut. Lewis H. Smith, Estherville, Emmet county, Iowa, even date herewith, and instruct him and Capt. Ingham to proceed at once, if possible, to Sioux City, to confer with you in person about the time of relief, &c. Perhaps, however, this may not be convenient for them and, therefore, I respectfully ask your immediately writing to them and me, and not positively relying on their going to Sioux City.

## DISBANDMENT OF CAPT. INGHAM'S COMPANY.

STATE OF IOWA, ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE, }  
DAVENPORT, November 21, 1863. }

## GENERAL ORDERS No. 127.

I. Captain Wm. H. Ingham's company, organized for the service of the State of Iowa on the northwestern frontier, under General Orders No. 121, will be discharged on the 1st day of January, 1864, or at an earlier date upon being relieved by U. S. troops.

II. Captain Wm. H. Ingham will proceed on the 1st day of January, 1864, or at an earlier date, upon being advised of relief by U. S. troops, to the posts where any details of said company are located and there muster out said detachment.

III. Captain Wm. H. Ingham is hereby ordered to turn over to Lieutenant Lewis H. Smith, Quartermaster of Northern Border Brigade, all arms, equipments, ammunition, commissary stores, forage and all other public property, taking his proper receipt therefor, and reporting with same, in person, to the Department, to be mustered out.

IV. Lieutenant Lewis H. Smith will hold all property subject to orders of this Department.

By order of Commander-in-Chief.

N. B. BAKER,  
Adjt. Gen. and A. Q. M. Gen. of Iowa.

## STATE TROOPS TO BE RELIEVED.

## LETTER FROM BRIGADIER GENERAL SULLY.

HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT OF DAKOTA, }  
SIOUX CITY, IOWA, Nov. 26, 1863. }

*Gen. N. B. Baker, Adjutant General of Iowa:*

SIR:—I received a communication from department headquarters, dated Nov. 18, a copy of letter to the Governor, in regard to posts on northwest frontier of Iowa and State troops. The Governor in a letter to me requests I relieve them. As the matter now stands I will be obliged to do so, without I hear from you to the contrary in a few days. I dislike to relieve them with present stormy weather. Will you please give the necessary orders to your State troops to hold themselves in readiness to be relieved by troops of the Iowa 6th Cavalry.

With respect, I am your obedient servant,

ALF. SULLY, Brig. Gen.

## THE ADJUTANT-GENERAL TO GENERAL SULLY.

STATE OF IOWA, ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE, }  
 DAVENPORT, December 8d, 1863. }

*General Alf. Sully, Sioux City, Iowa:*

SIR:—Yours of the 26th ult. has been received, notifying me that you will immediately relieve our State troops. Orders were issued to State troops some days since to hold themselves in readiness to be mustered out as soon as relieved, and I shall write them that you will immediately do so with U. S. troops. I respectfully urge and shall confidently rely upon the immediate relief.

Your obedient servant,

N. B. BAKER, Adjutant-General of Iowa.

## GENERAL SULLY'S REPLY TO THE ADJUTANT-GENERAL.

HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT DAKOTA, }  
 SIOUX CITY, IOWA, Dec. 22, 1863. }

*To Gen. N. B. Baker, Adjutant General of Iowa:*

SIR:—I have this day started part of the command to relieve your State troops on the northwest frontier. To-morrow I start more, and the third day the remainder. So your State troops can be discharged when you are ready.

With much regard, your obedient servant,

ALF. SULLY,

Brigadier-General Commanding District.

While the order for disbanding the company had been issued on September 21, 1863, it appears from the correspondence heretofore given that Gen. Sully was unable to furnish the men needed to occupy the posts down the line until the latter part of December. After this had been done and the detachments had been mustered out and the posts receipted for to Lt. Lewis H. Smith, I received a letter from Gen. Sully at Sioux City, stating that a squad of cavalry from his command would report at Estherville on the morning of Dec. 30 to relieve the state troops and take possession of the post. The members of the company were soon called together and notified to be fully prepared for the coming event. At about ten o'clock the next morning the troops made their appearance and lined up outside of the gates. Quite soon after the state troops with all their effects passed out and left the works to be taken in charge by U. S. troops. And so ended the services of the last members of the Northern Border Brigade.

It may be well to recall here the service rendered at an important time, by the company enlisted at Algona on August 27, 1862, and also by the one organized at Estherville at about the same time by Howard Graves. These two companies, without ever an alignment or roll call during their brief paper existence of only a few days, did much to quiet the excitement over the massacre in Minnesota and in holding the settlements until the company enlisted by authority of Governor Kirkwood was fully organized and took the field.

As to the services of the Northern Border Brigade the results show that it served an excellent purpose in preserving the settlements of the northwestern border and thereby prevented much suffering and an immense loss of property to the citizens of the State. From the reports heretofore given, it will be seen that the brigade promptly met and carried out all of the objects set forth in Governor Kirkwood's General Orders No. 1. By a wise distribution of its forces at frequent stations on the frontier, and under the able management of Col. Sawyers, the brigade undoubtedly did much in preventing the Indians from invading the State. The companies comprising the brigade constructed works at the different posts well suited for the purposes for which they were made, as shown by Col. Sawyers' final reports. These works together with the presence of the troops gave a genuine feeling of security not only to the settlers nearby but to all others that were in any way concerned, so that many who had left their homes during the excitement soon afterward returned.

The brigade was made up of strong, earnest, loyal men, well fitted by pioneer experiences to meet any emergency that might occur, and its survivors may well take pride in having been members and of helping to render the last service ever required by the State for the protection of its northern border from Indian invasion. The frontier about which so much was said forty years ago has long since disappeared from the State, and the word, so often heard then,

is rarely spoken now, and only those who have lived its life can ever know the full import of its meaning.

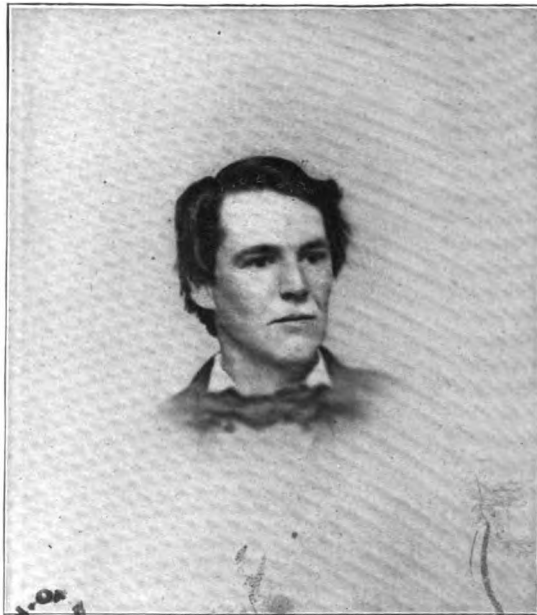
In the preparation of the foregoing sketch many pleasing memories of the brigade have been recalled, and especially of the members of Co. A, whom I hold in grateful remembrance for kindly assistance and faithful work, with the best wishes for each and all.

The rosters of the field and staff, and of the several companies, will be found in the following pages.

ALGONA, IOWA, June 23, 1902.







EDWARD M. KNIGHT,

First Lieutenant of Company A. Enlisted from Dakota City,  
Humboldt county, September 7, 1862.

## NORTHERN BORDER BRIGADE.

## ROSTER OF FIELD AND STAFF.

Names	Age	Residence—Town and County	Nativity	Rank	Enlistment or Enrollment	Date of Muster into State Service
James A. Sawyers . . .	33	Sioux City, Woodbury . . .	Tennessee . . .	Lieut.-Colonel . .	.....	.....
Lewis H. Smith . . . .	26	Algona, Kossuth . . . . .	New York . . . . .	Quartermaster . .	.....	Sept. 7, 1862
NORTHERN BORDER BRIGADE—ROSTER OF COMPANY A.						
Wm. H. Ingham . . . . .	34	Kossuth Centre, Kossuth . .	New York . . . . .	Captain . . . . .	Sept. 7, 1862 . .	Sept. 7, 1862
Edward McKnight . . .	25	Dakota City, Humboldt . .	Pennsylvania . . .	1st Lieutenant . .	Sept. 7, 1862 . .	Sept. 7, 1862
Jesse Coverdale . . . .	30	Estherville, Emmet . . . .	New York . . . . .	2d Lieutenant . .	Sept. 7, 1862 . .	Sept. 7, 1862
Haven S. Watson . . . .	32	Algona, Kossuth . . . . .	New York . . . . .	1st Sergeant . . .	Sept. 3, 1862 . .	Sept. 7, 1862
Addison Fisher . . . . .	41	Irvington, Kossuth . . . . .	.....	1st Sergeant . . .	Sept. 7, 1862 . .	Oct. 19, 1862
J. R. Armstrong . . . . .	38	Irvington, Kossuth . . . . .	New York . . . . .	2d Sergeant . . .	Sept. 7, 1862 . .	Sept. 7, 1862
R. Fayette Carter . . . .	31	Paoli, Palo Alto . . . . .	Ohio . . . . .	2d Sergeant . . .	Sept. 7, 1862 . .	Oct. 26, 1862
Amos A. Pingrey . . . . .	31	Estherville, Emmet . . . . .	New York . . . . .	3d Sergeant . . .	Sept. 7, 1862 . .	Sept. 7, 1862
R. Fayette Carter . . . .	31	Paoli, Palo Alto . . . . .	Ohio . . . . .	3d Sergeant . . .	Sept. 7, 1862 . .	Oct. 26, 1862
Elbridge Whitcomb . . .	25	Estherville, Emmet . . . . .	Vermont . . . . .	3d Sergeant . . .	Sept. 7, 1862 . .	Oct. 26, 1862
R. Fayette Carter . . . .	31	Paoli, Palo Alto . . . . .	Ohio . . . . .	4th Sergeant . . .	Sept. 7, 1862 . .	Sept. 27, 1862
Elbridge Whitcomb . . .	25	Estherville, Emmet . . . . .	Vermont . . . . .	4th Sergeant . . .	Sept. 7, 1862 . .	Oct. 26, 1862
Auguste Zahlen . . . . .	45	Algona, Kossuth . . . . .	Germany . . . . .	4th Sergeant . . .	Sept. 7, 1862 . .	Oct. 20, 1862
Addison Fisher . . . . .	41	Irvington, Kossuth . . . . .	Massachusetts . .	1st Corporal . . .	Sept. 7, 1862 . .	Sept. 7, 1862
Elbridge Whitcomb . . .	25	Estherville, Emmet . . . . .	Vermont . . . . .	1st Corporal . . .	Sept. 7, 1862 . .	Oct. 19, 1862
Auguste Zahlen . . . . .	45	Algona, Kossuth . . . . .	Germany . . . . .	1st Corporal . . .	Sept. 7, 1862 . .	Oct. 23, 1862
Wm. Crook . . . . .	25	Irvington, Kossuth . . . . .	Canada . . . . .	1st Corporal . . .	Sept. 8, 1862 . .	Oct. 26, 1862
Morgan Jenkins . . . . .	18	Estherville, Emmet . . . . .	New York . . . . .	2d Corporal . . .	Sept. 7, 1862 . .	Sept. 7, 1862
Auguste Zahlen . . . . .	45	Algona, Kossuth . . . . .	Germany . . . . .	2d Corporal . . .	Sept. 7, 1862 . .	Oct. 19, 1862
Wm. Crook . . . . .	25	Irvington, Kossuth . . . . .	Canada . . . . .	2d Corporal . . .	Sept. 8, 1862 . .	Oct. 23, 1862
Otto Schadt . . . . .	36	Estherville, Emmet . . . . .	Germany . . . . .	2d Corporal . . .	Sept. 3, 1862 . .	Oct. 26, 1862
Elbridge Whitcomb . . .	25	Estherville, Emmet . . . . .	Vermont . . . . .	3d Corporal . . .	Sept. 7, 1862 . .	Sept. 7, 1862
Wm. Crook . . . . .	25	Irvington, Kossuth . . . . .	Canada . . . . .	3d Corporal . . .	Sept. 8, 1862 . .	Oct. 19, 1862
Otto Schadt . . . . .	36	Estherville, Emmet . . . . .	Germany . . . . .	3d Corporal . . .	Sept. 8, 1862 . .	Oct. 23, 1862

Names	Age	Residence—Town and County	Nativity	Rank	Enlistment or Enrollment	Date of Muster into State Service
Thomas Mahar.....	35	Estherville, Emmet.....	Ireland.....	3d Corporal.....	Sept. 6, 1862..	Oct. 26, 1862
Auguste Zahlten.....	45	Algona, Kosuth.....	Germany.....	4th Corporal.....	Sept. 7, 1862..	Sept. 7, 1862
Otto Schadt.....	36	Estherville, Emmet.....	Germany.....	4th Corporal.....	Sept. 5, 1862..	Oct. 19, 1862
Thomas Mahar.....	35	Estherville, Emmet.....	Ireland.....	4th Corporal.....	Sept. 6, 1862..	Oct. 28, 1862
Dennis Hogan.....	28	Dakota City, Humboldt.....	Ireland.....	4th Corporal.....	Oct. 21, 1862..	Oct. 26, 1862
Christian Hackman.....	40	Algona, Kosuth.....	Germany.....	Bugler.....	Sept. 7, 1862..	Sept. 7, 1862
Ruel Fisher.....	46	Estherville, Emmet.....	New Hampshire.....	Karrier.....	Sept. 7, 1862..	Sept. 7, 1862
Robert E. Ridley.....	28	Estherville, Emmet.....	Maine.....	Wagoner.....	Sept. 7, 1862..	Sept. 7, 1862
Altwegg, Jacob.....	26	Kosuth Centre, Kosuth.....	Switzerland.....	Private.....	Sept. 7, 1862..	Sept. 7, 1862
Archer, Henry.....	19	Dakota City, Humboldt.....	England.....	Private.....	Oct. 21, 1862..	Oct. 2, 1862
Brown, John M.....	23	Algona, Kosuth.....	Ireland.....	Private.....	Sept. 3, 1862..	Sept. 7, 1862
Baker, Peter S.....	29	Estherville, Emmet.....	New York.....	Private.....	Sept. 20, 1862..	Sept. 7, 1862
Barrett, Hiram.....	26	Estherville, Emmet.....	New York.....	Private.....	Sept. 5, 1862..	Sept. 20, 1862
Crook, William.....	25	Irrington, Kosuth.....	Canada.....	Private.....	Sept. 3, 1862..	Sept. 7, 1862
Crowley, Jeremiah.....	18	Emmetsburg, Palo Alto.....	Ireland.....	Private.....	Sept. 4, 1862..	Sept. 7, 1862
Camfield, Ira.....	32	Estherville, Emmet.....	Ohio.....	Private.....	Sept. 5, 1862..	Sept. 7, 1862
Clark, Thomas J.....	19	Irrington, Kosuth.....	Indiana.....	Private.....	Sept. 3, 1862..	Sept. 7, 1862
Clark, John H.....	18	Estherville, Emmet.....	Pennsylvania.....	Private.....	Sept. 22, 1862..	Sept. 22, 1862
Green, J. G.....	35	Irrington, Kosuth.....	Pennsylvania.....	Private.....	Sept. 14, 1862..	Sept. 14, 1862
Gilbert, Hogen.....	23	Estherville, Emmet.....	Norway.....	Private.....	Sept. 9, 1862..	Oct. 9, 1862
Hegarty, John.....	24	Algona, Kosuth.....	Ireland.....	Private.....	Sept. 3, 1862..	Sept. 3, 1862
Hogan, Dennis.....	26	Dakota City, Humboldt.....	Ireland.....	Private.....	Oct. 21, 1865..	Oct. 21, 1862
Jackman, Patrick.....	22	Emmetsburg, Palo Alto.....	Ireland.....	Private.....	Sept. 4, 1862..	Sept. 7, 1862
Jones, Andrew J.....	21	Algona, Kosuth.....	Maryland.....	Private.....	Sept. 3, 1862..	Sept. 7, 1862
Jarvis, C. Willis.....	18	Estherville, Emmet.....	Connecticut.....	Private.....	Sept. 29, 1862..	Sept. 29, 1862
Laughlin, Lott.....	28	Emmetsburg, Palo Alto.....	Ireland.....	Private.....	Sept. 4, 1862..	Sept. 7, 1862
Muroney, Keiran.....	19	Emmetsburg, Palo Alto.....	Ireland.....	Private.....	Sept. 4, 1862..	Sept. 7, 1862
Muroney, Joseph T.....	26	Emmetsburg, Palo Alto.....	Ireland.....	Private.....	Sept. 7, 1862..	Sept. 7, 1862
Mahar, Thomas.....	25	Estherville, Emmet.....	Ireland.....	Private.....	Sept. 6, 1862..	Sept. 7, 1862
Patterson, Henry.....	22	Irrington, Kosuth.....	Vermont.....	Private.....	Sept. 3, 1862..	Sept. 7, 1862

Palmer, George .....	18	Eatherville, Emmet.....	Pennsylvania ..	Private.....	Sept. 6, 1862..	Sept. 7, 1863
Phillips, Judah .....	30	Eatherville, Emmet.....	New York .....	Private.....	Sept. 5, 1862..	Sept. 7, 1863
Robison, Thomas .....	38	Irrington, Koseuth.....	Illinois .....	Private.....	Sept. 3, 1862..	Sept. 7, 1863
Bidley, Eugene G.....	18	Eatherville, Emmet.....	Maine .....	Private.....	Sept. 5, 1862..	Sept. 7, 1863
Schaad, George F.....	37	Algona, Koseuth.....	Germany .....	Private.....	Sept. 3, 1862..	Sept. 7, 1863
Summers, John W.....	30	Algona, Koseuth.....	Kentucky .....	Private.....	Sept. 3, 1862..	Sept. 7, 1863
Smith, Michael.....	28	Algona, Koseuth.....	Germany .....	Private.....	Sept. 3, 1862..	Sept. 7, 1863
Schadt, Otto .....	36	Eatherville, Emmet.....	Germany .....	Private.....	Sept. 5, 1862..	Sept. 7, 1863
Trimble, Hugh.....	40	Highland City, Pocahontas..	Ohio .....	Private.....	Oct. 8, 1862..	Oct. 8, 1863
Young, James.....	23	Algona, Koseuth.....	England.....	Private.....	Sept. 3, 1862..	Sept. 7, 1863

Commissioned Officers 3, Sergeants 6, Corporals 4, Teamster 0, Musician 1, Farrier 1, Saddler 0, Wagoner 1, Privates 32, Total rank and file 64.

## NORTHERN BORDER BRIGADE—ROSTER OF COMPANY B.

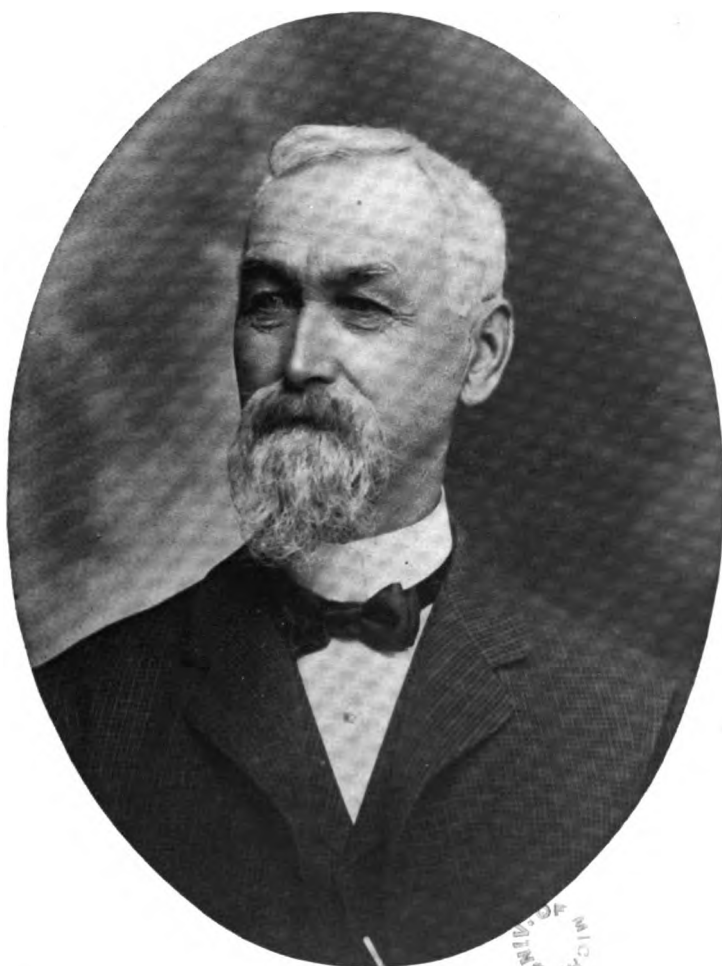
Names	Age	Residence—Town and County	Nativity	Rank	Enlistment or Enrollment	Date of Muster into State Service
William Williams.....	64	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	Pennsylvania..	Captain.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
John M. Hedley.....	35	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	Pennsylvania..	1st Lieutenant..	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Jasper N. Bell.....	22	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	Iowa.....	2d Lieutenant..	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
James S. Jenkins.....	20	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	Pennsylvania..	1st Sergeant....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
James A. Humphreys..	38	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	Connecticut...	Q. M. S.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	.....
B. F. Denelon.....	36	Ellington, Hancock.....	Indiana.....	2d Sergeant....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
James P. White.....	25	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	Maine.....	3d Sergeant....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
George Keffner.....	29	Border Plains, Webster.....	Pennsylvania..	4th Sergeant...	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Edward Krouse.....	33	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	North Carolina.	1st Corporal....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Jesse Bass.....	44	Mineral Ridge, Boone.....	North Carolina.	2d Corporal....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Daniel Morresey.....	26	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	Ireland.....	3d Corporal....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Matthew Landreth...	22	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	Indiana.....	4th Corporal....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
James Bass.....	32	West Dayton, Webster.....	North Carolina.	4th Corporal....	Sept. 24, 1862..	.....
Andrew K. Jenkins...	24	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	Pennsylvania..	Bugler.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
J. M. Holt.....	38	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	Pennsylvania..	Farrier.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Jacob Crouse.....	36	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	North Carolina.	Farrier.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	.....
James A. Humphreys..	38	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	Connecticut...	Wagoner.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Allen, Samuel F.....	31	West Dayton, Webster.....	Indiana.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Blaine, Wm. H.....	23	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	Pennsylvania..	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Bass, James.....	32	West Dayton, Webster.....	North Carolina.	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Booker, Leander.....	28	Ridgeport, Boone.....	Tennessee.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Beem, Wickliffe C....	22	Border Plains, Webster.....	Ohio.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Buck, William.....	25	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	Indiana.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Crouse, Irwin.....	24	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	North Carolina.	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Crouse, Jacob.....	36	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	North Carolina.	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Coleman, Timothy.....	21	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	Ireland.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Conlee, Smith T.....	18	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	Illinois.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Ellick, John D.....	19	Homer, Hamilton.....	Missouri.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Flaherty, James.....	25	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	Maryland.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 25, 1862

21	Fitch, Edward .....	Homer, Hamilton.....	Pennsylvania.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
32	Harper, John .....	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	Scotland.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
35	Hubbard, John N.....	West Dayton, Webster.....	Illinois.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
38	Hoisington, Jesse.....	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	Ohio.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
26	Kaylor, Thomas J.....	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	Indiana.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
21	Landreth, Zachariah.....	Homer, Hamilton.....	Missouri.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
28	Landreth, Wm. R.....	Homer, Hamilton.....	Indiana.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
43	Landreth, Thomas.....	Homer, Hamilton.....	Virginia.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
21	Long, Eli.....	Homer, Hamilton.....	Kentucky.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
22	Lowe, Emanuel E.....	West Dayton, Webster.....	Illinois.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
27	McGuire, Blythe.....	Homer, Hamilton.....	Missouri.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
24	McDonough, Martin.....	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	Ireland.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
42	McOoster, Charles.....	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	Ireland.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
20	Nicholson, Alfred J.....	West Dayton, Webster.....	Tennessee.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
27	Payne, Jonathan W.....	Homer, Hamilton.....	Missouri.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
19	Pierce, Francis M.....	Webster City, Hamilton.....	Massachusetts.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
18	Philippa, Luther.....	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	Maine.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
20	Powers, Walter.....	West Dayton, Webster.....	Ohio.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
42	Richey, Gaspar A.....	Ridgeport, Boone.....	Sweden.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
22	Starr, Peter.....	Homer, Hamilton.....	Missouri.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
20	Wright, Wm.....	Homer, Hamilton.....	Missouri.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
18	Weeks, Nathan.....	West Point, Webster.....	Ohio.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862

Commissioned Officers 3, Sergeants 4, Corporals 4, Musician 1, Farrier 1, Waggoner 1, Privates 36; Total rank and file 52 men.

## NORTHERN BORDER BRIGADE—ROSTER OF COMPANY C.

Names	Age	Residence—Town and County	Nativity	Rank	Enlistment or Enrollment	Date of Muster into State Service
Harvey W. Crapper...	36	Webster City, Hamilton .....	Indiana .....	Captain.....	Sept. 26, 1863...	Sept. 26, 1863
Lewis L. Estes .....	29	Webster City, Hamilton .....	New York .....	1st Lieutenant..	Sept. 26, 1863...	Sept. 26, 1863
Samuel M. Puroell .....	28	Alden, Hardin .....	Indiana .....	2d Lieutenant..	Sept. 26, 1863...	Sept. 26, 1863
Franklin Richardson..	27	Mineral Ridge, Boone .....	North Carolina..	1st Sergeant....	Sept. 26, 1863...	Sept. 26, 1863
Nath'l W. Browning...	31	Webster City, Hamilton .....	Maine .....	2d Sergeant....	Sept. 26, 1863...	Sept. 26, 1863
Andrew S. Leonard....	26	Webster City, Hamilton .....	Massachusetts...	3d Sergeant....	Sept. 26, 1863...	Sept. 26, 1863
Wm. H. Adams .....	32	Webster City, Hamilton .....	New York .....	4th Sergeant....	Sept. 26, 1863...	Sept. 26, 1863
Joseph Landon .....	40	Boonaboro, Boone .....	Pennsylvania...	1st Corporal....	Sept. 26, 1863...	Sept. 26, 1863
Humphrey C. Hillock..	34	Webster City, Hamilton .....	Michigan .....	2d Corporal....	Sept. 26, 1863...	Sept. 26, 1863
David W. Carver .....	28	Webster City, Hamilton .....	Ohio .....	3d Corporal....	Sept. 26, 1863...	Sept. 26, 1863
Andrew S. Bonner ....	21	Lakin's Grove, Hamilton .....	Ohio .....	4th Corporal...	Sept. 26, 1863...	Sept. 26, 1863
William W. Collins .....	17	Webster City, Hamilton .....	Illinois .....	Bugler .....	Sept. 26, 1863...	Sept. 26, 1863
Thomas Striker .....	33	Webster City, Hamilton .....	Ohio .....	Farrier .....	Sept. 26, 1863...	Sept. 26, 1863
Luther Bullis .....	43	Webster City, Hamilton .....	Vermont .....	Wagoner .....	Sept. 26, 1863...	Sept. 26, 1863
Bigelow, Orra L. ....	33	Alden, Hardin .....	Massachusetts...	Private .....	Sept. 26, 1863...	Sept. 26, 1863
Button, Joshua .....	21	Alden, Hardin .....	New York .....	Private .....	Sept. 26, 1863...	Sept. 26, 1863
Brassfield, George H..	27	Goldfield, Wright .....	Missouri .....	Private .....	Sept. 26, 1863...	Sept. 26, 1863
Bloomfield, Charles ..	43	Homer, Hamilton .....	England .....	Private .....	Sept. 26, 1863...	Sept. 26, 1863
Cooper, George .....	20	Webster City, Hamilton .....	Ohio .....	Private .....	Sept. 26, 1863...	Sept. 26, 1863
Davis, Abner F. ....	27	Webster City, Hamilton .....	Michigan .....	Private .....	Sept. 26, 1863...	Sept. 26, 1863
Guilliams, Samuel N..	21	Otterville, Franklin .....	Indiana .....	Private .....	Sept. 26, 1863...	Sept. 26, 1863
Griffith, William H..	37	Goldfield, Wright .....	New York .....	Private .....	Sept. 26, 1863...	Sept. 26, 1863
Guilliams, John .....	28	Alden, Hardin .....	Indiana .....	Private .....	Sept. 26, 1863...	Sept. 26, 1863
Hall, Nelson S. ....	35	Webster City, Hamilton .....	New York .....	Private .....	Sept. 26, 1863...	Sept. 26, 1863
Handy, Isaac .....	40	Webster City, Hamilton .....	Virginia .....	Private .....	Sept. 26, 1863...	Sept. 26, 1863
Hill, James L. ....	20	Webster City, Hamilton .....	Virginia .....	Private .....	Sept. 26, 1863...	Sept. 26, 1863
Kinney, Clark M. ....	19	Alden, Hardin .....	New York .....	Private .....	Sept. 26, 1863...	Sept. 26, 1863
Kimmel, Noah W. ....	24	Webster City, Hamilton .....	Ohio .....	Private .....	Sept. 26, 1863...	Sept. 26, 1863
Lyon, Johan N. ....	26	Webster City, Hamilton .....	Indiana .....	Private .....	Sept. 26, 1863...	Sept. 26, 1863



**LEWIS L. ESTES,**

**First Lieutenant of Company C. Enlisted from Webster City,  
Hamilton county, September 23, 1862.**



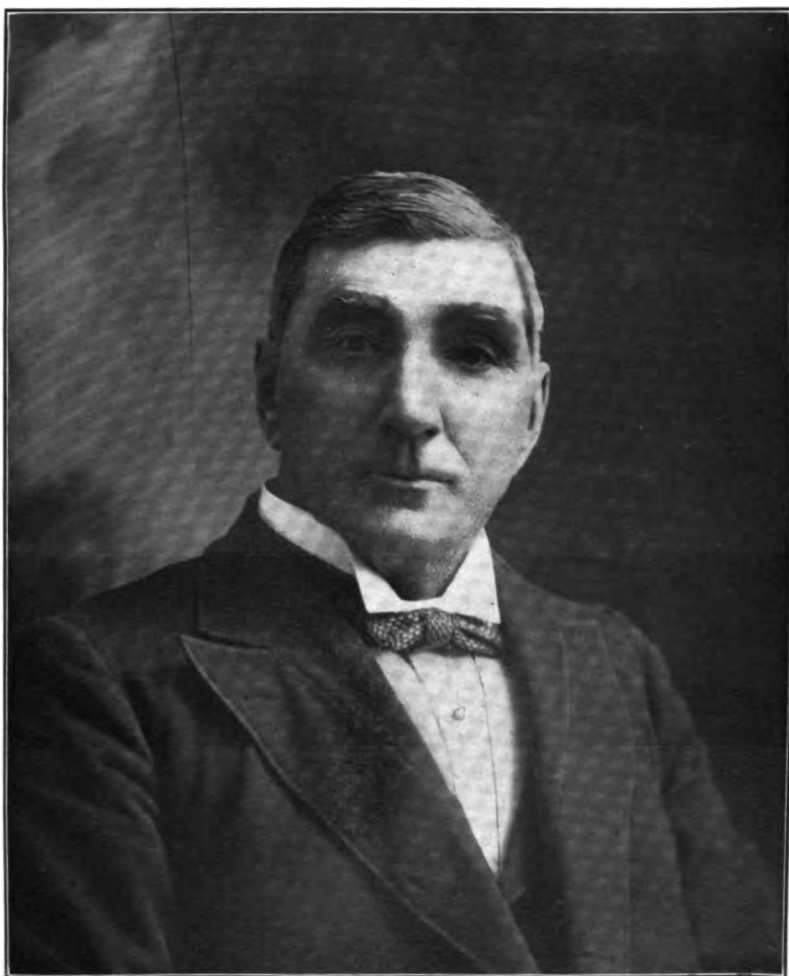


Lucas, Henry M.....	22	Boonsboro, Boone.....	Indiana .....	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Letts, Jeremiah S.....	32	Webster City, Hamilton .....	Canada .....	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Neesse, Martin.....	22	Homer, Hamilton.....	Indiana.....	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Nickerson, Francis M.	23	Ridgeport, Boone.....	Indiana.....	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Nott, Leroy J.....	22	Cottage, Hardin.....	Indiana.....	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Osborn, Franklin .....	20	Otisville, Franklin .....	Indiana .....	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Oliver, Robert C.....	21	Belmond, Wright.....	Indiana .....	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Osborn, Lewis .....	25	Alden, Hardin.....	Indiana.....	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Purcell, Andrew L.....	23	Alden, Hardin.....	Indiana.....	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Payne, Samuel S.....	20	Boonsboro, Boone.....	Indiana.....	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Richardson, Columbus	18	Ridgeport, Boone.....	Indiana.....	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Royester, William V...	28	Homer, Hamilton.....	Illinois .....	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Stinson, Calvary.....	21	Webster City, Hamilton .....	Illinois .....	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Sketchley, James R...	26	Webster City, Hamilton .....	Virginia .....	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Schlegelmich, F.....	23	Alden, Hardin.....	Germany.....	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Striker, John.....	22	Back Grove, Wright .....	Indiana.....	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Striker, John D.....	19	Webster City, Hamilton .....	Ohio.....	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Stearns, Levi D.....	31	Webster City, Hamilton .....	Maine .....	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Sella, Leonard.....	22	Back Grove, Wright .....	Indiana .....	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Taylor, George.....	19	Iowa Falls, Hardin.....	New York .....	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Usher, Alexander.....	27	Goldfield, Wright.....	Ohio.....	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Wilson, Wm.....	21	Mineral Ridge, Boone .....	England.....	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862

Commissioned Officers 3, Sergeants 4, Corporals 4, Musicians 1, Teamsters 0, Farriers 1, Wagoner 1, Privates 37; Total rank and file 51 men.

## NORTHERN BORDER BRIGADE—ROSTER OF COMPANY D.

Names	Age	Residence—Town and County	Nativity	Rank	Enlistment or Enrollment	Date of Muster into State Service
James M. Butler.....	37	Denison, Crawford.....	Kentucky.....	Captain.....	Oct. 3, 1863.....	Oct. 3, 1863
Henry C. Laub.....	37	Denison, Crawford.....	Pennsylvania.....	1st Lieutenant.....	Oct. 3, 1863.....	Oct. 3, 1863
John L. Groesman....	35	Little Sioux, Harrison.....	New Jersey.....	2d Lieutenant.....	Oct. 3, 1863.....	Oct. 3, 1863
Francis Reynolds.....	30	Manteno, Shelby.....	Indiana.....	1st Sergeant.....	Oct. 3, 1863.....	Oct. 3, 1863
Wm. J. Wagoner.....	27	Grant City, Sac.....	Ohio.....	2d Sergeant.....	Oct. 3, 1863.....	Oct. 3, 1863
James H. Foster.....	34	Paradise, Crawford.....	New York.....	3d Sergeant.....	Oct. 3, 1863.....	Oct. 3, 1863
Henry B. Lyman.....	30	Olmetad, Harrison.....	Connecticut.....	4th Sergeant.....	Oct. 3, 1863.....	Oct. 3, 1863
Matthew M. Connyer..	28	Little Sioux, Crawford.....	Iowa.....	1st Corporal.....	Oct. 3, 1863.....	Oct. 3, 1863
Robert Bell.....	25	Paradise, Crawford.....	Scotland.....	2d Corporal.....	Oct. 3, 1863.....	Oct. 3, 1863
Charles S. Brown.....	21	Woodbine, Harrison.....	New York.....	3d Corporal.....	Oct. 3, 1863.....	Oct. 3, 1863
Oliver O. McHenry....	20	Magnolia, Harrison.....	Missouri.....	4th Corporal.....	Oct. 3, 1863.....	Oct. 3, 1863
Charles Wilson.....	25	Manteno, Shelby.....	New York.....	Bugler.....	Oct. 3, 1863.....	Oct. 3, 1863
Alexander Perkins....	34	Manteno, Shelby.....	New York.....	Farrier.....	Oct. 3, 1863.....	Oct. 3, 1863
George Montague.....	33	Denison, Crawford.....	Pennsylvania.....	Wagoner.....	Oct. 3, 1863.....	Oct. 3, 1863
Andrews, Marlon.....	31	Manteno, Shelby.....	Tennessee.....	Private.....	Oct. 3, 1863.....	Oct. 3, 1863
Brown, Junius.....	28	Denison, Crawford.....	New York.....	Private.....	Oct. 3, 1863.....	Oct. 3, 1863
Browning, George F..	30	Sac City, Sac.....	Kentucky.....	Private.....	Oct. 3, 1863.....	Oct. 3, 1863
Bell, Sandlandes.....	20	Paradise, Crawford.....	Scotland.....	Private.....	Oct. 3, 1863.....	Oct. 3, 1863
Grandall, David C....	26	Manteno, Shelby.....	Missouri.....	Private.....	Oct. 3, 1863.....	Oct. 3, 1863
Grandall, Lyman.....	22	Manteno, Shelby.....	Illinois.....	Private.....	Oct. 3, 1863.....	Oct. 3, 1863
Condon, Nathan W....	28	Grant City, Sac.....	Ohio.....	Private.....	Oct. 3, 1863.....	Oct. 3, 1863
Grandall, George.....	19	Manteno, Shelby.....	Illinois.....	Private.....	Oct. 3, 1863.....	Oct. 3, 1863
Condit, Parker S.....	19	Little Sioux, Harrison.....	Ohio.....	Private.....	Oct. 3, 1863.....	Oct. 3, 1863
Connyers, John J.....	18	Little Sioux, Harrison.....	Iowa.....	Private.....	Oct. 3, 1863.....	Oct. 3, 1863
Connyers, George W..	22	Little Sioux, Harrison.....	Iowa.....	Private.....	Oct. 3, 1863.....	Oct. 3, 1863
Flowers, Willis A.....	21	Little Sioux, Harrison.....	Illinois.....	Private.....	Oct. 3, 1863.....	Oct. 3, 1863
Greemen, Sidney M....	20	Manteno, Shelby.....	Iowa.....	Private.....	Oct. 3, 1863.....	Oct. 3, 1863
Gable, Uriah M.....	21	Denison, Crawford.....	Ohio.....	Private.....	Oct. 3, 1863.....	Oct. 3, 1863
Hawley, Gideon.....	20	Manteno, Shelby.....	Iowa.....	Private.....	Oct. 3, 1863.....	Oct. 3, 1863



**HENRY C. LAUB,**  
**First Lieutenant of Company D. Enlisted from Denison.**  
**Crawford county, October 3, 1862.**

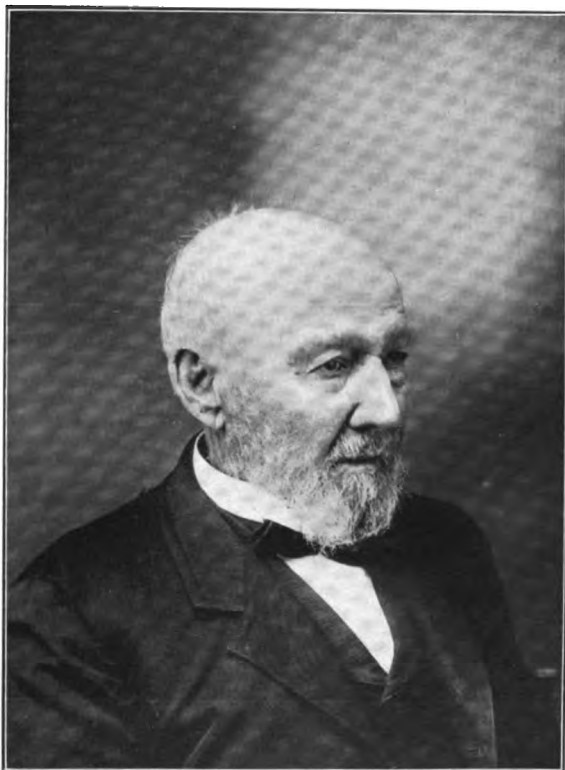


Imlay, Solomon J . . . . .	27	Magnolia, Harrison . . . . .	Ohio . . . . .	Private . . . . .	Oct. 3, 1862 . . . . .
Jackson, Alfred . . . . .	21	Manteno, Shelby . . . . .	Iowa . . . . .	Private . . . . .	Oct. 3, 1862 . . . . .
Johnson, Henry . . . . .	20	Little Sioux, Harrison . . . . .	England . . . . .	Private . . . . .	Oct. 3, 1862 . . . . .
Kent, Sylvester B. . . . .	24	Denison, Crawford . . . . .	Iowa . . . . .	Private . . . . .	Oct. 3, 1862 . . . . .
Kuykendall, John C. . . . .	25	Manteno, Shelby . . . . .	Tennessee . . . . .	Private . . . . .	Oct. 3, 1862 . . . . .
Kuykendall, A. R. . . . .	20	Denison, Crawford . . . . .	Texas . . . . .	Private . . . . .	Oct. 3, 1862 . . . . .
Kime, Jacob G. . . . .	29	Manteno, Shelby . . . . .	Ohio . . . . .	Private . . . . .	Oct. 3, 1862 . . . . .
Livingston, Wm. G. . . . .	18	Little Sioux, Harrison . . . . .	Ohio . . . . .	Private . . . . .	Oct. 3, 1862 . . . . .
Lewis, Squire T. . . . .	22	Magnolia, Harrison . . . . .	Ohio . . . . .	Private . . . . .	Oct. 3, 1862 . . . . .
Landon, Chris. C. . . . .	18	Little Sioux, Harrison . . . . .	Pennsylvania . . . . .	Private . . . . .	Oct. 3, 1862 . . . . .
McCord, Wm. . . . .	20	Manteno, Shelby . . . . .	Illinois . . . . .	Private . . . . .	Oct. 3, 1862 . . . . .
Myers, Henry G. . . . .	35	Olmstead, Harrison . . . . .	New York . . . . .	Private . . . . .	Oct. 3, 1862 . . . . .
Munson, Jacob H. . . . .	37	Davidson, Crawford . . . . .	Ohio . . . . .	Private . . . . .	Oct. 3, 1862 . . . . .
Quail, Robert . . . . .	39	Sac City, Sac . . . . .	Pennsylvania . . . . .	Private . . . . .	Oct. 3, 1862 . . . . .
Riddle, Michael . . . . .	30	Denison, Crawford . . . . .	Ohio . . . . .	Private . . . . .	Oct. 3, 1862 . . . . .
Riddle, Moses . . . . .	27	Denison, Crawford . . . . .	Ohio . . . . .	Private . . . . .	Oct. 3, 1862 . . . . .
Rudd, Sidney R. . . . .	29	Denison, Crawford . . . . .	Pennsylvania . . . . .	Private . . . . .	Oct. 3, 1862 . . . . .
Stow, Elias M. . . . .	28	Little Sioux, Harrison . . . . .	Ohio . . . . .	Private . . . . .	Oct. 3, 1862 . . . . .
Slater, Solomon W. . . . .	24	Denison, Crawford . . . . .	New York . . . . .	Private . . . . .	Oct. 3, 1862 . . . . .
Teague, Ephraim O. . . . .	22	Bourman's Grove, Shelby . . . . .	Indiana . . . . .	Private . . . . .	Oct. 3, 1862 . . . . .
Teague, George N. . . . .	20	Pleasant Grove, Shelby . . . . .	Indiana . . . . .	Private . . . . .	Oct. 3, 1862 . . . . .
Whitney, John M. . . . .	24	Grant City, Sac . . . . .	New York . . . . .	Private . . . . .	Oct. 3, 1862 . . . . .

Commissioned Officers 3, Sergeants 4, Corporals 4, Musicians 1, Farrier 1, Wagoner 1, Privates 37; Total rank and file 51.

## NORTHERN BORDER BRIGADE—ROSTER OF COMPANY E.

Names	Age	Residence—Town and County	Nativity	Rank	Enlistment or Enrollment	Date of Muster into State Service
Jerome M. White.....	39	Sioux City, Woodbury.....	Ohio.....	Captain.....	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1863
Charles E. Rustin.....	26	Sioux City, Woodbury.....	Vermont.....	1st Lieutenant..	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1863
Charles Atkins.....	30	Onawa, Monona.....	Maine.....	2d Lieutenant..	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1863
Anthony B. Griffin.....	31	Sioux City, Woodbury.....	New York.....	1st Sergeant....	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1863
John W. Lewis.....	33	Sioux City, Woodbury.....	N. B.....	2d Sergeant....	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1863
Joseph Robinson.....	28	Onawa, Monona.....	Scotland.....	3d Sergeant....	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1863
Gilbert Kustin.....	29	Sioux City, Woodbury.....	Vermont.....	4th Sergeant....	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1863
Andrew S. Miller.....	26	Sioux City, Woodbury.....	Pennsylvania....	1st Corporal....	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1863
John Gerts.....	35	Sioux City, Woodbury.....	Germany.....	2d Corporal....	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1863
Eli Avery.....	50	Sioux City, Woodbury.....	Pennsylvania....	3d Corporal....	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1863
Warren G. Ordway.....	19	Onawa, Monona.....	New York.....	4th Corporal....	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1863
Christian F. Dees.....	27	Sioux City, Woodbury.....	Germany.....	Bugler.....	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1863
Albion Beatty.....	29	Onawa, Monona.....	Illinois.....	Farrier.....	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1863
John A. Swobe.....	24	Sioux City, Woodbury.....	New York.....	Wagoner.....	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1863
Allison, David.....	18	West Fork, Monona.....	Pennsylvania....	Private.....	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1863
Ackerman, David.....	33	Sioux City, Woodbury.....	New York.....	Private.....	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1863
Brasfield, John D.....	21	Woodbury, Woodbury.....	Indiana.....	Private.....	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1863
Beck, Henry B.....	22	Sioux City, Woodbury.....	Pennsylvania....	Private.....	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1863
Baerlien, Michael.....	29	Sioux City, Woodbury.....	Germany.....	Private.....	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1863
Bush, Jacob B.....	18	Sioux City, Monona.....	Indiana.....	Private.....	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1863
Commerford, Matthew	37	Sioux City, Woodbury.....	Ireland.....	Private.....	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1863
Carr, Wm. M.....	20	Sioux City, Woodbury.....	Indiana.....	Private.....	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1863
Carstens, Aldridge G.	32	Sioux City, Woodbury.....	Germany.....	Private.....	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1863
Cheadle, Vincent.....	40	Onawa, Monona.....	Ohio.....	Private.....	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1863
Denison, Vincent.....	40	Sioux City, Woodbury.....	Ireland.....	Private.....	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1863
Elliot, Robert.....	29	Onawa, Monona.....	Ireland.....	Private.....	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1863
Elliot, William.....	26	Woodbury, Woodbury.....	Ireland.....	Private.....	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1863
Geiger, John.....	38	Sioux City, Woodbury.....	Germany.....	Private.....	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1863
Goldie, Robert.....	32	Sioux City, Woodbury.....	Scotland.....	Private.....	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1863



**JEROME M. WHITE,**  
Captain of Company E. Enlisted from Sioux City,  
Woodbury county, September 27, 1862.





22	Hopkins, Thomas T.	Kennebeck, Monona	Ocean	Private	Sept. 27, 1862	Oct. 7, 1862
19	Householder, Mat. C.	Woodbury, Woodbury	Ohio	Private	Sept. 27, 1862	Oct. 7, 1862
34	Jameson, Robert	Onawa, Monona	Indiana	Private	Sept. 27, 1862	Oct. 7, 1862
30	Jarvis, Urick	Sioux City, Woodbury	Canada	Private	Sept. 27, 1862	Oct. 7, 1862
18	Kelly, Cornelius	Sioux City, Woodbury	Ireland	Private	Sept. 27, 1862	Oct. 7, 1862
18	Kelly, Cornelius J.	Sioux City, Woodbury	Ireland	Private	Sept. 27, 1862	Oct. 7, 1862
28	Kelly, Daniel	Sioux City, Woodbury	Ireland	Private	Sept. 27, 1862	Oct. 7, 1862
27	Lakey, Andrew	Sioux City, Woodbury	Ireland	Private	Sept. 27, 1862	Oct. 7, 1862
28	Leteltier, Lewis D.	Sioux City, Woodbury	Canada	Private	Sept. 27, 1862	Oct. 7, 1862
35	Lee, James W.	Mapleton, Monona	Indiana	Private	Sept. 27, 1862	Oct. 7, 1862
32	Milroy, William B.	Woodbury, Woodbury	Indiana	Private	Sept. 27, 1862	Oct. 7, 1862
25	McCurdy, Francis M.	Sioux City, Woodbury	Pennsylvania	Private	Sept. 27, 1862	Oct. 7, 1862
18	McCurdy, Wm. S.	Sioux City, Woodbury	Pennsylvania	Private	Sept. 27, 1862	Oct. 7, 1862
44	Pinkney, John M.	Sioux City, Woodbury	Michigan	Private	Sept. 27, 1862	Oct. 7, 1862
22	Perry, Francis M.	Onawa, Monona	Indiana	Private	Sept. 27, 1862	Oct. 7, 1862
28	Putnam, Nathan W.	Sioux City, Woodbury	New York	Private	Sept. 27, 1862	Oct. 7, 1862
19	Pinkney, Wm. H.	Sioux City, Woodbury	Michigan	Private	Sept. 27, 1862	Oct. 7, 1862
20	Snider, Wm. W.	Woodbury, Woodbury	Ohio	Private	Sept. 27, 1862	Oct. 7, 1862
18	Washburn, Ellis	Sioux City, Woodbury	New York	Private	Sept. 27, 1862	Oct. 7, 1862
21	Warren, Theodore	Mapleton, Monona	Illinois	Private	Sept. 27, 1862	Oct. 7, 1862
21	Winteringer, David L.	Smithland, Woodbury	Ohio	Private	Sept. 27, 1862	Oct. 7, 1862
38	York, Matthias	Sioux City, Woodbury	Germany	Private	Sept. 27, 1862	Oct. 7, 1862

Commissioned Officers 3, Sergeants 4, Corporals 4, Musicians 1, Farrier 1, Saddler 0, Wagoner 1, Privates 37; Total rank and file, 51 men.

## INDIAN AFFAIRS IN IOWA TERRITORY.

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EXECUTIVE OFFICE, IOWA TERR., 2d August, 1841.

SIR:—Your letters of 13th and 14th ults. came to hand on the 31st, that of the 16th by the preceding mail. I am pleased to find that my views on the subject of our Indian affairs in the Superintendency coincide with yours and the more so, because yours are the result of much observation and experience.

It will give me pleasure, if as you anticipate, my labors here should in any degree tend to lighten yours, or aid you in the performance of them. Your remarks on the subject of the influence of the traders over the Indians, are fully sustained by my own observations and increasing experience, and I am well convinced that whenever the time arrives for holding a treaty with the Sacs and Foxes we shall have great difficulty if we are not to a great extent defeated in the attainment of our principal object, by their management; and if it so turns out, and I have anything to do with the matter, I shall most certainly adopt summary measures to remove their influence from the Indian Territory pending the treaty. I believe, however, they will be cautious how they subject themselves to suspicion, as I have in several friendly conversations with them, assured them that whenever I became convinced that the influence of traders in any part of the Indian country under my superintendence is counteracting or impeding the views of the government, I will convince them that the government is too strong for them—assuring them at the same time that I entertain no unkind feelings towards any of them and would very reluctantly do anything that could affect their interests injuriously. They profess the utmost willingness to act in concert with the views of the government, and will do so, *just so far* as those views do not conflict with their interests. Before this reaches you, you will have learned from my letter of the 27th ultimo, that a compromise between the two parties of Sacs and Foxes as to

the manner of receiving their annuities has been effected, and I have now no uneasiness on that subject, except from the fear of a delay in the payment, which will be incompatible with the repeated assurance given them ever since the suspension of the last year's payment, that the money would be paid whenever they would agree upon the manner of receiving it. You are perfectly aware of the promptitude with which they impute falsehood to those who fail to comply with any promise made them, and that it is almost impossible to regain their confidence if once lost.

I have written to Capt. Bruce and Gov. Doty on the subject of your letter of the 13th ult., and have given to the former an explanation of the object for which the \$5,000 that he was at a loss about, was remitted. I infer from your letter that Gov. Doty is at St. Peters, but have not had the honor to hear from him since his return to the west. In my letter to Mr. Bruce I gave him in substance this view of the subject of educating the Indians—That every effort to educate Indians who remain in a migratory or hunter state, or who are dependent for subsistence upon occasional supplies from the government, is money wasted and labor lost. That I have not yet in all my inquiries been able to find an instance of permanent good, either to individuals or tribes, from any degree of education conferred upon them while in the state described. Among the Sacs and Foxes there is a half-breed who has been well educated—speaks our language and the French with fluency and ease, and is perfectly familiar with the language of several of the tribes, yet he is the most worthless, lying, drunken dog among them, and they sometimes whip him severely for lying. Another half-breed among them has received some education, but makes no use of it, and is a mere Indian in his habits and feelings. Such was the case, too, with a few of the Shawnees when they lived on the Miamies of the lake. I remember one in particular who was a graduate of one of the eastern colleges, who used to say his education had only served to spoil a

good hunter, and in truth he was not good for anything. The Cherokees and other southern Indians who have given some attention to educating their children, did not commence to do so until many of them had acquired some ideas of individual rights and the value of individual property in lands, and had made considerable progress in agriculture. This view of the subject leads me to the conclusion that until these people are permanently located and such neat and comfortable residences erected for them as will soon come to be preferred to the miserable camps in which they usually reside, nothing beneficial can be done for them in the way of education. This effected, hold out inducements to them to cultivate the soil—offer prizes, such for instance as handsome guns with all their equipments, fine clothes, blankets, &c., to the Indian who shall produce, by *male labor*, the best crop of corn, raise the most hogs or cattle, reducing the scale of prizes, but giving something to each male Indian who shall labor to make a crop. These prizes might be exhibited at the agencies by way of stimulating them to exertion. Having taught them the comforts of a home and the value of the products of the soil as a means of subsistence, then, and not till then, will education become valuable to them. These views were given for Mr. Bruce's consideration, and I submit them to you now with the same object, admitting that my inexperience in Indian affairs entitled my opinions to no other consideration than the reasons given for them may entitle them to. You will observe, however, that they go to the root of all attempts at conferring education until the Indians are induced to become to some extent settled and have commenced to depend, in part at least, upon their industry for support; but for this view of the matter I would have mailed Mr. Bruce's and Gov. Doty's opinions before I presented mine. On the subject of the Soap Creek mills near the Sac and Fox agency, I concur in your opinion that any further expenditure for the purpose of putting the saw-mill in operation would be useless under existing circumstances,

but with regard to the corn-mill, I regret that any delay should take place in the execution of the very inconsiderable amount of labor necessary to secure it against a sudden rise of the water, because if the Indians were removed, the value of the mill to the white population which will soon occupy the country forms a sufficient inducement to secure it at so small an expense, and I presume that whenever the Indians are removed measures will be adopted to secure the government at least a portion of the money expended at and near the agency, by a sale of the lands enclosed and reduced to cultivation, buildings, &c., in such manner as will insure a fair competition at the sale of them.

I remain very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

JOHN CHAMBERS.

T. HARTLEY CRAWFORD, Esq., Commr. of Ind. Affairs,  
Department of War, Washington City.

P. S.—I enclose you a slip from a dirty paper published [here], to show what use is attempted to be made of the matter to which it relates.

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NULLIFICATION.—The dog law and the law to prevent the discharging of fire arms in the limits of the corporation remain unexecuted. In 1840 a law passed the city council levying a tax of one dollar on each dog, or making it the duty of the marshal to destroy every dog not so paid for. One dog was paid for that year and the rest went stock free. This year again, we know of but one who has paid a dog tax, and hear of but two dogs being destroyed. What a glorious thing it is to have a corporation.—*Davenport, Iowa, Sun, Aug. 6, 1842.*

## IOWA'S FIRST LAWGIVER.

Eugene F. Ware, of Topeka, Kansas, sends *The Burlington Hawk-Eye* some interesting facts concerning the early history of Iowa which are printed below. In a letter to the editor Mr. Ware says that having been directed by the governor of Kansas to assist the attorney general in the United States supreme court in the suit of Kansas against Colorado for the diversion of the water from the Arkansas river, which flows from Colorado into Kansas, it became necessary to dig down into the early laws of Kansas, and as it belonged to the Louisiana purchase, he found many interesting facts. Those of particular interest to the people of this State he has used in preparing the article which follows. Mr. Ware was formerly with *The Burlington Hawk-Eye*, and since removing to Topeka has gained much note as a lawyer, writer and poet. In the latter capacity he is best known as "Ironquill." Mr. Ware writes to *The Hawk-Eye* as follows:

TOPEKA, KANSAS, Feb. 1, 1902.

DEAR SIR:—It may be interesting to know that William Henry Harrison was the first American lawgiver of Iowa. After the adoption of the constitution of the United States and after the creation of the Northwest territory by ordinance of July 13, 1787, a law was enacted by congress, creating the territory of Indiana. The law was approved May 7, 1800, and all of the territory west of Ohio to the Mississippi river was called "Indiana territory."

The legislative authority of Indiana was confined to a governor and three judges, all appointed.

The act provided for a legislature to be elected when there were "five thousand free male inhabitants" of voting age. (Nothing said about their being "white.")

The power of the governor and three judges to legislate was taken from the ordinance of 1787, and is as follows:

The governor and judges, or a majority of them, shall adopt and publish in the district such laws of the original states, criminal and civil, as may be necessary and best suited to the circumstances of the district, . . . which laws shall be in force in the district until the organization of the general assembly therein, unless disapproved of by congress. (1 S. L. 51.)

Owing to the fact that the voting population of Indiana territory remaining below the required number, its legislature for several years from the organization of the territory

consisted of the governor, William Henry Harrison, afterwards president, and the three judges appointed to hold the courts in the territory. The seat of government was fixed by law at the village of Saint Vincennes, called by the English-speaking people Saint Vincent, under which name it was mentioned in the ordinance of 1787. The place was widely known by its English name, but the old French name, Vincennes, persisted and was finally adopted.

The first law passed by Indiana territory for its government was passed January 19, 1801.

It was signed by William Henry Harrison as governor, and by William Clark, Henry Vanderburgh and John Griffin as judges. It was a law requiring lists of persons and property in the territory, and was adopted from the code of Pennsylvania. It was done at the town of "Saint Vincennes." The Indiana lawgivers also passed "a law establishing courts of judicature" at the same place, Vincennes, January 23, 1801. This law was also adopted from the Pennsylvania code. The governor and judges also passed laws concerning practice on appeals, which laws were taken from Kentucky and Virginia. These laws, though few and simple, were perhaps all that were necessary for the then sparsely settled country of Indiana territory.

The laws which Indiana territory adopted for its own use and guidance came from Pennsylvania, Virginia and Kentucky.

After the purchase of Louisiana territory, in 1803, and the taking possession of the same, the congress of the United States passed a law, March 26, 1804 (2 S. L. 283), subdividing said territory upon the thirty-third degree of north latitude, running from the Mississippi river west, being the present southern boundary of Arkansas. The southern part of the said territory was called the Territory of Orleans, and that portion north of the line was called the District of Louisiana. This act separating the two parts of Louisiana territory contained the provision that the governor and judges of



Indiana territory might legislate for the new district, being the upper district (Secs. 12 and 13), and the act also contained the following:

Sec. 13. The laws in force in the said district of Louisiana at the commencement of this act, and not inconsistent with any of the provisions thereof, shall continue in force until altered, modified or repealed by the governor and judges of the Indiana territory as aforesaid.

By virtue of the provisions of the act of March 26, 1804, it became necessary that the governor and judges of Indiana territory should legislate for the district of Louisiana.

In order to prevent confusion, it must be remembered that the northern part of the Louisiana purchase, so separated as stated, was first called the "District of Louisiana;" then the same territory was afterwards renamed the "Territory of Louisiana," and afterwards renamed the "Territory of Missouri;" so the same geographical boundaries in fact pertained to the three political divisions. As the said act of congress gave to Indiana territory the power to legislate for the district of Louisiana, the governor and judges of Indiana proceeded to enact such laws as they deemed necessary.

Although more than four years elapsed since the organization of the territory of Indiana, no legislature had yet been elected, and the territory was still governed by Mr. Harrison and three judges, and they had passed laws amounting in volume to about fifty pages; and when congress, in 1804, gave them the right to legislate for the district of Louisiana, the governor and judges of Indiana took most of the laws which they had adopted during the four years and, making only such changes as would necessarily fit them for the new territory, readopted them practically verbatim for the district of Louisiana. The laws were not passed separately and in detail, but were all passed at once in a body, as of the date of October 1, 1804, except one, a supplemental law regarding marriages, which passed April 24, 1805.

The formula by which these laws were passed was as follows, and we give a sample as representing all:

A law establishing the office of sheriff.

*Be it enacted* by the Governor and Judges of the Indiana Territory, authorized and empowered by an Act of Congress to make laws for the District of Louisiana, and it is hereby enacted by authority of the same:

*First.* That there shall be appointed and commissioned by the governor in each district a sheriff, etc., etc. . . . .

The foregoing is hereby declared to be a law for the District of Louisiana to take effect accordingly.

*In Testimony Whereof,* We, William Henry Harrison, governor, Thomas T. Davis, Henry Vanderburg, and John Griffin, judges in and over the Indiana Territory, have hereunto set our hands at Vincennes the first day of October, 1804, and of the independence of the United States the twenty-ninth.

(Signed)

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON,  
THOMAS TERRY DAVIS,  
HENRY VANDERBURG,  
JOHN GRIFFIN.

Congress took away this power March 3, 1805. (See 2 S. L. 331.)

The laws enacted by William Henry Harrison and the judges of Indiana territory were, therefore, the first laws that Iowa received of a local character from any American source, and are the laws of Iowa today unless they have been repealed.

Very respectfully,

E. F. WARE.

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A QUESTION was brought before the county court of Dubuque in November or December last on petition of citizens of Dubuque, praying the court to allow a vote to be taken on the question: "Will the county of Dubuque become a stockholder in the Dubuque and Keokuk railroad company?" After argument it has been decided that the court has no power to put such a question, nor has the county the power to take stock. We understand that the judge has promised a written opinion on this subject.—*Dubuque Herald, Feb. 5, 1852.*

## THE COMING OF BISHOP LORAS.

The sermon on the occasion of the investiture of Archbishop J. J. Keane of Dubuque, with the Pallium, at the Cathedral in that city, April 18, 1901, was preached by the Most Reverend JOHN LAMLAND, Archbishop of St. Paul, Minn. He began his eloquent discourse with the following account of the arrival of Mathias Loras, the first Roman Catholic Bishop of Dubuque:

Remember the days of old, think upon every generation; ask thy father, and he will declare to thee; thy elders and they will tell thee.—Deut., 32:7.

It was the 19th day of April, of the year 1839. There was much commotion in the little village of Dubuque; a steamboat was breasting the swiftly flowing waters of the Mississippi river. A steamboat upon the upper Mississippi was always, in those days, an unusual sight, and whenever one did appear crowds flocked towards the landing to give it welcome and receive from it news of the far-off centers of population and civilization. This time, however, the eagerness of the villagers to rush river-ward was such as to denote extraordinary curiosity and expectation; it was the first steamboat of the season from Dubuque's emporium, St. Louis, and—this especially heightened public interest in its coming—the rumor had spread that aboard this steamboat there would be the newly consecrated bishop, Mathias Loras. No wonder that there was commotion in the village. A bishop for Dubuque! This to Catholics meant that hereafter the holy church would ceaselessly watch over their spiritual welfare; to all, whether Catholics, it was an augury that soon in Dubuque extensions would be given to streets and groups of houses, and Iowa's silent prairies would be gladdened by the tread of hosts of incoming immigrants.

And, indeed, as the steamboat was made fast to the shore, quickly from its deck stepped Dubuque's first bishop and two companions, priests who had come with him from distant France, Joseph Gretin and Anthony Pelamorgues. A few moments later the wood-built chapel at the base of the bluff, Dubuque's solitary monument to Catholicity, was filled to overflowing; the bishop with beating heart and tearful eye

blessed the people, blessed the diocese of present and future time; the Catholic church was formally and officially installed in the northwest.

At its inception the diocese embraced the vast region situated between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, from the state of Missouri on the south to British America on the north. In this immense territory there were at the time three chapels dedicated to Catholic worship, a proportionately limited Catholic population, and not one resident priest. What spiritual favors had been heretofore vouchsafed to Catholics had been coming from the hands of the illustrious and devoted Samuel Mazzuchelli, the pastor of the neighboring village of Galena, who, while caring for northern Illinois and western Wisconsin, was not unwilling to extend into Iowa his apostolic labors.

It is the 17th day of April, of the year 1901. As our pioneer fathers sixty-two years ago, so we today witness the induction into his charge of a bishop of Dubuque. How changed from the scene of 1839 is that of 1901!

O spirit of our sainted Loras, present with us, no doubt, this morning, prophet of hope as thou wast for Dubuque, for Iowa, for America, never hadst thou dared picture to thyself, as possible within six decades of years, the scenes of 1901, and all the wondrous things beyond it, which this scene symbolizes!

Where stood the one bishop and his two missionary companions, there stand today throngs of bishops and of priests; among them a very prince\* of the church. In place of the little wood-built chapel, there arises a stately temple; instead of a few pioneers, there are the thousand laymen; and the modest ceremonial of the first episcopal installation makes room for the highest pomp and circumstance that Catholic rite allows. Nor, indeed, is it a mere episcopal installation that we are witnessing; Bishop Loras' see has grown into metro-

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\*His Eminence James Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore.

politan dignity, and today, over the shoulders of Dubuque's prelate floats the Roman Pallium.

And all that our eyes perceive is but a feeble indication of the happenings of sixty-two years, of which the churches of Iowa, Minnesota and the two Dakotas are today the witnesses. In the portion of Christ's vineyard blessed by Bishop Loras on the 19th day of April, 1839—where before his arrival, there were three humble chapels, some hundreds of Catholics and not one resident priest—there are now eight bishops, two of whom are metropolitans, 970 priests, 976 churches, and a proportionate number of convents, schools, colleges and institutions of charity, with a Catholic population of 678,500. Such are the figures given by the Catholic directory for the year 1901. Surely, wonders have been wrought in the church of northwestern America. Let us therefore offer praise and thanks to the Almighty God; let us believe such wonders were not wrought without a special Providence, the mysterious designs of which it is our duty to discover, so that we may in humility and earnestness work the better in co-operation with the All-wise and All-bountiful will.

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PROGRESS OF THE PRESS IN IOWA.—The increase of newspapers in this State has been very rapid during the last year. First came *The Burlington Tri-Weekly* and *Weekly Telegraph*—*The Muscatine Tri-Weekly Enquirer*—*The Dubuque Daily Tribune*—then *The Dubuque Tri-Weekly Herald*, and numbers of papers in the southern part of the State. We see now that *The Burlington Hawk-eye* and *Miners' Express* propose establishing tri-weeklies. So rolls the tide of intelligence.—*Bellevue Democrat*, April 30, 1851.

## A HALF CENTURY AGO.

*The Fayette County Union*, of West Union, Iowa, in culling over the old files of its predecessor, *The Pioneer*, is finding some information that is very interesting. For instance, on February 27, 1855, the paper told of Robert Powers, of Taylorsville, driving to Dubuque with a load of game for market, and stated that the load included 1,000 prairie chickens, 1,000 quails, 1,000 rabbits, 8 deer, 5 wolves and 2 bears. Those were the days when game was plentiful in Iowa, and the sportsmen of to-day who go out for a few days shooting and come back with a few dozen birds do not know what real hunting is like. Another interesting item in the same paper tells of the early day schools of that county. In 1855 there were 17 school houses in the county, but in that day they never heard of such a thing as voting \$150,000 for additions to High Schools, and other expenditures of that sort, as is evidenced by the statement that those 17 school houses cost an aggregate of only \$1,898.98. There were 669 pupils attending school in the county that year, and there were seven men and nineteen women employed to teach them, the men receiving \$15.25 per month as salary, while the women received \$7.00.

On April 15, 1855, *The Pioneer* announced with a great deal of pride that "we now have a daily line of stage coaches between here and Dubuque, and before the summer is over we shall have a daily instead of a tri-weekly mail." In another place it tells of a proposed stage line to run from Iowa City to St. Paul, and of no less than 25,000 new settlers having pitched their tents in Minnesota. On January 23, 1855, the completion of the first bridge across the Mississippi was celebrated. It was a small wire suspension bridge at St. Anthony's Falls, where now stands Minneapolis. Will the next 50 years bring as many changes and improvements?—*Des Moines Daily Register*, March 22, 1902.

# ANNALS OF IOWA.

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## EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT.

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### A FITTING SOLDIERS' MONUMENT.

It is our judgment, and we have contended for the carrying out of the idea, often singly and alone, that the preservation and publication of records and other historical data should take precedence of works of mere sentiment. Records and recollections are daily perishing, while works like monuments do not suffer by reasonable delay. Such was the position the writer and two or three friends, among whom we may mention Hon. Messrs. B. F. Gue and J. M. Shaffer, took at the time the question of erecting the Iowa Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument on the site of the old capitol building in Des Moines, was pending before the twenty-fourth general assembly. But some of the persons who were interested in the effort to erect the monument, and determined that it should succeed, were in the habit of asking hesitating legislators this very ugly question, "Are you opposed to the soldiers?" While few attempted to answer, it still seemed to win votes, and one might have supposed that the soldiers were everywhere clamoring for its erection. The influences in favor of the monument won the day. Whether it was the better policy to build the monument at that time, or erect a historical and memorial building, we may leave wholly to the judgment of the reader.

Our thoughts have been turned to this subject upon an examination of two volumes which have reached the Historical Department. We refer to the Revised Registers or Rosters of the Soldiers and Sailors who served in the civil war from the States of New Hampshire and Vermont. These books were prepared and published under State authority. They are so much alike that we need not stop to point out

any minor points of difference. Each regiment is dealt with separately and very fully. There is first given a history of the organization, with a list of the battles in which it participated, followed by a full roster of the command, showing the date of enlistment and muster into service, the date and place of discharge, casualties, or death, of every officer and man. The same course is pursued in regard to service in the navy, or in the smaller organizations, as batteries, separate companies, the Veteran Reserve Corps, etc. Every fact required to be set down in the records of his State, showing the military history of the volunteer soldier, is here set forth. The histories which preface each regimental register or roster, while necessarily brief, were evidently prepared with the utmost care. Many of them embody facts which would otherwise soon have passed into oblivion. Each is a beautifully printed, large quarto volume, one making 863 and the other 1347 pages.

These splendid volumes seem to us to come near perfection as "soldiers' monuments." Every soldier gets full credit for his service, and the books are certain to have as long a life as the State or Nation. Others of the Eastern States have either published similar volumes or have them in preparation. While this, like all other historical work, has been most unaccountably delayed in Iowa, we are confident that it will be undertaken and carried out at no distant day. We cannot for a moment entertain the idea that any intelligent person will long oppose it. Pride in the heroism displayed by the soldiers of Iowa on so many bloody fields, will yet manifest itself in the completion and perpetuation of their records.

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#### FORTY YEARS AGO.

Capt. W. H. Ingham, of Algona, Iowa, presents in our leading article his recollections of the Northern Border Brigade, in which he commanded a company, recruited and mustered into the service of the State, for the purpose of



protecting the northwestern frontier of Iowa from the incursions of the Indians. It is difficult to realize that our State, only forty years ago, was compelled to raise a military force, and place it within formidable stockades, to protect the lives of its citizens! All of the events of which he gives the reader so clear an account transpired scarcely longer since than the life-time of a generation—certainly within the recollection of thousands of persons now living. It is a marvellous transition from wide untenanted prairies to cultivated farms and smiling towns and villages, with peace and safety throughout our borders. This article is valuable not only as being the faithful report of an eye-witness, but as embodying all the important official reports concerning the Northern Border Brigade. Up to this time information relative to this military occupation of northwestern Iowa has not been accessible, but the present publication will result in placing it in our public libraries. Our illustrations include a fine steel portrait of Capt. Ingham, with half-tones of several of the officers and cuts of three important stockades.

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### NATIONAL HATREDS.

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One who has lived over seventy years lately mentioned that he had known the existence and the passing away of many hatreds which at times filled the minds of the people. Away back in the thirties, and long before, most Yankees abhorred the name or sight of an Englishman. At that time there were still a dozen or more white-haired Revolutionary soldiers within his own county, and soldiers of the war of 1812 were in some regions almost as plenty as those of the civil war around us now. Our hatred of those "Britishers" was simply intense. We impugned their courage, having no doubt whatever that one American was a match for half a dozen of them. We indulged even a bitterer hatred of the "Tories"—now euphoniously called "Loyalists of the Amer-

ican Revolution"—comparing them to Judas Iscariot and other unsavory characters. In our common life no meaner thing could be said of a man than that he was a "Tory." But in the later forties we went to war with Mexico, and "all of a sudden" we stopped abusing John Bull and poured out our objurgations upon "the greasers." We captured Santa Anna's wooden leg and made much of it. Perambulating circuses presented caricatures of a battle with the Mexicans, in which we invariably put "the greasers" to flight, to the great delight of the applauding audiences. We whipped the Mexicans in every battle. At last we "hoisted the stars and stripes over the halls of the Montezumas," and dictated peace on our own terms, getting a lot of territory for the purpose of making more slave states. We indulged in all kinds of left-handed compliments at the expense of the poor Mexicans and kept it up for more than a decade. We had whipped them in a succession of hard fought battles and reduced them to a pitiable condition—and why shouldn't we brag about it? Things progressed in this way till the outbreak of the civil war, and—we apparently quit hating the Mexicans—but how we did hate the rebels! Nothing we could say was half severe enough. This feeling intensified as the four years' war went on to its close. And we continued to hate them during a long reign of peace. "The bloody shirt" seemed to wave everywhere—even in Iowa! Men ran for office, borne on to their triumphs over a tide of calumny. We had candidates on the stump for governors and members of congress whose only "claim" for election seemed to rest upon the intensity with which they hated the rebels. Members of congress would abuse the rebel brigadiers without stint. Of course, the rebel brigadier would hurl back the epithets, though the twain might possibly go out arm in arm together for liquid refreshments, to laugh over the rencounter at leisure. Northern members of congress in reconstruction days would vote for the admission of rebel states, and then go upon the stump at home to thresh over the old

straw of the rebellion—and so get back to Washington. This would hardly seem to be logical, but it is the simple truth. “We must make treason odious”, and so on and so forth. But when President McKinley so happily put his stamp of disapprobation upon all this sort of thing it ceased. His retention of Gen. Fitzhugh Lee at Havana, his prompt appointment of rebel brigadiers in the U. S. volunteer service, and his acceptance of volunteers from all over the south, made this hatred of Dixie as much out of date as events that happened before the flood. When these events were initiated “the bloody shirt” was furled never to wave again. “Young America” has no use for that threadbare garment. Our heartiest plaudits were freely bestowed upon Generals Fitzhugh Lee and Joseph Wheeler, and our soldiers were glad to be led by them into battle. Peace—genuine peace—had come to the whole country so far as its two lately opposing sections were concerned. Some day we shall doubtless contemplate the Filipinos under far different circumstances from those of the present time. It is devoutly to be hoped, and not at all improbable, that we may yet come to think of them in a general way as well as we do of Englishmen, Tories, Mexicans, or rebels in our own country, for the whirligig of time brings to pass many strange things.

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#### SOME OF OUR FLAGS.

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The Historical Department is in possession of three American flags the associations clustering around which make them more than ordinarily interesting and valuable. In the order in which they were received their history is as follows:

The first is one that was known in the old Fourth Iowa Infantry, in the civil war, as “Gen. Williamson’s Flag.” It was made by the women of Des Moines, and presented to Adjutant J. A. Williamson as he was leaving home to join the regiment with which he was so long and so honorably

identified. He carried it with him through the war and kept it in his home until last year when he sent it with other belongings to the Historical Department in the custody of which he wished it to remain.

The next is one of four flags used at the unveiling of the Lafayette Monument in Paris, July 4, 1900. It was presented by Hon. J. S. Crawford, a former representative in the State legislature from Cass county, who was present at the unveiling of the monument. He presented it to the Historical Department some months ago.

The most noted of the three flags is doubtless that which waved over the U. S. House of Representatives during the Memorial Services in honor of President McKinley Feb. 27, 1902. After the two hours in which it was unfurled, it was hauled down and sent by Speaker David B. Henderson to the Historical Department, as a gift to the people of Iowa. It is a most beautiful flag, twelve feet long by eight in width. It was used to drape the portrait of the late Honorable Francis Springer upon the occasion of its public reception in the Historical Art Gallery, and was also unfurled during the late Grand Army Encampment and during the sessions of the Sovereign Grand Lodge, Independent Order of Odd Fellows of the World. These flags will only be used at rare intervals, and upon occasions of historic interest.

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#### CONCERNING GOVERNOR CHAMBERS.

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Many of our readers will doubtless remember a biographical sketch of John Chambers, our second territorial governor, which was written by Hon. William Penn Clarke, reporter of the supreme court of Iowa from 1855 to 1860. This sketch appeared in *THE ANNALS*, Vol. I, No. 6, (July, 1894,) pp. 425-445. Some time after the article appeared we received the following letter from John Chambers, a grandson of the governor. The letter, which fully explains itself, was mislaid at the time it was received, and only came to light a

short time ago. Its publication at this time, however, will serve the purpose of the writer in the correction of the historical error:

402 W. ORMSBY AVE., LOUISVILLE, KY., November 27, 1894.

MY DEAR SIR:—After an absence from the city for several months, I returned some time ago, finding waiting for me a copy of the July issue of *THE ANNALS OF IOWA*, containing the sketch of the life of my grandfather, John Chambers. For this I am greatly obliged to you. I would like to call your attention to one error in the sketch by Mr. Clarke, viz: that of imputing to my grandfather the authorship of the letter given on page 448, dated at Hudson City. This letter could never have been written by him, for several reasons. It refers to his wife as being still alive, when in fact his second and last wife died in Kentucky in 1832. Again, it speaks of a son "Lewis," and of "May" (probably a daughter), neither of which names has been used in our family as long ago as we have any record. From the tone of this letter, I should be inclined to think that it was written by another John Chambers, probably of no kin, who must have been a physician, or possibly a minister of the gospel, attending to his parochial duties. . . . Could you inform me where the original of the picture following page 432 was obtained? I am very anxious to know this, as none of the family here has any recollection of ever having seen it before.

Yours very truly,

JOHN CHAMBERS.

It would seem that Mr. Clarke was in error in attributing the authorship of that letter—the original of which cannot now be found—to Governor Chambers. While the letter of itself possesses no significance, it is proper that the matter be set right. As to the portrait (facing page 432) it occurred in a list of steel plates owned by a New York dealer, from whom we obtained 1,000 impressions to illustrate Mr. Clarke's article. Our attention had been called to this portrait by the late Hon. Theodore S. Parvin, who believed it to be authentic. There is however, quite a dissimilarity between the engraved signatures under each portrait and between the portraits themselves. The portrait of Governor Chambers, in his old age (facing page 441), was engraved from the original oil painting by George H. Yewell, which is one of the finest works of art in the ownership of the State.

IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION.

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Last winter an unsuccessful effort was made in this State to establish a Hall of Archives, with the same ends in view as those which have prompted a like step in Alabama. Connected also with this movement is the establishment of a bi-monthly journal to be known as "The Gulf States Historical Magazine," to be devoted to history, literature and criticism, with especial reference to the Gulf States and adjacent territory. In speaking of these efforts for the perpetuation of records, the "Tennessee Historical Society Quarterly" says:

The State of Alabama has taken an advance step in the establishment of a Department of Archives and History, and making a liberal appropriation for the maintenance of the same. The objects of the department are the care and custody of the State archives, collection of material bearing on the history of the State, publication of official records and other historical materials, and the encouragement of research and the diffusion of knowledge with reference to the history and resources of the State.

The department is under the immediate charge of Thomas M. Owens, who has been elected director by the board of trustees. The director is an enthusiastic antiquarian, an able historian, and an energetic and persistent worker. Circular No. 1 of the Department shows that the director has laid out his work in a most intelligent, orderly and comprehensive manner, and the State of Alabama is to be congratulated upon the organization of this timely movement, especially by Tennessee, in which *there is not a complete file of the publications of any department of the State.*

That last remark will equally apply to the State of Iowa. Should it not be corrected at the earliest possible date?

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MILLARD FILLMORE, who retired from the Presidency in 1853, visited our State in June, 1855. He came to Rock Island at the opening of the C. R. I. & P. R. R. to that point, and thence by steamboat to Dubuque, where he had an informal but enthusiastic reception. State Senator P. W. Crawford, who was present, gives an account of the affair in *The Telegraph-Herald* of Sept. 17, 1902.

## NEW PUBLICATIONS.

*The American Fur Trade in the Far West; a History of the Pioneer Trading Posts and Early Fur Companies of the Missouri Valley and the Rocky Mountains, and of the Overland Commerce with Santa Fe. Map and Illustrations. By Henry Martin Chittenden, Captain Corps of Engineers, U. S. A., Author of "The Yellowstone," 3 vols. pp. 1029, New York. Francis P. Harper, 1902.*

President Jefferson and the promoters of the Louisiana Purchase in 1808 had originally no object in view but the acquisition of New Orleans as a port for American commerce and trade, the restrictions upon which by Spain had been excessively burdensome. The part of the Purchase which lies west of the Mississippi river was then but little known, with the exception of the small settlements at St. Genevieve and St. Louis, and was deemed of little value. It was in possession of savage and war-like tribes.

The author says that "for forty years after the Purchase the people of the United States were at a loss to know what to do with their new possession, and that the single attraction it offered in a commercial way was its wealth of furs, the gathering of which became, and for a long time remained, the only business of importance in this entire region." This is an extreme statement in view of the facts that within the forty years named the State of Louisiana, more than half of which is west of the Mississippi river, and the States of Missouri and Arkansas were admitted into the Union, and the Territory of Iowa organized; they having within that time gained an American population of nearly a million souls, who were employed in opening the wilderness and in the production of cotton, corn, tobacco, hemp, and other commodities of commerce. The extension of slavery into the States named was also a "business of importance in a commercial way," as it proved of fearful consequence to the Nation in a later day.

By the "Fur Trade in the Far West," however, the author means that west of the Missouri river. Of this he gives a very full and interesting account. The work covers a wide field and is the fruit of large research. It is written in a clear and animated style, in the historical spirit of fairness and justice to all parties, and contains many fine descriptions of scenes, persons, and events. The author was the engineer of the construction of the Floyd monument at Sioux City, a notice of which is on pp. 148, 177 of this volume of THE ANNALS. His history may not survive as long as that noble monument, but it will tell many generations, who shall dwell in the vast area between the Missouri river and the Pacific ocean, of the traders and trappers who blazed the way for its civilization.

The exploration of the "Far West" by fur traders receives historical consideration in these volumes for the first time. Many narratives have been published about it, but they were mostly written to make good stories, and abound in exaggerations. Irving's "Astoria" and "Captain Bonneville," and Gregg's "Commerce of the Prairies," are the most valuable

books on the subject hitherto. While recognizing much of value in Hubert Howe Bancroft's volumes, Captain Chittenden regards his account of Astoria and his abuse of Washington Irving as "a disgrace to American history." The error of the United States in not supporting the commercial enterprise of its citizens in Oregon is deplored. An enlightened and vigorous policy by our government would have saved the whole northwest coast to the United States. The abandonment of the original plan of our government to keep the Indian trade in the hands of its own agents is also deplored, as having opened the trade to adventurers who exploited the Indians. It proved a fatal error. Had the original system been maintained, it would have led the Indians to a better destiny; it would have averted the long and bloody wars and the corruption and bad faith which have made a hundred years of our Indian affairs a "Century of Dishonor." The fur business was mostly conducted where the law did not reach. Throughout its whole career, says the author, "the American Fur Company was an object of popular execration, as all grasping monopolies are. Small traders had no show; desperate measures were resorted to in order to get them out of the way, as the Standard Oil Company today crushes any rival enterprise that dares to show its head in any part of the United States." Congress prohibited, July 9, 1832, the introduction of liquors into the Indian country. But the traders evaded the law by all sorts of devices. They built a distillery in the Indian country. Forbidden to sell, they gave liquor to the Indians.

While these volumes are devoted to the American fur trade, they notice the British trade as carried on by the Hudson Bay Company and the Northwest Company of Montreal, and the rivalry and interference of those companies with the American companies. They show the action of British traders in exciting Indian hostilities against the United States in the war of 1812, as previously in the Revolutionary war.

Only scanty reference is made to the fur trade as carried on from St. Louis in the days of Spanish rule. Laclède and Auguste Chouteau, the founders of St. Louis, were in that trade. Captain Chittenden describes in a charming way the rise of St. Louis as an offspring of the fur trade, and the growth of the city for three-fourths of a century as mainly dependent upon it. *THE ANNALS*, iii, 649, 650, has a copy of Julien Dubuque's account with A. Chouteau, Nov. 12, 1804, in which Dubuque is to pay six hundred dollars "in deer skins." Manuel Lisa was an interesting character from that period. He was a Spaniard, born in New Orleans, Sept. 8, 1772; he was associated with William Morrison and Pierre Menard, of Kaskaskia, Ill., in the "Missouri Fur Company." From 1807 to his death in 1820 he conducted annual expeditions up the Missouri river, and spent seven or eight winters in the wilderness. When British traders were exciting the tribes of the upper Missouri against the United States, he withdrew his establishments, and concentrated them near the mouth of the Platte, where he built Fort Lisa, which became at that time the most important post on the Missouri river. Those Indians who were under his influence, he said to Governor William Clark, of Missouri Territory, "did not



arm against the Republic, but against Great Britain, and struck the Iowas, the allies of that power." At the time peace was proclaimed, forty chiefs had arranged with him to carry an expedition of several thousand warriors against the Sacs and Foxes of the Mississippi, who were at war with the United States, and silence them at once. Upon resigning his commission as sub-Indian agent, he wrote to Governor Clark: "In ceasing to be in the employment of the United States, I shall not be less devoted to its interests. I have suffered enough in person and property under a different government, to know how to appreciate the one under which I now live."

The fur trade in Iowa is not in the compass of these volumes. In the appendix, however, is a letter from Thomas Forsyth to Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, written the year before the Black Hawk war, showing how it was then carried on. The facts are of interest in Iowa history. We make an extract:

St. Louis, October 24, 1831.

The fur trade of the countries on the Mississippi as high up as above the Falls of St. Anthony, and on the Missouri river to the Sioux establishment some distance above Council Bluffs, continues to be monopolized by the American Fur Company, who have divided the country into departments, as follows:

Russell Farnham ("a Green Mountain boy, a typical frontiersman of the better class," died of cholera at St. Louis, Oct. 30, 1882) and George Davenport (*ANNALS* iii, 392) have all of the country of the Sac and Fox Indians up to Dubuque's mines, not including the Fox Indians at that place; also the Winnebago and other Indians on the lower parts of Rock river, and the Iowa Indians, who live near the Black Snake Hills (where St. Joseph, Mo., now is).

Joseph Rolette ("a leading merchant and trader at Prairie du Chien," died 1842) has all of the Indians from Dubuque's mines to above St. Anthony's Falls, and up St. Peter's river to its source, and the Indians on the Wisconsin and upper parts of Rock river.

John P. Cabanne's division has the Indians on the Missouri as high up as a point above the Council Bluffs, including the Pawnees of the interior. McKenzie, Laidlow and Lamont have the Sioux of the Missouri.

The American Fur Company send their goods from New York to St. Louis, which are sent up the Missouri river to the different posts in a small steamboat. At those places the furs are received on board, and brought down to St. Louis, where they are counted, repacked, and shipped to New Orleans and New York, where they are unpacked, made up into bales, and sent to Europe, except some of the finest, particularly otter skins, which are sent to China. Cabanne and McKenzie take up their goods in the American Fur Company's steamboats. Rolette procures his goods at Mackinaw, takes them via Green Bay to Prairie du Chien, where they are assorted and forwarded to the different posts. Farnham and Davenport take their goods from St. Louis to the Indian villages in keel-boats.

The traders take to the Indian country blankets, calicos, cottons, rifles, guns, powder, flints, lead, knives, looking glasses, vermilion, kettles, beaver and muskrat traps, bridles, spurs, needles, thread, wampum, horses, tomahawks, half-axes, etc., etc. They give credit to the Indians in the same manner as for the last sixty or eighty years, charging very high prices. The following are the prices charged the Sac and Fox Indians, whose present population exceeds six thousand. They are compelled to take goods at these high prices, for they cannot do without them, but would starve:

Blanket.....	\$10.00,	cost.....	\$ 8.52
Rifle .....	30.00,	cost.....	18.00
Powder, one pound.....	4.00,	cost.....	.20
	<u>\$44.00</u>	Expenses.....	<u>4.18</u>
			\$20.90

Thus if the Indian pays his debt, the trader is a gainer of more than 100 per cent. He takes for a dollar a large buckskin (six pounds), or two doeskins, four muskrats, and four or five raccoons; or allows three dollars for an otterskin, or two dollars a pound for beaver, and counts it a tolerable business if he receives one-half of the amount he gave credit for. The American Fur Company ought to be satisfied. There is a man now in this city (General William H. Ashley, founder of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company), who receives annually a sum from that company on condition that he will not enter the Indian country. They have monopolized the whole trade on the frontiers, together with the Indian annuities, and everything an Indian has to sell, and claim a large amount for debts due them for non-payment of credits given to the Indians at different periods.

In my intercourse with the Indians for forty years I never found that coercive measures had any good effect with them, but that conciliatory measures always tended to produce every purpose required.

THOMAS FORSYTH, Indian Agent.

Among the many graphic and vivid descriptions in these volumes we may refer to those on the Oregon Trail, pp. 460-3; the Rocky Mountains, pp. 725-31; the Mountain Valleys, pp. 743-50; the Great American Desert, pp. 754-5; Prairie Storms and Fires, pp. 755-6; the Missouri river, pp. 762-774; the Buffalo and the Beaver, pp. 809-822; the Sioux Nations, pp. 863-7.

Of the Iowa Indians Captain Chittenden says that they "sprang with the Otoes and the Missouris from a common stock which was closely related to the Siouan family. What their course of migration was is unknown, but they had crossed the Mississippi before they fell under the observation of white men. The pristine home of these Indians was what is now the State which bears their name. They were found within the historic period in almost every part of that region. Once a powerful tribe, they had been ruined by the smallpox and the Sioux, and were a small tribe of only 800 people when the American traders opened relations with them. They traded principally at Robidoux post at Black Snake Hills, where St. Joseph, Mo., now stands, and also to some extent at the Council Bluffs," p. 874.

The "Fort Croghan," which the author places "in Omaha," p. 950, was on the east side of the Missouri river, in the eastern part of what is now the city of Council Bluffs. It was built in 1839. *ANNALS OF IOWA*, first series, ix. 526, third series, v. 383.

WILLIAM SALTER.

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*History of the Constitutions of Iowa.* By Benjamin F. Shambaugh, Ph. D., Professor of Political Science in the University of Iowa. Published by the Historical Department of Iowa, Des Moines: 1902.

The publication of a history is an event. Anybody with access to annals and history, with a knack of writing and with bread to eat while he

writes, can grind out a historical novel. The novel of the period has its day and ceases to be; but a history, valuable from the first, becomes more and more so as the years pass. To the Historical Department of Iowa, (through its honored Curator, Mr. Aldrich,) and to Prof. Benjamin F. Shambaugh, of the Iowa State University, the public is indebted for a veritable and valuable contribution to history, a work of 352 pages written by Professor Shambaugh at the request of Mr. Aldrich—and published by the department over which he presides. The book is entitled a "History of the Constitutions of Iowa." It might well be termed a political history of our State, for such it is in fact. It is not a mass of dry detail, nor is it a labored compilation of State documents. It is, rather, a comprehensive review of the processes of evolution by which a great and influential commonwealth has developed from an aggregation of squatters, the several stages of evolution thoroughly marked by the several constitutions which have been framed for its guidance, these constitutions admirably defining and re-defining the powers and duties, the rights and limitations of a free people.

Reading these pages, one must be strongly impressed with the marvelously rapid and healthy growth of "the only free child of the Missouri Compromise," as Senator Grimes once happily styled the commonwealth of Iowa: first, an unknown portion of that great empire, the Louisiana Purchase, the haunt of the bold explorer and the intrepid fur-trader; then the "beautiful land" chosen by pioneer home-builders and tillers of the soil; later, an unbounded portion of the territory of Michigan; in 1836 part of the territory of Wisconsin; two years later, the territory of Iowa, and in 1846 the State of Iowa,—though with a population of not more than a hundred thousand; whereas, now, in this year of grace 1902, her population is nearly two million and a quarter!

But mere increase in population can never be the measure of a commonwealth's progress. This history is especially valuable in its story of the sociological development of the commonwealth. That story is written into the several constitutions of Iowa, territory and State, and it is to those documents our historian has gone for material and inspiration for his work. That Professor Shambaugh has handled his material thoroughly and scientifically cannot be doubted by any one familiar with his earlier contributions to the yet unwritten exhaustive history of the State. He has brought to his task a thorough knowledge of the subject, a student's fine enthusiasm, a scholar's firm grasp, and, withal, a trained imagination which has enabled him to look in upon an association of squatters, a territorial legislature, or a pioneer constitutional convention, as Parkman looked in upon the struggles of the French, the English and the Indians, or as Motley viewed the intrigues and infamies of the Spaniards and the trials and martyrdoms of the Hollanders, making clear the heretofore obscure chapters of our State's history, and establishing for the reader a historically true relativity as to the principal acts and events contributory to the evolution of this region from a trackless wilderness to an aggrega-

tion of rich and populous communities bound together by community of interest and ever increasingly close association.

The work is perhaps strongest in its explanation and elucidation of that seeming inconsistency, "the Squatter Constitutions," and in the justice tardily given the pioneers who, away back in the thirties long in advance of State or even territorial organization, associated themselves for the common defense and for the better preservation of peace and a surer guaranty of mutual rights. The by-laws and resolutions these squatters formulated from their experience are nowhere surpassed as concrete statements of absolute equity as between man and man, and as between the individual and the mass. These resolutions and by-laws, well termed "the Squatter Constitutions," are wisely given prominence in the work under review. And yet, as Mr. Shambaugh remarks, these squatters "were beyond the pale of constitutional government. No statute of Congress protected them in their rights to the claims they had staked out and the improvements they had made. In law they were trespassers; in fact they were honest farmers." Over a hundred of these extra-legal organizations existed; but complete manuscript records of only two of them have come to light. These, thanks to the Iowa State Historical Society, and to Curator Aldrich of the Iowa Historical Department, have recently been saved from oblivion and the first named published in pamphlet form.

An interesting sample of the fraternal spirit of these associations and of the contempt with which the squatters regarded the land speculators of their time is given in the "constitution" of the Johnson County Association, perhaps the most elaborate of these historic documents. For example, this body resolved to "discountenance any attempts on the part of any and every person to intrude in any way upon the rightful claims of another," the presumption in such case being that "a person thus attempting to take away a portion of the hard earnings of the enterprising and industrious settler is dishonest and no gentleman!"

They had their own way of making it hot for the speculator when he appeared in person or by representative at land sales. They resolved: "that for the purpose of guarding our rights against the speculator we hereby pledge ourselves to stand by each other and to remain on the ground until all sales are over if it becomes necessary in order that each and every settler may be secured in his claim or claims to which he is justly entitled by the Laws of this Association."

The territorial epoch of Iowa's history from 1836 to 1846, without doubt the most important epoch in that history as viewed from the standpoint of the student of organic law, forms the larger and most valuable part of this work. The Organic Acts of 1836 and 1838, the first constitution of the territory, though no expression of the people of the territory, was, as our author says, a great legacy from our national Bill of Rights, the Ordinance of 1787. The first important campaign of education through which the territory passed was over the question of a convention to formulate a constitution for the proposed State of Iowa. This was in 1840. The proposition met an overwhelming defeat at the polls, the con-

servative masses not yet willing to shoulder the financial burdens then borne by the nation. In '41 the Whig Governor, Chambers, succeeding Lucas, a Democrat, thought he would like to try it again and so in '42 another vote was taken, but not till after exhaustive debate in the press and on the stump. The work under review admirably epitomizes the proe and cons of this great campaign of education. It ended, as the first campaign ended, in the defeat of the measure. Still not satisfied, and relying on recent large additions to the population of the territory, Governor Chambers urged a resubmission of the question of a constitutional convention. In '44 the people again voted, but with a different result. This time, although there was little of the excitement of previous campaigns, there was a large majority for a convention.

The constitutional convention of 1844, with the campaigns which followed, was an epoch-maker well worth the extended space here given it.

The debates in the convention and the discussions on the stump, with the long contest over the western boundary of the proposed State,—whether it should be the artificial line proposed by Nicollet, or the natural boundary made by the Missouri river,—the defeat of the proposed constitution two years in succession, because of the injection of the boundary question into the issue, the transfer of the question to Congress, the final adoption of the constitution and admission of the State with its Missouri river boundary, all together constitute a valuable addition to the history of our State, now for the first time written as a whole.

The convention of 1857 and the constitution it submitted are described in the last two chapters of the book,—more briefly than the importance of the subject would seem to warrant; but, as the author says in his preface, an adequate discussion of the subject would have greatly transcended the limits prescribed for his work. It is to be hoped that, either in book form or in the form of collections published by the State Historical Society, Professor Shambaugh will at an early date present such an outline of the 1857 convention debates, and of the popular discussion following, as he has already given us in his "Fragments of the Debates of the Iowa Constitutional Conventions of 1844 and 1846."

JOHNSON BRIGHAM.

State Library, Des Moines.

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*The History of the Louisiana Purchase, by James K. Hosmer, LL. D. Appletons, pp. 230.*

This volume is written from a French or rather Napoleonic point of view. The title is a misnomer; for the volume records the cession, not the purchase of Louisiana. "It came to us," says Dr. Hosmer, "through French statesmanship with little agency of our own." The author overrates the former, and depreciates the latter. The volume contains its own refutation in Livingston's "Memoir" to Talleyrand, Feb., 1808, which is given in an appendix.

Talleyrand was the Minister of Foreign Affairs. He had the ear and

the full confidence of Napoleon at that period. That year (1808) was the turning point in Napoleon's career. He was then "First Consul of the French Republic," and acted "in the name of the French people." The next year he was "Emperor of the French." Imperialism, Caesarism, however, was as dominant in Napoleon's mind in 1808, as in 1804. He took all matters into his own hands, and sold Louisiana on his own motion, without consent from the French Assembly, which the Constitution of the Republic made essential to a sale of any portion of French territory. With the same *nonchalance* he disregarded his pledge to Spain, not to sell Louisiana without Spain's consent. He acted from his own ambitious designs, of which his mind was then full, to invade England, and from an apprehension that some of the British war ships then in the Gulf of Mexico might seize New Orleans. "If I were in their place," said Napoleon to Marbois at the time, "I would not have waited." It was what Talleyrand called "the empire of circumstances" that controlled Napoleon. He sold what he was "certain to lose," as he said to his brother Lucien. He is not deserving of the honor of statesmanship which Dr. Hosmer awards him. In his political heaven "the star of destiny" was his only guide. There was never a greater victim of self-adulation, and the worship he paid himself he required of every one around him.

Jefferson and Livingston were men of a different make and nature. They were patriots of a single eye to the advantage of their country. They knew the importance of New Orleans to western commerce and trade. The free navigation of the Mississippi to its mouth had engaged the attention of Mr. Jefferson from the beginning of the Government, when he was Secretary of State under Washington. He had desired an exploration of the country west of the Mississippi to the Pacific, with a view to discover a route across the continent. Immediately the purchase was made, he sent Lewis and Clark up the Missouri, and also had it in mind to send exploring parties up Red river, up the Des Moines, and up the St. Peters, as he stated at the time to Capt. Lewis.

Livingston had been associated with Jefferson from the time they served together on the committee that drafted the Declaration of Independence in 1776. Their sympathies were in common; they had kindred views. Livingston possessed eminent sagacity. Early in his correspondence with Talleyrand he suggested a cession to the United States of the portion of Louisiana above the Arkansas river. After the ratification of the treaty by the Senate, President Jefferson in writing to Livingston, Nov. 4, 1803, called it "Your Treaty."

W. S.

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*The Iowa Band—New and Revised Edition. By Rev. Ephraim Adams, D. D. The Pilgrim Press, Boston, pp. xx, 240.*

The venerable author, now in his 85th year, has prepared a second edition of a book he published thirty-two years ago. It is enlarged with sixty additional pages, and illustrated with portraits of persons referred

to, and with pictures of churches and other buildings of both the earlier and the later times.

The new edition spans a period of almost sixty years, since a few young men in a New England theological institution were revolving the question as to where they should do their life-work. At the same time their minds were turned to Iowa, which, in the language of Mr. Calhoun about that time in the Senate (January 24, 1843), had "sprung up beyond the Mississippi in a really wonderful and almost miraculous growth, as if by magic." The young men pursued the question prayerfully on successive Tuesday evenings in an alcove of the seminary library, and in October, 1843, nine of them reached the new Territory, and two more came in 1844.

The Rev. James L. Hill, D. D., of Salem, Mass., a son of one of the band, furnishes a grateful and graceful introduction to the new edition. His skill and taste have also assisted Dr. Adams in bringing out the new edition in the finished form in which it appears. He is a younger brother of Dr. Gershom Hill, the honored superintendent for many years of the Iowa hospital at Independence.

Dr. Adams is the only survivor of the original board of trustees of Iowa College, as it was incorporated in 1847. He has been from the beginning a chief factor in its growth and prosperity. He installed the new president of the college in office on the 11th of June. He is included in what the Rev. Dr. Truman M. Post said, at one of the early commencements, of Father Asa Turner and other founders of the college, "The greatness and beneficence of their work shall be duly estimated and chronicled in God's book; while on earth, as it rolls toward its better ages, their memories shall ever grow green and blossom from the dust."

In the conclusion of his book, Dr. Adams, inspired by the devotion of his whole life to Christ and to Iowa, appeals to his brother ministers. To quote a few words:

"The crown of all work, the most far-reaching power for good in this world is the preaching of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, each one in the church and among the people where in the providence of God he is placed. In His providence you are here in Iowa. One cannot go everywhere or do everything. This is your field. What better can you desire? Ponder its history, its wonderful development. There is inspiration in it. If in its workers at the beginning you see aught to admire or imitate, bear it in mind. But dwell not upon the past. Think not to say, 'No more days of heroic, Christian labor here, but the humdrum of common place.' No! Keep your eye upon the present. See what now is to be done, with your face to the future. Two millions and more now here, but millions more are soon to be. The true frontiers, the heroic days are before. New steps are to be taken, new advances made to bring every Christian minister nearer to the pattern of his Lord. Let each be faithful in his own field; for faithful work in Iowa is world-wide. Help to make her more and more the gem of states. This cannot fail to bless the nation, and the nations of earth."

W. S.

*Stephen A. Douglas, by William Garrott Brown. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., pp. 141.*

This small volume is a valuable contribution to the political history of the United States and of the Democratic party during the eight years before the Civil war. Mr. Douglas was then the most prominent and the most influential man before the American people. He was the chief factor in shaping during those years the course of events which, instead of making him President, as he expected, plunged the Nation into bloody strife. His responsibility in the matter is clearly shown by the author, who describes himself in language of exceeding pathos as "an old soldier of the Confederacy, scarred with the wounds he took at Bull Run, looking back over a wasted life to the youth he sacrificed in that ill-starred cause."

The volume is written in a compact, terse, and vigorous style. It is worthy the attention of every one who would understand our political history under Presidents Pierce and Buchanan, the immediate predecessors of Abraham Lincoln.

W. S.

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FIRST BRIDGE AT CEDAR FALLS.—Notwithstanding the "hard times," this town in its corporate capacity, has built during the past winter, a good substantial bridge across the Cedar river, at a cost of fifteen thousand dollars. This is a matter of much importance to those who travel westward. This bridge obviates the necessity of trusting to poor ferries or fording with a swift current and rough bottom at Waterloo. Besides the convenience of the bridge, the State road from Independence to Cedar Falls (now in excellent order) is shorter by several miles than the road via Waterloo. The bridge, which is one of the strongest and best in the State, was built by K. H. Kelly, of Iowa City. The whole time from the closing of the contract till the bridge was in crossing order, was eleven weeks, including the period of the heavy freshet. The work has been done quickly and well, and reflects much credit on the contractor, and must prove of immense benefit to the town.—*Cor. Dubuque Northwest, April 2, 1858.*



## NOTABLE DEATHS.

JOHN FRANCIS DUNCOMBE was born in the town of Waterford, Erie county, Pa., Oct. 22, 1881; he died at Fort Dodge, Iowa, Aug. 2, 1902. His father was a farmer. The son remained at home until he was sixteen, working on the farm in the summers and attending the district school in the winters. He went to Meadville, Pa., for his preparatory studies, entering Allegheny College at that place, where he graduated four years later. In the meantime he had studied awhile at Centre College, Danville, Ky. He taught in the public schools in the winter season to earn money with which to meet his college expenses. His admirable career of self-help and self-reliance began early. He pursued his legal studies after his college days in Meadville and Erie, and was admitted to the bar at the latter place when he was 22 years of age. After practicing his profession a year in Erie he removed to Fort Dodge, Iowa, which thenceforward was his home. From the date of his settlement there few men in any community have led more active or useful lives. He took a place at once at the head of his profession in northwestern Iowa. In addition to a large practice, he was the attorney of the Illinois Central railroad in a district embracing seventeen counties, for a period of over thirty years. While he achieved a proud success as a lawyer, he always counseled amicable settlements out of court where such methods were practicable. A year or two after he settled in Fort Dodge he became the editor of *The Sentinel*, the pioneer journal of northwestern Iowa. Later still, he conducted *The Fort Dodge Democrat*. He was a vigorous and outspoken editor, fearless and aggressive. Always a democrat, he soon rose to a commanding position in his party, which coveted his counsels and leadership, until a few years ago, when he retired from politics. As a speaker he possessed rare ability. He was equally at home before a jury or in arguing a case in the supreme court. In a political canvass his party had no more effective campaigner in the State. But he was never happier than when speaking at a re-union of pioneer settlers. On such occasions he was always a favorite, and his ready wit and rare good humor never failed to elicit the heartiest applause. Mr. Duncombe was chosen to the State Senate in 1859, and served in the sessions of 1860 and 1862. He was twice elected to the House—1871 and 1879. He was, therefore, in the State Legislature eight years—one of the most influential men of his party in each branch. As a legislator he was well-informed, resourceful, bold and aggressive, and generally successful except in partisan measures. The Iowa Pioneer Law Makers chose him as president of their association at its organization February 25, 1886, upon which occasion he delivered an interesting address full of reminiscences of former times. He was a useful man on the Iowa Columbian Commission of 1892-3, and of the Commission which erected the beautiful monument at Lake Okoboji. Had the democracy been in power there was no position in the gift of his State to which he might not have aspired with an assurance of success. He was also a large farmer, a dealer in lands, and one of the foremost Iowa coal mine operators. Fort Dodge always found in Mr. Duncombe a powerful advocate of her interests. He was a friend of education and of every local improvement, a projector and builder of railroads, a man of affairs in many directions. His most successful business enterprise was no doubt the manufacture of stucco and other products from the gypsum beds adjacent to Fort Dodge. This interest has become one of great importance. A distinguishing event in Mr. Duncombe's life was his participation in the Spirit Lake Expedition of 1857, in which he was the captain of Company B, his own account of which was given with his portrait in *THE ANNALS OF IOWA* (Vol. III, 8d series, pp. 491-508) for October, 1898. It will be remembered that the expedition was under the command of Maj. William Williams. He was one

of the regents of the State University during eighteen of the most important years of its history. Mr. Duncombe was descended from an old English family, the names of many of whose members are worthily embalmed in the famous "Dictionary of National Biography." Some of them were knighted and elected to the British Parliament. His great grandfather was a soldier of the Revolution, and his grandfather bore arms in the war of 1812. He was twice married. His first wife was Miss Carrie Perkins of Erie, Pa., who died in 1854; his second Miss Mary A. Williams, daughter of Maj. William Williams of Fort Dodge, to whom he was married in 1859. His widow, two sons and three daughters survive him.

WILLIAM MILLER BEARDSHEAR was born in Dayton, Ohio, Nov. 7, 1850; he died at the State College, at Ames, Iowa, Aug. 5, 1902. Reared on a farm, his education up to the age of fourteen was confined entirely to the district school, with private instruction at home. When he had attained this age, he enlisted in the volunteer army then engaged in the war for the preservation of the Union. Although under the legal age he had grown so large and lusty that he was accepted as a recruit. His service was in the Army of the Cumberland. Returning from the army he determined, like many another soldier boy, to acquire an education, becoming a student at Otterbein University, Ohio, from which he graduated in 1876. It was his intention to enter the ministry, and he became pastor of the United Brethren church at Arcanum, Ohio. He afterwards attended Yale Theological Seminary two years. Upon leaving the school he became pastor of the church at Dayton, Ohio, but in 1881 accepted the presidency of Western College in Toledo, Iowa. This was a formidable undertaking for a man of thirty, whose experience in educational matters had simply been that of a student, but he entered upon the task with energy and determination, succeeding admirably up to the time the college was destroyed by fire. His efforts to reestablish the school were highly successful, so that when he left in '89 it had entered upon a career of prosperity from which it has had little if any interruption since that time. He came to Des Moines the same year and accepted the superintendency of the West District city schools. During his superintendency the fine high school building of the district was erected. He was also instrumental in obtaining the national flag for every school house under his charge. In 1891 Dr. Beardshear was elected president of the Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts at Ames. Here, too, a great work had to be done, but Dr. Beardshear proved himself equal to every requirement, and the great school was in the full tide of prosperity at the time of his lamented death. Few indeed are the men who are so superbly equipped for such a great undertaking. Physically large, he was so likewise morally and mentally. In 1894 Dr. Beardshear was president of the Iowa State Teachers' Association. More recently he was chosen one of the directors of the National Educational Association, and last year elected to the presidency of that body. He was in Minneapolis expecting to preside at the annual meeting of the association when he was attacked by the illness which soon terminated his useful career. The remains were laid to rest in the college cemetery near those of the other great president, Dr. A. S. Welch, and Mrs. Margaret Stanton, who was long one of the college faculty. Henry Sabin, the distinguished Iowa educator, said of Dr. Beardshear: "He was more than a teacher; more than a college president; more than a successful man of affairs. His heart reached out for all beautiful things. \* \* \* Even the dreary college catalog, usually redolent only of hard names and dry courses of study, under his touch became almost a poem; fitted for the desk of him who loves beautiful quotation, or appreciates a rare gem from the pen of a great thinker. He had the grace of the ready writer and was a power on the platform. The educational world will be lonesome without him." Dr.

Beardshear leaves a widow (Josephine Mundhenk) and five children: Hazel, Mrs. L. M. Chambers, Denver, Col.; Meta, William, Charles and Constance.

JAMES ALEXANDER WILLIAMSON was born at Columbia, Adair county, Ky., Feb. 8, 1829; he died at Jamestown, R. I., Sept. 7, 1902. He was educated at Knox college, Ill., where he was known as an industrious student and accurate scholar. He settled in Des Moines, Iowa, in 1855, entering upon the practice of the law. A leading and active democrat, who bore a prominent part in the politics of those days, he always enjoyed great personal popularity with the opposition. He was a prominent actor in the finally successful effort to remove the State capital from Iowa City to Des Moines, and it was a cherished hope of the last two years of his life to tell the story of that movement from his own standpoint in the pages of this magazine. In fact, he had set a time to come to Des Moines for the purpose of securing certain data for his article, but his failing health prevented his attempting the journey. Such a narrative from his pen would have possessed distinct historical value, for no other man has told the story as he could have done. He was commissioned first lieutenant and adjutant of the 4th Iowa Infantry, Aug. 8, 1861. The ladies of Des Moines presented him a beautiful flag when he left to join his command. His career in the army was a brilliant one. He was a favorite with such commanders as Grant, Sherman, Dodge and Logan, rising to the rank of brigadier-general. At the close of the war he received the brevet of major-general, and congress awarded him a medal for distinguished gallantry. He fought at Pea Ridge, Chickasaw Bayou, Arkansas Post, Jackson, Vicksburg, Lookout Mountain, Missionary Ridge, Ringgold, and in many lesser affairs. "Where is Jim Williamson?" asked an Iowa visitor at Sherman's camp. Just then a cannon boomed out in front. "Oh," replied the great general, pointing in the direction whence came the report, "he is pounding away at 'em as usual, over yonder." Coming home from the war he engaged in active business and public life for some years. President Grant appointed him Commissioner of the General Land Office. Afterwards he was president of the Atlantic & Pacific R. R., and was also connected with the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe road for some years. He was a member of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee, the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, the Army and Navy Club, and the Union League Club of New York City. His remains were brought to Washington, D. C., and interred in the Rock Creek cemetery. The honorary pall bearers were Gen. G. M. Dodge, Hon. Frank W. Palmer, Hon. M. D. O'Connell, Gen. A. E. Bates, Capt. Charles Train, Mr. Colgate Hoyt and Mr. G. N. Whitney. Gen. Williamson leaves a widow and four daughters by his first wife. They are Miss Haldee Williamson, Mrs. Commander W. B. Bailey, Mrs. George B. Stearns of Augusta, Ga., and Mrs. Roy Jones of Santa Monica, Cal. The town of Corinne, Utah, was named in honor of another daughter, Mrs. Tripp, now deceased. He was a model citizen, a brave soldier, a competent and faithful public officer, a genial, excellent gentleman. His sword, commissions, and other personal belongings are among the most valued treasures in the Historical Department at Des Moines.

Mrs. CHARLOTTE R. WHITE, daughter of James and Nancy Pilkington, was born at Taunton, Mass., March 1, 1829; she died at Washington, D. C., July 16, 1902. She and Dr. Charles A. White were married at her old home on Sept. 28, 1848, and the following year they removed to Burlington, Iowa, where his home had been since his boyhood. They resided there until 1864 when they removed to Iowa City, where Dr. White began his official scientific career as state geologist of Iowa and Professor of Natural history in the Iowa State University. In 1878 he accepted a similar

chair in Bowdoin College, Maine, but resigned and removed to Washington, D. C., in 1875, where he has performed the greater part of his scientific life-work. Although they there made a settled home they always regarded themselves as Iowans, and greatly delighted to meet their Iowa friends where their later lot had been cast. Mrs. White was a woman of unusually clear and practical intelligence, a devoted Christian of unwavering faith from her girlhood; active in church and charitable work. She was long a member of the relief committee of the Associated Charities of Washington, showing rare judgment and efficiency in the work, and relinquishing it only because of failing strength. But her chief characteristic was shown in the quiet and judicious performance of domestic duties and her faithful devotion to her family and friends. Dr. and Mrs. White celebrated their golden wedding nearly four years before her death. A few years earlier they made together an extended foreign tour, embracing Egypt and the Holy Land with special reference to her bible studies. Eight children were born to them, all in Iowa, six of whom survive her, namely, Dr. James A. White of Portland, Oregon; Charles E. White of Madison, Wis.; Herbert C. White of Beatrice, Neb.; Dr. Leonard A. White of Washington; Gertrude, wife of Herbert J. Browne of Washington, and Marian White, a teacher in the Washington high school. This intelligent and gifted family are remembered in great kindness by the old residents of Burlington and Iowa City.

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GEORGE CARTER TICHENOR was born in Shelbyville, Ky., Oct. 8, 1838; he died in New York City, July 12, 1902. Mr. Tichenor settled in Des Moines shortly before the civil war, entering quite actively into politics as a democrat. In the second year of the war he was appointed adjutant of the 89th Iowa Infantry and went to the front. He was, however, soon given an appointment on the staff of Gen. G. M. Dodge, with whom he continued throughout the war. In 1865 President Lincoln promoted him to major and A. D. C. He was mustered out of the service with the brevet rank of colonel. During the war his bravery, activity, ready resources and wonderful adaptation to the military service, made him an especial favorite with Gen. G. M. Dodge. He returned to Des Moines at the close of the war, and a couple of years later was appointed postmaster of the capital city. Four years later he was reappointed, but retired shortly afterward to be succeeded by James S. Clarkson. He went over to Chicago in 1878, where he engaged in business, but the failure of a bank in 1878 left him penniless. It was then that he entered the broad arena of politics and national usefulness. President Hayes appointed him to a special agency in the treasury department, after which he was connected with that branch of the government to the end of his life. He was an influential and most earnest supporter of John Sherman for the presidency. Later he was appointed a member of the U. S. board of general appraisers under the treasury department, with headquarters in New York city. One of his associates was Col. Charles H. Ham, formerly one of the widely known leader-writers on *The Chicago Tribune* and *Inter Ocean*. At one time he was assistant secretary of the treasury. Mr. James S. Clarkson and Major William H. Fleming paid high tributes to the memory of this Iowa man whose life was full of activity and usefulness.

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ISAAC COOPER was born at Cooperstown, N. Y., February 18, 1813; he died at Lake Tahoe, Cal., August 13, 1902. This well-known pioneer of Des Moines and Polk county was a nephew of James Fenimore Cooper, the illustrious American novelist. He remained at home until 1845, when he came to Iowa, settling on a claim on Four Mile Creek near Des Moines. The country was then new, still occupied by the Indians, and troops were stationed at the junction of the Des Moines river with "the Racoon

Fork". Mr. Cooper at once became most active and enterprising in the work of opening up the new settlement. It is recorded that he was the proprietor of the first threshing machine, and a partner in the first reaper, that were brought to this section of central Iowa. He was also one of the leading contractors and builders of those early years—a useful, public spirited citizen, who became a large factor in founding the capital city. Aside from these characteristics, he was personally popular, enjoying the esteem and confidence of the early settlers. He removed to California some years ago, where he resided up to the time of his death. He is survived by three children—Mrs. F. M. Hubbell and Mrs. W. H. Ginn of Des Moines, Iowa, and Mr. Fenimore Cooper of Oleta, California. Mr. Cooper's remains were brought to Des Moines for interment with the other members of his family. His funeral was largely attended by the surviving early settlers of Polk county.

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Mrs. L. J. CHURCH was born in Richland county, Ohio, Oct. 27, 1828; she died at Blaine, in the State of Washington, Aug. 19, 1902. She was one of the well known early settlers of Hamilton county, Iowa, and was a woman of much force of character and great amiability, an especial favorite with the pioneers. She was married to the late William L. Church some time prior to 1855. They came to Springfield (now Jackson), Minn., in 1856, a few months prior to the Indian raid upon the settlements at Spirit and Okoboji Lakes. After that affair the Indians went to Springfield where they besieged the few settlers who had assembled in the house of J. B. Thomas for defense. A statement of that affair, with the attempted flight of the settlers towards the south, was given in *The Annals* for October, 1898, as stated by Mrs. Church. She fired at one of the Indians, who was seen to fall, and there can be little doubt that she killed him. The Indians then withdrew and the little band of white people started south at midnight with only an ox team. Their march was one of excessive toil and exposure and they could hardly have survived the inclement weather had they not been met the next day by the rescue party from the Spirit Lake Expedition. The flight of these refugees was one of the most thrilling episodes of that affair. (See *ANNALS OF IOWA*, 3d series, Vol. III, pp. 546-8.)

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LEVI L. HOAG was born in Greene county, N. Y., April 10, 1830; he died at West Vienna, N. Y., Nov. 18, 1901. He removed to Iowa in March, 1855, residing in Scott and Cedar counties until the beginning of the war of the Rebellion. He enlisted in Company C of the Twenty-fourth Iowa Volunteers, and became the color bearer of the regiment. He began to keep a brief journal of the movements and doings of the regiment from the day it left camp at Muscatine for the seat of war. He made an entry in his diary *every day* until the regiment was mustered out of service at the close of the war. Every camp, march, skirmish, and battle is therein recorded. He carried the flag in every one of its twenty battles, and strangely escaped the flying bullets. He was always on duty and was esteemed one of the best and bravest soldiers of that famous command. He was in all respects a fine type of the Iowa soldiers who won imperishable renown for our State. His war diary has been of inestimable service to the historians of the Twenty-fourth and other regiments of the brigade, in fixing dates; and has been present as a valuable reference at some of the regimental re-unions. We understand that this rare manuscript will come to the Iowa Historical Department at no distant day.

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JOHN WHITTEN was born at Business Corner, Van Buren county, Iowa, Aug. 4, 1842; he died at Farmington, Iowa, Sept. 7, 1902. He remained at home with his parents until the breaking out of the civil war, when he en-

listed in company H, 15th Iowa Infantry. Not long after his muster into the service he was detailed as one of the color guard. He succeeded the color bearer who was shot down at the battle of Missionary Ridge, where his whole regiment was captured. With his comrades he was marched to Andersonville prison, where he suffered untold tortures from starvation, vermin, scurvy, and filth. After his liberation he was discharged, having been in the army four years and seven months. He served his county two terms as auditor, and was deputy state treasurer of Iowa for three terms, also holding many other positions of honor and trust, in all of which he proved himself competent and thoroughly trustworthy. His funeral took place at Farmington, Iowa, Sept. 8. His remains were borne to the cemetery by the members of the G. A. R., who buried him with the honors of the order.

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JOHN WILLIAMSON was born at Penrith, England, Dec. 25, 1822; he died at Fairfield, Iowa, July 24, 1902. He learned the trade of a weaver in the old country, and migrated to America in 1851. He and his wife worked in the cotton mills of New England the first four years after their arrival in the United States. In 1855 they came to Iowa, settling near the city of Fairfield. Mr. Williamson was an eloquent speaker, and became prominent and influential in the politics of that region. He served in the 19th General Assembly as a member of the house, and for a number of years was a member of the board of supervisors of his county. He is spoken of as a "warm-hearted, impulsive man, generous and honest." He enjoyed the high esteem of a wide circle of friends in Jefferson and adjoining counties.

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BENJAMIN GREENE was born in Otsego county, N. Y., March 4, 1819; he died in Adel, Iowa, June 18, 1902. At the age of 18 Mr. Greene went to Belvidere, Ill., and spent four years with a brother. He returned to New York, studied law and taught school until 1846. Early in 1849 he arrived in Adel, having stopped for a time at Keokuk where he taught school. He was among the first settlers of Dallas county, and has been identified with its development and progress. He was a man of marked business ability and integrity and had filled various local offices in town and county. In early days he was school fund commissioner, and for several years was chairman of the board of supervisors. He was a member of the house of representatives in the 4th and 6th general assemblies.

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FRANK TALCOTT PIPER was born in Maquoketa, Jackson county, Iowa, July 19, 1856; he died in Los Angeles, Cal., April 20, 1902. When a child his parents removed to Green Springs, Ohio, but in 1868 the family returned to Iowa, locating in Buena Vista county. In 1870 he began newspaper work and was successively employed on *The Newell Times*, *Le Mars Sentinel* and *Cherokee Times and Leader*. In 1873 he located at Sheldon where he afterward published *The Mail and Times*. Mr. Piper was postmaster of Sheldon during President Harrison's administration. In 1895 he became a candidate for senator in the 49th district, but was defeated. He was mayor of Sheldon from 1898 to 1900.

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JAMES RANNEY, aged 83 years, died at his home in Belle Plaine, Iowa, Aug. 19, 1902. During the civil war he was colonel of the Fifteenth Illinois Infantry, and was brevetted brigadier-general at the time of his muster-out. For some years after he came to Iowa he resided in Adair county, where he served as county clerk eight or ten years, besides filling several other official stations. From that time forward he was engaged in merchandising in Belle Plaine up to the time of his death.

**WILLIAM I. TIZZARD** was born in Burlington, Iowa, about the year 1842; he died there June 9, 1902. He was the son of William Tizzard who was many years the proprietor of *The Gazette*. At the outbreak of the civil war young Tizzard enlisted in the 1st Iowa Infantry as a drummer boy. The following year he enlisted in company G, 25th Iowa and was appointed second lieutenant. He made a brilliant record, and passed through many of the severest battles, coming out without a scratch. His exposures, however, and the hard service, left their effects upon him which only ceased with his life. The papers of that city spoke in the highest terms of this veteran of the civil war.

**LESLIE B. MATTOON** was born in the state of New York, April 29, 1847; he died at Kenmare, N. D., June 10, 1902, where he had gone to look after his mining interests. At the age of 17 he enlisted in the Union army as a member of Battery C, N. Y. First Light Artillery, and participated in many battles. He chose the medical profession and in 1875 graduated from a medical college in Chicago. The same year he located in Elgin, Iowa, which had since been his home. He served as State senator from the Allamakee-Fayette district, in the 22d, 28d, 34th and 25th general assemblies. During late years he devoted much of his time to his large business interests.

**HUGH LANGAN** was born in County Donegal, Ireland, in 1858; he died in Clinton, Iowa, June 10, 1902. When a child his parents came to America and settled in Pennsylvania; in 1856 they came to Iowa and located in Clinton county. Mr. Langan settled in Vail, Crawford county, about thirty years ago, but has since resided for a number of years in South Dakota where he served as a member of the house of representatives in the 16th general assembly. Some years ago he returned to Iowa. He was prominent in politics, and served as representative from Crawford county in the 29th general assembly.

**NOAH BROCKWAY BACON** was born in Westmoreland, N. Y., Dec. 19, 1799; he died in Des Moines, May 29, 1902, at the age of 102 years. His father served in the Revolutionary war for a period of seven years. In early life Mr. Bacon operated a stage line in southern New York and northern Pennsylvania. In 1848 he removed to Wisconsin where he engaged in farming. Since 1880 Mr. Bacon had resided in Iowa. In Mr. Bacon's boyhood a large part of the U. S. was a wilderness; cooking stoves, sewing machines, railroads and steamboats were unknown. Only one U. S. president had served before his birth.

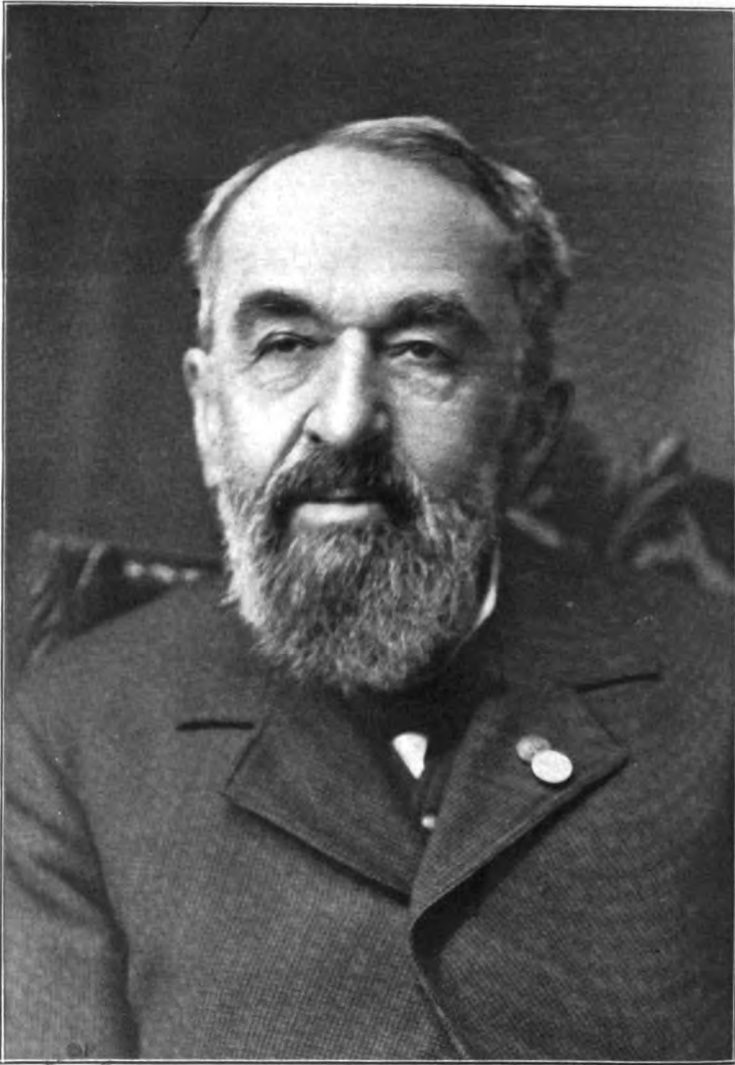
**DAMON N. SPRAGUE** of Wapello, was born at Cooperstown, N. Y., March 31, 1832; he died at Richland Springs, N. Y., August 12, 1902. Mr. Sprague had been a practicing lawyer in southeastern Iowa ever since 1855. He represented the counties of Des Moines and Louisa in the House of Representatives of the seventh general assembly. In 1870 he was chosen district attorney of the Burlington judicial district, serving in that capacity a full term of four years. He was a lawyer of high repute, and well esteemed by all who knew him. His remains were interred at Wapello.

**FRANCIS VARGA** was born in Hungary Aug. 8, 1817; he died at Leon, Iowa, April 5, 1902. He was judge advocate general in Louis Kossuth's provisional government during the revolution in 1848. He came to Decatur county, Iowa, in 1858, where he resided until his death. We have received a sketch of the life of this distinguished patriot which we hope to present in *THE ANNALS* hereafter.

**ERRATA.**—The date of the death of Lt. Col. James A. Sawyers is given on page 491 as "the 7th day of March, 1898." It should read March 27th.







*Respectfully*  
*L. S. Coffin*

HON. LORENZO S. COFFIN.

Chaplain Thirty-second Iowa Infantry, 1862-63; Railroad Commissioner, 1883-88;  
author of the Iowa law and the law of Congress providing for safety appliances  
on the railroads; founder of "Hope Hall, No. 3," near Fort Dodge, Iowa,  
a place of refuge for convicts released from our penitentiaries.

# ANNALS OF IOWA.

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## SAFETY APPLIANCES ON THE RAILROADS.\*

BY HON. L. S. COFFIN.

During the two years previous to my appointment as a member of the Iowa Board of Railroad Commissioners, I had become quite interested in railroad men. In the extension of the Fort Dodge and Des Moines line to Ruthven, I was somewhat officially connected with the matter of securing the right of way, and I also had the selling of the lands that fell to the road. As a matter of course, I was often back and forth over the line, becoming well acquainted with the trainmen. It was in the year 1883 that I was appointed one of the Commissioners, and my duties led to a great deal of traveling over the State roads, where I was always on very friendly terms with the crews, learning much of their life and exposure. Much of my traveling was on freight trains, from choice, in order to learn what these men had to meet with. The Commissioner law required that in case of a serious accident on any of our roads, the Commission should carefully investigate the matter and report their findings to the Governor. It had not been the custom, nor the belief of the Commission that it was required of it, to investigate the maiming or the killing of a trainman. These cases were of such every day occurrence, it was taken as a matter of course that the men must of necessity be maimed and killed. In the annual report of the Commission previous to my going upon the Board, this was the idea set forth in speaking of

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\*If there seems to be any discrepancy in dates or names it must be attributed to failing memory, as I have written from memory alone.

L. S. C.

the fearful loss of life and limb to men in train service. After giving the number of fatal and serious accidents to railroad men on the roads of our own State, the report in substance says: "We regret exceedingly to be compelled to report year after year such great loss of life and so many terrible and painful accidents to these men, but we see no way to prevent it, and we suppose it is one of the inevitable conditions of a railroad man's life."

After being on this Board a year or more, and having familiarized myself with its duties and its opportunities to be of use to our people, I began to feel that I was not doing my duty as a sworn officer of the State, if I did not try in some way to lessen the great loss of life, and the suffering sustained by these railroad men, who were our fellow citizens, and whom I was equally sworn to serve. Their lives were just as dear to them and to their families as those of the passengers. If our law required us to investigate the maiming and killing of the passengers, who might or might not be citizens of Iowa, why should it not be our duty to look after the trainmen, who were citizens, and in a large sense, servants of the State—as much so as the members of the Railroad Commission? Our law required that every railroad company in Iowa should report promptly every accident, fatal or otherwise, to our State Railroad Commission. I soon became intensely interested in this matter, and I found myself going here and there to all parts of the State to investigate accidents to these railroad men. I learned that a great majority of the accidents came from coupling cars, but more of the fatal accidents from falling off from the trains. Then, I said to myself, "Why not have self-couplers, that will couple automatically when the cars are pushed together, and not require the men to go between the cars; and why not have air-brakes on freight as well as on passenger cars, under the control of the engineer, as on the passenger trains? We do not see men on top of the passenger cars setting up the brakes." It did seem to me that this could be done, and the

more I thought of it, and the more I investigated, the more satisfied I became that it was the very thing to do, and I said to myself, "It can and shall be done, if the public sentiment will stand by me in the matter."

My first work was to arouse the people to this awful wrong, the butchering of these faithful men who were serving the public at such a fearful risk to life and limb. To this end I used the public press and platform from one end of the country to the other. I prepared a letter, showing the terrible loss of life, and the maiming of these men, and sent it to every religious and family paper in the nation, and with it a personal letter to the editor, begging him either to give it room, or make it the subject of an editorial. I took one day over two thousand of these letters to our postoffice. I attended the National Conventions of Master Car Builders, a very important class of railroad officials, who meet annually to discuss all matters that go to the make-up of cars. I was very kindly received, and invited to address them on the subject of automatic couplers and power-brakes on freight cars. I also met with the Railroad Master Mechanics, where I was accorded a most kind reception. I met with these men in their annual conventions for five or six years, and found an increasing interest every year. In their convention of 1885, a joint committee was created, from the Master Car Builders' and Master Mechanics' Associations for the purpose of testing power-brakes on long freight trains. This committee was instructed to advertise to the world that any man who had invented a train-brake and wanted to sell the same to the railroads, might fit up a train of fifty freight cars with his appliance, and bring the train to Burlington, Iowa, where its merits would be tested by this committee of experts. If the invention stood the test, and should be found practical, the Master Car Builders would so report to the railroad companies, recommending the purchase of the invention. It was also stated that no railroad company would buy any brake that was not first

tested by this committee of expert officials, as the organization appointing it represented practically all the railroads of the United States and Canada. To this test all the Railroad Commissioners of the different states were invited. At that time, however, there were but few states that had railroad commissioner laws. These tests lasted some three weeks, and at the conclusion the committee had to report to their conventions (which convened that year in Minneapolis), that there was not a brake in existence that was safe and practical for a train of fifty cars. The brakes used on passenger trains would do very well for short trains of fifteen to twenty-five or thirty cars, but when applied to long trains of fifty or more cars, such as the larger engines coming into use could draw, the shocks when the brakes were applied in emergency cases would demolish the cars in the rear end of the train and play havoc with the freight inside.

There were but few of the Commissioners who came to witness these tests, and fewer still who stayed after they saw one test. It was very dangerous work. After the first two days, I was the only Commissioner left. It was a very dangerous place to be in, yet there was so much at stake that I felt that I must know all about it, so that I could talk intelligently on the matter as occasion might require. In my future work before legislative and congressional committees, I found the knowledge thus knocked into me of great service. I may be pardoned if I say right here, that in all my public addresses, before congressional committees, with old and experienced railroad men, presidents and general managers by the dozen to oppose, I was never once picked up for making a wrong statement. All seemed willing to admit that I knew what I was talking about. Mr. Arthur Mellen Wellington, one of the leading civil engineers of the nation, and then editor of *The Engineering News* of New York, was chosen umpire in these brake tests. In writing of them afterwards for his journal, he made this statement: "Several of the Railroad Commissioners were present the first two days

but they were all scared away except Commissioner Coffin of Iowa, who stayed through the entire tests of three weeks of each year, and always rode in the most dangerous part of the train in order that he might become conversant with every particular. As a result he knows as much about power-brakes and automatic couplers as the average general manager of our railroads. In fact, as I look back now upon those scenes and dangers I wonder that all came out alive. As it was, several of us were badly hurt for the time being."

These tests, as I have stated, were continued for three weeks in the summer of 1886, and when this committee of experts reported the utter failure of finding a practical brake, suitable and safe for long freight trains, the conventions continued the same committee, with instructions to advertise again, and repeat the tests in 1887. This was done, and I think there were six fifty-car trains brought that year, with about the same result as in '86.

If I repeat here a conversation I happened to overhear, it may throw a side-light on the way the railroad companies were feeling on this important question. While, perhaps, it savors a little of egotism, I may still be permitted to give it. Mr. Godfrey H. Rhodes, the master of motive power, and master car-builder for the Burlington road, was the chairman of this committee of experts. He is now Assistant General Superintendent of the lines west of the Missouri river. While conducting the tests he was asked by a prominent man why it was that the railroads were at such an expense in testing these brakes. Mr. Rhodes replied, "It is only a question of a short time when the public will demand that we equip all our cars with the best possible safety appliances, such as brakes and automatic couplers, for men like Mr. Coffin, one of the Commissioners of this State, are constantly writing and speaking before the public and arousing a sentiment that will result in a law making us do this work, and we want to know what it will be safe to buy." That remark, though not intended for my ears, shot a mighty ray of hope

into my heart, and I said to myself, "Well, then, I will keep on in the work of agitation until the sentiment is crystalized into law." Yet it was with sad and disheartened feelings that I listened to the report of this committee to their conventions which met this year at Old Point Comfort, Va. Still there seemed to be a ray of hope from one very important circumstance. Mr. George Westinghouse, the distinguished inventor of the air-brake in use on most of the railroads in both this and in foreign lands, came in his own private car to this second test in 1887. His general manager and leading men were there both years, with his brake on a fifty-car train, and while it was far ahead of all others, it was not up to the standard required by the committee. But Mr. Westinghouse intimated to the committee that the thing would yet be accomplished. He returned to Pittsburg, and wealthy man as he was, took off his coat and went to work in one of his great shops. He arranged fifty brakes in the shop, and experimented and worked on them for some three months. In September of that year I received an invitation to go to Burlington to witness the work of the "quick-acting brake" on a fifty-car train. I needed no second invitation but proceeded immediately to Burlington. The long hoped-for thing was accomplished. That immense train could be hurled down the steep grade into Burlington at the rate of forty miles an hour, and at a given signal, the brakes applied and the train brought to a standstill inside of 500 feet with scarcely a jar and not a man on top of the cars. "Eureka! Eureka!" I exclaimed, and actually wept for joy. "The thing can now be done!" I had gone through almost the same experience in the tests of couplers, for in witnessing them I felt just as sure that there was an automatic coupler that could take the place of the old man-killer link-and-pin-coupler, as I was sure that we now had a power-brake. I will not stop here to tell of the experimental trips with freight trains that I took with railroad officials across the State while testing close and loose couplers to ascertain whether an

engine would haul as many cars with the close as with the loose ones, like the old link-and-pin. It was proved to a demonstration that it would, and I was now ready to go to work for proper legislation. My first movement was to get a law through the Iowa legislature.

In the winter of 1889-90, I drafted the first bill that was ever enacted by our legislature for this purpose. I drew that bill with great care. I believe I was a full month at work upon it. I submitted every section as I drew it to one or more of the Judges of our Supreme Court, in order to be sure of its constitutionality, and when I finished it, I asked the representative from Hamilton county, Mr. Chase, to introduce it in the House,\* which body passed it with only seven votes against it. Later, in the Senate, there was not a single opposition vote. The bill was at once approved by Governor Horace Boies, and I have the pen with which he signed it. The Nebraska legislature copied the bill, and I believe, passed it word for word. In the spring of 1888 the Interstate Commerce Commission, which had just come into being, invited all the State Commissioners to a conference at Washington, in order to get all possible information from their experience. Although my term of office had expired, and for some good reason I was not reappointed, I was invited to attend this conference. I there made a speech, at the request of the Conference, which started the ball a-rolling at a great rate. It is my opinion that there were at that time only seven or eight states which had a Commissioner law. There was not a single Commissioner who was not in a measure opposed to the legislation I had in view. They did not believe that the maiming and killing was as great as I had represented it. What had occurred in Iowa I knew to a dead certainty, for I had the report of the railroads themselves, but as to the nation, I had to get at the losses as best I could through estimates. There were no reliable statistics

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\*Journal of the Iowa House of Representatives, March 1, 1890, pp. 123, 326-7-8. Senate Journal, April 2, 1890, p. 492.



outside of Iowa. I took the number injured and killed in this state as a basis for these estimates. Poor's Manual gave me the number of miles of our railroads, together with the number in the country, and so, by the "rule of three," I figured the awful total of the whole, but this was so terribly great that I never dared to give out the actual figures. One day, however, in talking with a very intelligent railroad official, he said, "Mr. Coffin, your basis of calculation is wrong. You should not figure on the number of miles, but on the number of engines." I saw this in a moment, for on most of the roads, and especially in the east, there would be ten trains running to one in Iowa. Poor's Manual also gave me the number of engines in the nation, and when I took this for a basis I was thunderstruck at the fearful aggregate. I was more afraid than ever to give out the full figures.

I can hardly describe the scene in the conference room in Washington as I concluded my remarks. The Commissioners gathered around me, making loud protests and assuring me that I must be wrong. The Commissioners from Kentucky especially were very emphatic, protesting against allowing such figures to go out to the public. Even the Commissioners from Massachusetts seemed to be scandalized that such words and figures should go out from that body. It will be remembered that Massachusetts was the first state in the Union to adopt the Commissioner system. Her representatives at the conference had the honor of being considered the most efficient and able Board then in existence. Our own State and others had followed the precedent which she had inaugurated at the start. "But there," I said, "are the figures, and to me they are cold and awful facts, but I hope that when you meet here again in a year from now you will be able to show that I am wrong." I did meet with them the following year and here is what the Kentucky Commissioners' report, which was issued just before the meeting, says in substance: "We were horrified at the remarks of the gentleman from Iowa as to the number of casualties to railroad

employees as shown by the Iowa statistics and calculations from them, and we could not believe that it was possible they were true; so, on our return to our office from Washington we issued circulars to the roads in our state requesting that they would report to our Board the accidents to employees for that year, and we find to our great amazement and sorrow, that the basis of the Iowa calculation is far too low, for the casualties to trainmen in this state are larger than those shown by the Iowa reports."

At this conference a resolution was adopted favoring the enactment of a law by Congress requiring safety appliances on the cars. I had already prepared a bill myself, which Col. D. B. Henderson of Iowa introduced in the House, and Hon. William B. Allison in the Senate. The long fight now began. President Harrison in his message to Congress December, 1883, made a grand plea for some legislation for the safety of railroad men, and in that plea used in substance these remarkable words: "It is a disgrace to our civilization that men in honorable employment for a livelihood should be subjected to greater danger to life and limb than soldiers in time of actual war." He urged Congress to take some wise action on the matter. Not long after that first conference in Washington, the Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the illustrious Judge Thomas M. Cooley of Michigan, wrote me, requesting all the facts and statistics that I had accumulated, with such other information as I had acquired, for the use of the Commission. Some two years afterwards I understood that on General Harrison's request for information as to the casualties to railroad men, these statistics were sent to him and became the basis of his remarks on that subject. These facts were furnished him by the Secretary of the Commission without any reference to the author. It might be well to note this fact as it has a bearing on a very important time in the history of this safety appliance legislation further on. I was in Washington during both sessions of the Fifty-first Congress, the first Con-

gress of the Harrison administration, and often before committees. The House Committee on Railroads and Canals at first decided to report the bill for passage by an almost unanimous vote, though not in a formal meeting of the committee, for it was impossible to get them together. This was accomplished, however, by getting the clerk of the committee to go to each member and obtain his written consent that the chairman report the bill back to the House recommending its passage. It was now so near the close of that Congress that I knew well enough there was no hope of getting it through the Senate if it passed the House; but I was very anxious to have it taken up and passed by the House, as the prestige of this success would be a great help to me in the next Congress. The chairman of the committee, Mr. H. C. McCormick, of Pennsylvania, stood on his feet directly in front of Speaker Reed, with that bill in his hand, all the night long, but failed to obtain recognition. I had gone personally to Mr. Reed, in the brief recess between the day and night sessions, and begged him to recognize Mr. McCormick, telling him that I had "counted noses" of the members of the House, and was sure that it would go through without a call of the House on a yea and nay vote, and would not take over five minutes. He would give me no satisfaction, only remarking that there was a great deal to do that night, but that he would see. He was, however, all along opposed to the bill, and did not vote for it two years later when it was finally passed by the House, and when, too, we needed every vote that we could command, as we shall see later on.

In the Senate the bill was referred to Senator Cullom's committee on Interstate Commerce. Senator Allison very kindly took me before the committee and introduced me, briefly speaking of my work and standing in Iowa, and of the importance of the measure. He was a strong, earnest friend of the measure from first to last. I was before that committee only a few times during the session, as my advisers,

who were favorable to the measure, thought it better to first get the bill through the House. But, as already intimated, there was no action in either body during that session. So, during the interim before the meeting of the next Congress, I devoted my time to arousing public sentiment in favor of some legislation for the safety of these railroad men. To this end I used the press, platform and pulpit. Wherever there were great official gatherings of the different denominations and religious bodies, I would try to get a hearing, which was never refused me except in a single instance, and then only because of a misapprehension of the object of my mission. I also went before such legislatures as were in session, and persuaded them to memorialize Congress in favor of some action in this direction. This I found had a very good effect. I went to the International Conventions of the Railroad Brotherhoods, which passed strong resolutions in favor of a law for the safety of their members. I afterwards found this action very helpful in my work.

When the next Congress met (Fifty-second, first session) Mr. Charles F. Crisp, of Georgia, was elected Speaker of the House. I had gone over my bills very carefully, and made them as nearly perfect as possible. And I may be permitted to say that as far as I know, no question has ever been raised as to the constitutionality of any of the points involved, thanks to my friends, the Judges of the Supreme Court of Iowa, and more especially to Judge Joseph R. Reed, of Council Bluffs, who was then on the bench. Senator Allison and Col. D. B. Henderson again introduced the bill in their respective Houses. In the House the bill was this time referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce, with Mr. George P. Wise, of Virginia, as its chairman. This was a very large and able committee, and before it we had several hearings. A large number of the highest railroad officials, presidents, general managers and master mechanics attending, all of whom were opposed to the passage of the measure. Nearly or quite all the southern roads were very bitterly hos-

tile to it, openly asserting that they would defeat the bill if it cost them thousands of dollars to do it. While most of these gentlemen admitted that automatic couplers were desirable, and they must come into use as fast as they were able to procure them, still they were opposed to any legislation on the subject. This also was the attitude of most of the leading roads of the north. There were, however, some very signal exceptions to this policy of delay. The Vanderbilt roads never opposed me in the least, but on the other hand privately encouraged me to keep at the work as they felt it was a measure that all of the roads in the end would adopt. Here is a pertinent illustration of the way these corporations feel about any legislation whenever legislation will result in good to themselves. That great railroad man, Mr. Roberts, the long-time President of the Pennsylvania system, came before Senator Cullom's committee. He said that the Pennsylvania road believed in all the provisions of this bill, and were putting on these automatic couplers and brakes as rapidly as possible. He confidently stated that his Company "would get there" before the dates that Mr. Coffin had fixed in his bill. But he did not want any legislation on the matter. "We railroad men," he said, "know what we want and what we ought to have for the safety of our men as well and much better than anybody else. We shall provide these things just as fast as we are convinced that we need them, and they are to be had, and so, gentlemen, do not burden us down with this proposed legislation." So convincing was his talk that Senator Harris, of Tennessee, who was a member of the committee, remarked, "Well, I have heard enough and am satisfied that the railroad people know what they want." On that he got up from the table around which the committee were sitting, and took his hat to leave the room, when Senator Cullom asked him if he had not better hear the other side before he made up his mind. "No," said he, "I have heard enough. I guess that these railroad men of long experience know what they are about, and what they

want." And yet this man was the honored president *pro tem* of the United States Senate! And now let me state the sequel to Mr. Roberts' assertion that his "road would get there before the date fixed in the bill."

At a hearing before the Interstate Commerce Commission five years after the bill became a law, for an extension of time to meet its requirements, the officials of this same great and rich road pleaded for five more years in which to comply with the law! They reported that only about one-half of their cars had been equipped as the law required. Their plea was that they could not do this work on account of hard times. Poverty was at this time their only plea for delay. The first road on the petition for an extension of time was the Chicago & Alton, and that road from 1888 to 1898 was paying its regular 8 per cent dividend, without a single omission. These two cases give us a lesson that should not be forgotten. Right here, too, is another point of much importance which became a great help to me in this last Congress. Many leading roads of the north saw that sooner or later a law would be enacted requiring this humane protection to their men, and had commenced in earnest to get ready for it, adding many of these safety appliances to their cars; but as these roads were obliged to take the unequipped cars from other lines, the work was still dangerous for their men, notwithstanding they had laid out large sums of money for these safety appliances. This resulted in a great injustice to the humane and progressive roads. Publication of these facts became a great advantage in our ultimate success.

After several hearings before the House Interstate Commerce Committee, of which George D. Wise, of Virginia, was chairman, the bill was referred to a sub-committee of three, of which Mr. J. J. O'Neill, of St. Louis, was chairman, and there the bill slept for months. The other two members of the sub-committee were very favorably disposed towards the bill, and were ready at all times to act upon it,

but the chairman would do nothing, and for reasons that he would not explain, though claiming still to be in favor of the bill. This was all finally explained. That fall the Democratic National Convention was held in Chicago, and Mr. O'Neill went to that city and managed to get a resolution adopted by the convention, berating the Republicans for not enacting this same law in the former session of Congress. A resolution favoring this legislation was adopted as a plank in the Democratic platform. When he returned, he and the Secretary of the Interstate Commerce Commission Committee fixed up the bill to suit themselves without consulting me, or even letting me know when the sub-committee or the full committee met. A great many of the members of the House were ready and anxious to vote in favor of the bill, and wanted it reported. I had worked with almost every member of the House, and I knew that the bill would pass with but little opposition if it could be reported back to that body. At last when these men had fixed this bill to suit themselves, it was reported to the full committee, and that committee supposing that it was my bill, at once voted to report it for passage, and it was so reported, and passed the House (July 8, 1892) with very little opposition. It was at once sent over to the Senate. I have to confess that I myself was in blissful ignorance of the changes that Mr. O'Neill and his co-worker had made in the bill, thinking that they were friendly to the measure in its main intents and purpose. I was completely thrown off my guard until one day in the office of the Secretary of the Interstate Commerce Commission I met Mr. O'Neill. He said, "Mr. Coffin there is no need of your staying here any longer. We will now look after the bill, and see that it passes the Senate, and you had better go home. You do not know how to handle these Senators as well as we do, and you may endanger the bill by some indiscretion." Of course I was thunderstruck, and for a time did not know what to say. In fact, I think that I made but little reply, only to give him to understand that I

should stay by to the end, and it will appear that it was well that I did so.

In the Senate the bill was referred to Senator Cullom's Committee on Interstate Commerce, and in due time the Senator called the committee together. In the meantime, he looked over the bill very carefully, and said to me that he was very doubtful about its passing his committee, as it had been changed some from the one I had had before them. Of course, this was enough to make me very anxious. I had secured pledges enough from the Senate to insure its passage, if I could once get it out of the committee with a favorable report. But here I was after four years of hard work liable to have it all come to naught. There were only three weeks more before the Fifty-second Congress would close and there was a great amount of business before it, as is always the case so near its final adjournment. The time for the meeting of the committee came, and Mr. Cullom kindly invited me to step into his private room while it was in session. The session was a very short one. At its close the Senator came into the room and threw the bill down upon the desk where I was writing, saying, "There is your bill. I read it very carefully to the committee. A few words were said on it by one or two, and then some one moved that we report against it, or for an indefinite postponement, and it was so voted. Now," said he, "if you will take the bill and so remodel it as to conform to the one you had presented by Senator Allison, I will call the committee together again, and see what I can do, for I believe that something of this kind should be a law." The mighty weight of that moment I can never tell in words. For an hour I sat there stunned. The first thought was to throw up the sponge and quit, but after a few minutes deliberation, I said, "No. There is yet hope. This is a great humane work and God is behind it, and it must and will go through." I took the bill and went to my room and for two days and nights I worked incessantly upon it, and then handed it to Senator Cullom for criticism. He made



scarcely a change. "Now," said he, "I will call my committee together and see what we can do." After the bill was discussed for some three hours, the committee voted that the chairman might report the bill, recommending its passage, but that they would not agree to support the measure on the floor of the Senate. Then, again, I was happy, for I was well assured that it had friends enough in that body to pass it if once it could come up in the regular order, which was now assured. But after all there was a hard fight for its life. It came up as the regular order of business on a Monday morning (February 6, 1893), and it continued to be the regular order for all that week. It was fought section by section, and finally came to a vote at five o'clock Saturday afternoon (February 11). There were only ten votes against it. Senator I. G. Harris, of Tennessee, and Arthur R. Gorman, of Maryland, were leaders in the opposition. A motion was made in the Senate to strike out all of the House bill and adopt the committee's amendment of the whole bill. I have before me the bill as it passed the Senate. A black line runs through every line of every section of the old House bill, and then follows the bill as it passed the Senate with some minor amendments, precisely as I had drafted it. It went from there to the Speaker's desk in the House. As it was now an amended House bill, it had to take its chances before that body again. The long fight over the bill in the Senate had, of course, called a great deal of public attention to it by this time, and more especially that of the railroads. As stated before, the southern roads were unanimously opposed to it. Somehow it had gone out as the saying of one of the opposition, either in or out of Congress, I am not able to say which—"that niggers were cheaper than automatic couplers and power-brakes,"—but this did not help the cause of the opposition. It was used against the roads with great effect. It was too cold blooded and heartless. The day at last came when the bill was taken from the Speaker's table. On February 21, 1893, it was made a special order, and the

race for its life began. Mr. James D. Richardson, of Tennessee, was the leader of the opposition. Mr. Wise, of Virginia, Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Committee, to which the bill had been sent first, though a southern man, took charge of the bill and made a grand fight for it. Of course there was close at hand a powerful lobby which fought the bill inch by inch. That Congressional day, February 21st, was a long one, longer than any other day of the Fifty-second Congress. It lasted until 6:30 the next morning, the 22d. The opposition resorted to filibustering and tried in every possible way to adjourn without action on the bill. Had this occurred the bill would then have gone to the bottom of the calendar, and could not have been reached again during that Congress, which was then only about a week from the final adjournment. But our men stayed with us to the end. So many members had gone that whenever a motion was made to vote or to have a call of the roll there would arise the cry of "No quorum." This was followed by a motion to adjourn, but we always had enough friends on hand to defeat the motion. It was a very stormy night, and the sergeant-at-arms had a hard time, running all over the city of Washington to hunt up members and bring them to the House. About five o'clock in the morning Speaker Crisp came down on to the floor of the House and had a consultation with the leaders of the measure, agreeing to recognize Mr. Wise, who had charge of the bill, on suspension day, if he would consent to an adjournment. On that day, when the rule is suspended, whatever bill is then before the House can at once be put upon its passage with only one filibustering motion allowed. But here comes the rub. It must then be passed by a two-thirds majority. Here now was another crisis. Did we have that two-thirds? I knew that we had a large majority, but it was a little uncertain whether we could command two-thirds of the members. After consultation, however, it was thought safe to risk it, and the House adjourned.

It was then only three days to suspension day. I had taken a violent cold that stormy night, and the nervous strain had nearly worn me out. I was bordering closely on pneumonia. Still there was a great deal to be done before that trial day. The enemies of the bill had induced employees of the different roads in the south to send in telegrams to their members, asking them to oppose the bill, which they, as practical railroad men in actual service, did not want. These telegrams had been read on the floor of the House the day the bill first came up and were having the desired effect. But this delay in the consideration of the bill for three days gave me time to counteract their influence. I had before the committees resolutions adopted by all the Brotherhoods of Railroad Employees, putting themselves unanimously on record in favor of the bill. These Brotherhoods contained over one hundred thousand practical men who were running trains. Besides these, I had handed the committees petitions signed by thousands of the men asking for this legislation. All these and many other facts pertinent to the matter I gathered up and condensed into a small pamphlet which I had printed. When the bill came up for its final disposition, February 27th, I had placed on each member's desk a copy of this pamphlet. It was worth a year's hard work to hear the speech by Mr. Wise in closing the debate on the question of its passage. He was a tall man, with long arms, and quite nervous in his manner. He pointed out that these bogus telegrams all read as though dictated by one master mind, and holding up the little pamphlet high over his head and nervously shaking it, said in stentorian voice, "Here are over a hundred thousand practical railroad men at work on the railroads of this nation exposed at this very moment, as President Harrison has said, 'to greater danger to life and limb than were our soldiers in the civil war.' They are asking you to throw some protection around their occupation, while they are serving in their quasi-public capacity, as no other class of wage-earners ever do. Shall we listen to a

score or more of private telegrams, which show on their face that they are frauds, and ignore the official utterances of these great Brotherhoods, speaking in no uncertain terms of their great need?" The picture of that grand man standing there with that book quivering in his nervous hand high above his head, will never be banished from my memory. Something of a like scene occurred on the day of the all night session, when some one asked him how long he would delay the important business of Congress, now so near its close, on such a bill as this? Rising in his place to his full height, and quivering with hot indignation that such a question should be asked by any one on that floor, he looked straight at the man who had asked it, and with southern fire flashing from his eyes, replied, "Sir, I will stand here till eternity comes before I will turn my back on these deserving men, and on such a bill as this." For a moment the House was as silent as death, and then such a roar of applause broke forth as is seldom heard in that body. That noble man is now, I understand, dead. If he were living, I should esteem it a great pleasure to go all the way to his home and thank him over again for his grand help in the work.

At the close of Mr. Wise's great speech the yeas and nays were called. There was an almost breathless silence during that roll call. Col. D. B. Henderson, then a member of the House, who had from the very first stood like a rock for the bill, and done it much eminent service, understanding that Tom Reed was not to vote for the bill, went to him, and with some very forcible words, which he knew so well how to use, persuaded him to leave the House so as not to be put on record against the bill. The vote was very close. There were only five votes over a two-thirds majority. Every one of the Iowa delegation voted for the bill except Judge Walter I. Hayes. He voted against it. What was the result to him? He had been elected by over seven thousand majority in his district, as I remember it, but the railroad

employees of his district combined, and irrespective of party, overcame that large majority, and left the Judge out in the cold. Thanks to the sense of the Fifty-second Congress, the bill was passed at last, and on the day before President Harrison laid aside his authority, he gave it his approval. It was now a bill no longer, but a solemn law of a great nation. I doubt if Mr. Harrison ever signed a bill with as much willingness as he did that. If I am rightly informed, he said that very thing. I can leave it to the judgment of the reader to determine what would have been the result if I had taken Mr. O'Neill's advice and left Washington for my home. The pen with which the President signed the bill had been spoken for by the Secretary of the Interstate Commerce Commission—so Maj. Halford, the private secretary of the President told me—and I suppose he has it now. I understand that the legislature of Massachusetts passed a vote of thanks to this Secretary for getting the coupler bill through Congress! It matters little by whose work the grand result was brought about. The saving of life and limb by this law is something stupendous, and must be a source of great satisfaction to every person who had anything to do with its enactment. In the year after President Harrison's approval of the measure there were 2,837 railroad men killed, and between 20,000 and 30,000 injured. Four years later there were only 1,693 killed, making a saving of 1,044 lives, and there were about 5,000 fewer men injured by accidents. The roads had not then quite half equipped their cars as the law required. Now, at the time I am writing (1902), all the cars and trains are fully equipped with these life-saving appliances, reducing the loss of life and limb from what it was at the time the bill became a law, by sixty-four per cent, according to the last report, and there are a great many more men employed on the railroads now than ever before.

Without carrying this history of the safety appliance law further I want to emphasize one very important point. No matter who may claim to be the originator of such a law, one

thing is certain, that the bill drafted by me and which became our Iowa law was the first of its kind on our statute book, and I believe that all intelligent, honest men will be willing also to admit that no one had preceded me in the general agitation of this matter. Then, it is, I think, generally known and admitted that the first bill ever presented in either body of Congress was drafted by myself. This fact will be attested both by Senator Allison and Speaker Henderson. So, when I claim that I was the chief actor in this movement, I do not step so far aside from becoming modesty as to come into the realm of offensive egotism. It was not in the power of any one man, single-handed and alone, to inaugurate and bring to a successful conclusion a movement like this which cost the railroad corporations not less than one hundred million dollars—I say it was not in the possibility of any one man to do this with all the combined forces of the railroads against him. And more especially would this be impossible when such a gigantic work was undertaken by a man like myself, a humble, obscure farmer, with little or no education or reputation to give him prestige. It was God behind the movement that insured its success. I was used by Him as the instrument to work out a mighty good to the children of men. I have never at any time been able to think that I alone have done anything. This feeling was so dominant in me, that when I came home from Washington after the bill became a law, and the ladies of the Auxiliary of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, who had named their lodge after me, gave me a reception and invited some of our most eloquent speakers to make addresses, I sat there and listened to their very able speeches, but could not make it seem that they were talking about me, or of anything I had done. God gave to me a great love and respect for this large and deserving class of wage earners, the railroad employees. To them I have given the best years of my life, and no class of men deserve it more, and no class appreciates more a kindly act in their behalf. Where-

ever a locomotive whistle is heard, wherever a freight car wheel turns, there I have a friend. But this friendship is not confined alone to the men on the trains. In every home to which these men return when they come in from their runs, a "God bless Father Coffin" springs to the lips of mother, wife and daughter, that son, father and brother can now more surely come home alive and unharmed. Whether or not it was L. S. Coffin that God used to bring this great blessing to these men, that is the way the boys of the railroad feel, and I am a thousand times more than satisfied, and will give to the loving Father grateful praise. For twelve years they have honored me with the Presidency of the Railroad Employees' Home, a home for aged and disabled railroad men, for the present located at Highland Park, Ill. This Home is destined in time to grow into a great institution, and be cared for and managed by the great Railroad Men's Brotherhoods of America and Canada.

WILLOW EDGE FARM, near Ft. Dodge, Ia., Dec. 15, 1902.

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IT CAN no longer be doubted that a railroad will approach our eastern border, within a very short time,—say two years at the outside. Either at Galena or Savanna, within two years we shall hear the whistle of the iron horse. The completion of that road, to either of these places will, in a measure revolutionize the trade of the country bordering on the Mississippi, above Davenport, and on no part of that country will the change be more sensibly felt than in Jackson county. Situated as we are, directly opposite the terminus, no matter at which place it comes, the effect on the interests of the county will be most important. The direction of our trade will be from south to east. That is, our produce will go east to find a market and from the east shall we receive our merchandize.—*Bellevue Democrat*, Oct. 29, 1851.







*John H. Gear*

**JOHN HENRY GEAR.**

**Speaker of the Iowa House of Representatives, 1874-76; Governor of Iowa, 1878-82;  
Member of the U. S. House of Representatives, 1887-91;  
U. S. Senator, 1896-1900.**

## GOV. JOHN HENRY GEAR.

BY WILLIAM H. FLEMING.\*

Of the men who have held the office of Governor of this State, five were residents of the territory when it became such. The subject of this sketch was one, entering the territory in the very year of its erection. A native of the State of New York, the boy Gear went with his father from Galena to Fort Snelling in the year 1838. It will be remembered that the Fort named was then in Iowa territory.

The first ancestors of the late Senator to come to America settled in Connecticut on their arrival from England in 1647. There the descendants of the first immigrant resided for more than a century, and doubtless many of them are in the neighborhood yet. After the war of the Revolution was over, Hezekiah Gear, who had married Sarah Gilbert, removed to Pittsfield, Mass., where Ezekiel Gilbert Gear was born. In 1791, when the latter attained to his majority, he determined to enter upon the work of the gospel ministry.

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\*William Henry Fleming was born of Irish parentage, in New York City, April 14, 1833. He was educated partly in a private school, but mostly in Public School No. 7 of that city. At the age of fourteen he became an apprentice to John A. Gray, one of the most distinguished printers and publishers of the last generation. He also worked for John F. Trow, who for many years published the Directory of New York City. After spending several years with Mr. Trow, he came to Iowa, settling in Scott county. He was one year City Editor of *The Davenport Gazette*. During three of the eleven years he was in Scott county he published a paper at Le Claire. Mr. Fleming superintended the printing of the voluminous Reports of Adj't. Gen. N. B. Baker (1865-67), relating to the Iowa Regiments in the Civil War, and edited most of them. He also planned the General Index of Iowa soldiers now in the Adjutant General's office, much of which was executed under his supervision. In January, 1867, he became Deputy Secretary of State under Gen. Ed Wright. He held this position two and a half years, when Governor Samuel Merrill appointed Mr. Fleming his Private Secretary. In this useful and honorable capacity he served through the administrations of Governors Merrill, Carpenter, Kirkwood, Newbold, Gear, Drake, and Shaw. In 1882-83 he compiled the well-known "Historical and Comparative Census of 1838-80," a publication of permanent interest and great value. He was one of the proprietors of *The Daily Capital* in 1883, and acting Deputy Auditor of State in 1886. He has read the proofs and prepared indexes for a score or more of Iowa official publications. For many years, down to the present time, he has been engaged in journalistic work. He is probably the best informed man in the State in regard to the laws on our statute books, as well as upon the records of political parties. He is often referred to as a "walking encyclopedia" of Iowa history. In December, 1902, he was tendered and accepted a position under Secretary Shaw, in the Treasury Department, at Washington, D. C.

At the age of twenty-four he was ordained to the ministry in the Protestant Episcopal Church. Soon afterwards he became a missionary among the Indians of western New York, the remnant of that powerful confederacy, the rule of which was once acknowledged in perhaps the greater part of what is now the United States east of the Mississippi. In the region inhabited by these tribes, was born on the 7th day of April, 1825, at the village of Ithaca, if it could be called a village then, John Henry Gear. His mother, Harriet Cook Gear, dying in the boy's early childhood, he was taken by his grandmother to Pittsfield. He was returned by his father, in the year 1831, to the home of the latter, who had remarried, and five years afterwards the family removed to Galena, Ill., then the most important town in the west, except St. Louis. After a residence there of a couple of years, the removal to Ft. Snelling, Iowa territory, occurred, the father being a chaplain in the army. The limited schooling the boy got away from the parental roof was largely supplemented by that which his missionary father could impart. In 1843 young Gear left home and started to make for himself a name and fortune. He at once went to Burlington, the home of his aunt, the wife of Hon. Charles Mason, the only chief justice the territory of Iowa had. Burlington was also the home of Governor Chambers, the territorial executive, to whom young Gear brought dispatches from Ft. Snelling. He was wearing his first boots, having up to that time worn moccasins. The Governor's greeting was, "You look like a young fellow for important business like this." Here, after doing some work on a farm, he got employment with Bridgman Brothers, at a compensation of \$50 a year and board. Subsequently he went with one of the brothers to Keosauqua, at a salary of \$100 and board. In 1845 he returned to Burlington, where he entered the establishment of W. F. Coolbaugh & Co., of which house he was destined in a few years to become a partner in the business, and eventually its head; and in 1855 it all became his. During these

years he traveled extensively in southern Iowa, getting to know pretty much every business man and not a few others in all that part of the State. Traveling then, one need not be reminded, meant more of toil than it does now. During at least the earlier part of his days on the road there was not a mile of railway in Iowa, and many years more had to elapse before he could get one hundred miles west of Burlington by rail. The period in which he traveled as representative of the house of which he became the head was one of large activity, for it was then that the great tide of immigration which marked the decade of the '50's was pouring into the State, and new farms were being opened, towns laid out, and railroads projected of a magnitude which our 9,000 miles of constructed road hardly surpasses. The acquaintance which this active and enterprising merchant then made told when in after years he had entered public life.

In 1852 Mr. Gear held his first office, that of alderman. It was eleven years afterwards before he again held civic office. In the spring of 1863 he was chosen mayor of the city of his home. A few years later he was nominated for the office of Representative in the General Assembly, but he declined the nomination. Again, in 1871, he was nominated with his own consent, and was elected. He then entered the Fourteenth General Assembly. The House of Representatives at that time was one of the ablest the State has known. On one side were Kasson, Pratt and Wilson, all of whom left that legislature to enter Congress. On the other were Duncombe, one of the strongest men the Democratic party of Iowa has ever had among its leaders; Ainsworth, soon to enter Congress, the first Democrat to have a seat in that body since before the war; Benton J. Hall, who also some years later became the first Democrat to represent the First District in Congress, Ed Campbell, and John P. Irish, all men of might in their party a quarter of a century; and there were many other men of marked ability. Among such men the new Representative from the county of Des Moines soon

took position as a leader. The most notable legislation of that session was the bill providing a different method of taxing railroads from that formerly in vogue. The railroads had up till that time paid a percentage of their gross earnings into the State treasury, part of which was disbursed to the counties. A bill was brought into the legislature providing a new system, which was substantially that now in vogue. It was fought steadily by a vigorous but powerless minority, one of the leaders of which was the future Governor and Senator. Steadily, at every stage of the measure, he antagonized it, and tried to improve it. In this he was associated with Kasson, Irish, Green of Davenport, and others. The feature which they especially contended against was the one which deprived the cities of the tax on the property within their limits. They tried to get this changed, but unavailingly. Among the amendments offered by Mr. Gear was one to include in certain instructions which the House was giving a committee, the following:

Also, to prepare the necessary additional section to secure the proper limitation upon the rates and charges to be taken and received by railroads, and to prevent the exaction from the people by the railroads of the amount of taxes levied by this act by onerous charges on the transportation of freight.

This, as everything else that was offered to improve the bill, was rejected. When the measure was finally passed, the following protest was entered on the journal of the House:

The undersigned members of the House of Representatives do most respectfully, but earnestly and firmly, protest against the passage of the bill known as "Substitute for H. F. No. 279," entitled "An Act for the taxation of railroads," for the following reasons, to-wit:

*First*—That it is inequitable in its provisions to the counties having railways within their limits, in that it puts all the property, without the right of way, into the hands of men who cannot from the nature of the case fix proper valuation on the same.

*Second*—That it is inequitable and unjust to the cities in this State having railways within their limits, from the fact that on the cities is thrown the burden of protecting railway property within their limits, as put forth in the opinion of the Supreme Court of this State.

*Third*—We protest against the passage of the bill on account of the unjust legislation as put forth in section nine\* of the bill.

*Fourth*—We protest against the whole bill as being unjust and in our judgment unconstitutional.

*Fifth*—That the bill we believe to be a delusion, and that it is in the interests of the railroad more than the people.

JOHN H. GEAR,  
B. J. HALL,  
J. W. GREEN,  
W. A. STOW,  
EDW. CAMPBELL,  
JOHN P. IRISH,  
F. O'DONNELL,  
ISAAC BLAKELY,  
M. GOODSPEED,  
C. T. PEET,  
SAMUEL WHITTEN.

The next session, which was an adjourned session held for the consideration of the proposed code, was for that reason one of the most important yet held in the State. In that work the Representative from Des Moines county took an active part. Indeed, it may be said, that he well knew what was before the body at any time during his legislative career, and kept fully in touch with the business being transacted. The section in the railroad law that prohibits pooling in this State was his work, he having introduced it and procured its passage. As originally enacted, and on Mr. Gear's motion, it is as follows:

It shall be unlawful for any railroad company to make any contract or enter into any stipulation with any other railroad company running in the same general direction by which either company shall directly or indirectly agree to divide in any manner or in any proportion the joint earnings upon the whole or any part of the freight transported over such road, and any violation of this provision shall render the railroad company violating the same liable to a penalty of \$5,000 for each month for which such earnings are divided, to be recovered for the use of the permanent school fund in the name of the State.

When the House was considering a bill requiring the stewards of hospitals for the insane to make reports of all financial

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\*This section, it is proper to say, was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

transactions, accompanying the same with vouchers, and to have quarterly settlements with the boards of trustees, Representative Gear offered as an amendment that "such settlement of accounts shall be made by the board of trustees in open session, and shall not be intrusted to a committee." This amendment, showing as it does the member's knowledge of the tendency of boards to turn work over to committees, was adopted.

The House of Representatives in the Fifteenth General Assembly, to which Mr. Gear was chosen, was equally divided in membership between the dominant party and a new one, known as the Anti-Monopoly party. The latter had absorbed the Democratic organization, and with the aid of a secret society had swept the southern half of the State. Had it been as well organized in the northern counties as it was in the remainder of the State, it would certainly have had a majority in the House, and have imperiled the success of the State ticket. When the legislature met thus divided, many days were spent in fruitless balloting for speaker, and it was not until the 137th ballot that a choice was made. That choice fell on the Representative from Des Moines county. As in all other positions, Mr. Gear was called upon to fill, he discharged the duties of the high office with superior ability, and to universal satisfaction. The fact that the House was equally divided made the task of the Speaker exceptionally difficult. Yet no complaint was ever heard against his manner of conducting the business of the House, nor was appeal taken from his rulings. In 1876, having been for a third time elected a member, he was again chosen to the speakership, the only instance in the history of the State of such re-election.

The satisfaction Mr. Gear gave in his successive terms as speaker made the easier his canvass for the governorship, for which office he now became a pronounced candidate. He was nominated in June, 1877. He opened the campaign at West Branch, Cedar county. His reason for doing so was

that there resided in that place a man who had made calumnious accusations against the nominee in respect to his personal habits. He determined to go there and face the community where the farmer lived and where he later had considerable influence; the boldness and frankness of his talk took well with the candid Quakers who came to hear him, and produced an excellent impression. When he had concluded his speech an elderly Friend addressed him, saying, "Friend Gear, I would like to ask thee a question, if thee will answer." "I will certainly, if I can," was the reply of the speaker. Whereupon this brief dialogue ensued. "Does thee drink intoxicating liquors?" "I take a glass of whisky when I feel like it." "I admire thy candor but I wish thee did not do so." The election returns showed how well the candidate's manliness served him. Nevertheless, there was an independent Republican candidate, who drew off enough votes to prevent the nominee of the party getting a majority, something which had not happened before. But when the Governor's first term was about to expire, and the convention was being held to make nominations, a man of marked ability, who had opposed Governor Gear after his first nomination, came to him and asked the privilege of presenting his name to the State Convention. This being conceded him, the gentleman referred to made a thoroughly enthusiastic speech, expressing his gratification at the character of administration the Governor had given the State. This time there was a handsome popular majority, while the plurality was the largest any candidate for Governor ever received in Iowa during the lifetime of Governor Gear.

When Governor Gear entered upon his duties as the chief executive of the State, he found it burdened with the largest volume of floating indebtedness up to that time known in its history. Like a large volume of similar indebtedness more recently incurred, it was by no means injudiciously contracted. The period was that following the severe financial crash of 1873, and prices of material and labor were low. Hence,



most advantageous contracts could be and were made for the erection of public buildings. This is one of the reasons why the State House, much of the work on which was done at that time, was not a more expensive structure to build than it proved to be. But, when the new Governor entered upon the executive office this state of affairs was passing away, and with returning prosperity, which was alike the harbinger and the foredated effect of the return to specie payment, the low prices, the compensating accompaniment of the "hard times," were beginning to disappear. It was therefore now the time to get out of debt and keep out of it, thought the Governor, and to the payment of the debt and accumulating a sufficient surplus the executive directed his efforts. He first turned his attention to the penitentiaries, which were more under the executive control than any of the other institutions. He ordered the newly chosen warden, Capt. McMillan, to take charge of the prison at Ft. Madison some weeks before either he or his predecessor expected that the change would be made; and the first the latter knew that he must immediately retire was when his successor presented his commission and the order to take charge, and demanded immediate possession. This being promptly yielded, a rapid diminution of expenses followed. The legislature, entering into the spirit of the Governor's designs, cut down the allowance for the support of the prison and many of the salaries, and diminished the allowance to the warden. That officer was required to make contracts for furnishing discharged convicts with suitable clothing, superceding the former practice of buying each a separate outfit at retail prices. As a consequence of these and similar economies, the labor of the convicts became for the first time a source of income to our State, as it has continued to be ever since. The Governor caused the methods of keeping books at both prisons to be reformed. Furthermore, he caused monthly statements of the receipts and expenditures of the prisons to be sent to him, which statements he subjected to scrutiny. More than once was the warden

called upon to explain an apparently large price paid for a commodity that was bought for the prison; but it is only just to the prison officers to say that satisfactory explanations always came. He also caused to be sent to him a complete transcript of the convict register of each prison, which transcript he had recorded. This register is kept to this day. The account of receipts and disbursements has not been deemed necessary since the establishment of the board of control; and it has therefore been discontinued.

But the penitentiaries were not the only institutions which felt the hand of the master. All of them came to realize that there was a man at the head of affairs who was looking after the State's business as if it were his own. He often visited them, and his visits were unheralded. Yet I have never heard that any of the officers of an institution felt that they had reason to complain, or did complain, of what was done or said by the Governor. The legislature made many reductions in the allowance for these institutions mostly suggested by the executive. That this vigilance had its effect was seen in the next report of the financial officers of the State, when the expenditures during the biennial period had been smaller in volume than for any similar period during the ten years preceding.

Governor Gear had not been long in office when he came to think it well that there should be some change in the management of the institutions. Two of his predecessors had recommended the creation of a board of charities and corrections that should be charged with the duty of overseeing the charitable and penal institutions, but without other than moral control or such as it might be able to exercise through the representations such a board should make to the General Assembly. Governor Gear had given attention to this suggestion while considering the matter of the government of the institutions. That consideration brought him to quite a different conclusion. He said that what was wanted was not more boards, but fewer. He then announced

his belief that one board should be entrusted with the management of all the State's institutions; the board of control idea. He talked it to members of the General Assembly. Following his suggestion a bill was introduced in the House of Representatives placing all the charitable and penal institutions under the management of a board of three persons. It was not thought advisable by the friends of the measure to do more than this. The House, however, amended it by including in the scope of the bill all the institutions except the university. This was probably done in order to overload the measure, and thus insure its defeat. But it passed the House of Representatives as thus amended, and went to the Senate. It came near passing that body also. It received twenty-five votes in that body on suspending the rules and ordering it to a third reading the same day. This, not being two-thirds of the Senate, the motion was lost. But the Senate ordered the bill to a third reading the next day by a larger majority. But that next day, it happened, was that of the adjournment of the General Assembly, and the third reading of the bill was never reached.

Subsequently the Governor recommended that the insane hospitals be put under one board, the schools for the blind, and the deaf, and the feeble-minded under another, while to the board of regents might be committed the care of the state normal school; and the reform schools, as our industrial schools were then styled, should be left, like the penitentiaries, under the supervision of the Governor. But nothing further was done in this direction until the Twenty-seventh General Assembly, when, after a somewhat similar recommendation from Governor Drake, the General Assembly determined to go further, and adopt the plan which was proposed in the House of Representatives twenty years before, and which, as has been seen, originated with Governor Gear.

The war-loan made by the State in 1861 fell due in the year 1881, the last of the administration of Governor Gear. The matter of making suitable provision for liquidating the





OF  
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*Harriet Fookz Fearn,*

MRS. GOV. JOHN H. GEAR.

bonds was incumbent on the legislature of 1880. As the session wore on, the Governor became anxious lest the matter should not be attended to. There were weak-kneed men in the General Assembly who feared to make the necessary levy in order to pay the debt. Some suggested that the bonds be renewed for a period of ten years, when the State's growth and improved financial condition would permit of the retirement of the bonds without difficulty—as if the State would grow more in the ten years than it had in the twenty since the bonds were negotiated! As the session drew to its close without anything being done, or apparently contemplated, the Governor felt it incumbent on himself to talk to some of the members privately on the subject, letting it be understood that if the legislature should adjourn without attending to the matter he would call that body together immediately in extraordinary session, and would be careful to let the people know why he did so. Whether this intimation had any effect or not, certain it is that the desired action was had, for within a few days of the close of the session a bill was passed providing for the payment of the bonds, and making a special levy for the purpose of furnishing the funds necessary therefor.

In the first session held during his administration, the board of railroad commissioners was created, and the appointment of its members devolved on the Governor. From the somewhat long list of applicants for the place, not a selection was made. The appointees were men for whom no effort to get them on the board had been put forth. It is not recalled that there was a letter received at the executive office recommending the appointment of either of the persons who were selected. These were ex-Governor Cyrus C. Carpenter, Peter A. Dey, and James W. McDill. Similarly, when Gov. Carpenter retired on being nominated for Congress, Marcus C. Woodruff, of Dubuque, was selected to fill the vacancy, without waiting for recommendations for him or anybody else; although there were others who desired the place.

Again, when Senator Kirkwood resigned his seat in the Senate in order to enter the cabinet of President Garfield, the Governor sent for Judge McDill and without any previous intimation tendered him the vacant senatorship.

One of the winters when he was in the executive chair was remarkable for the quantity of snow that fell. The movements of railway trains were impeded perhaps more that season than in any other in the history of the west. The company operating one of the roads was disposed to abandon part of its line, and even did suspend traffic for a time, thus leaving the people along that part of the road comparatively without fuel, and exposing them to great suffering, there being no other road that could supply their needs. The Governor, hearing of the action of the company, communicated with its officers, protesting against their course, and announcing his determination to see what he could do to open the road for traffic if the management failed to have it done. Operations were soon resumed on the line. While he had thus a desirable amount of sternness in his make-up, he had at the same time one of the kindest of dispositions. The hill on which the capitol stands is an admirable coasting-ground when it is covered with snow. Such was the case during the season referred to, and the boys with their big bob-sleds would watch for the time when the Governor would leave the state-house, and invite him to ride with them, an invitation which was always accepted; and lively was the rivalry between the boys for the honor of carrying the Governor down the hill. The jollity of those rides with the "boss," as they would call him, will be always a pleasant memory to the boys of that day.

After his retirement from the executive office, Gov. Gear devoted himself to private enterprises, including some mining operations in Colorado. In 1886, he received the Republican nomination for Congress in the First District, and was selected after a lively contest, his competitor being his first colleague in the General Assembly, Hon. Benton J.

Hall. Two years later he was re-elected. In 1890 he went down in the general overthrow that happened to his party that year. But in 1892 he defeated his successful opponent of two years before. Of Gov. Gear's career in the House of Representatives I can best speak by quoting the language of one who was associated with him in both Houses of Congress, the present senior Senator from Minnesota:

From the very start he became an influential member, whose good sense, sound judgment and keen insight were highly valued and appreciated by his associates. His vast experience in public affairs before he entered the House of Representatives had better equipped him and made him better qualified for the important duties of a legislator than most men who entered that body. This was recognized by all. He had been a member and Speaker of the House of Representatives of his own State, and had been for four years one of the ablest and most efficient Governors of his State. He was known to all his associates as "Governor" Gear, and the term "Governor" was not, in his case, used in a perfunctory or vain sense, but with all the force and value that the term implies. His firmness and rugged honesty and integrity were recognized and felt by all. When he supported a measure, that support gave it credit, and doubts and misgivings disappeared.

He was fair, just, and fearless in the performance of his duties, and charitable and considerate towards those who differed with him. He had the happy faculty of softening and allaying the acrimony that occasionally occurred in the House. He was attentive and watchful throughout the session, and few things escaped his notice; and though not one of the leaders of the House yet he was one of the chief mainstays of those who assumed to lead, and without the assistance of such their leadership would have been a failure. His advice and opinion on all great questions were sought and valued by his associates.

Those who remember the departed statesman as a member of the legislature of Iowa will readily recognize the applicability of much that is here said to his career in that body, except that here almost from the first he was a leader. In the second Congress in which Gov. Gear sat he was instrumental in securing the adoption of the plan of allowing a bounty for sugar-raising. It will be remembered, by those familiar with the writings of Alexander Hamilton, that the bounty system, rather more than that of protective duties, was his favorite plan for encouraging domestic manufactures.



The measure succeeded when presented in the Fifty-first Congress. Of the passage of the bill which contained that provision, it is the opinion of a distinguished Senator who also served in the Senate with Senator Gear, "That no member of the committee, barring its learned head (Mr. McKinley), contributed more to the result obtained than did Mr. Gear." The Senator added, further speaking of the Iowan, "He brought to the consultations of the committee room not the philosophy of the schools or the dreams of the theorist, but rather the practical experience of a business life. He seemed to possess upon almost every subject connected with that legislation an inexhaustible fund of information and knowledge of its infinite details, gathered from practical experiences in life, which served at all times to illumine the subject and light the way to wise and safe conclusions."

In 1894 Governor Gear was elected to the Senate of the United States and took his seat in 1895. In 1900 he was elected for another term, of which he was not destined to see the beginning. In that illustrious body he had an influence such as is rarely the fortune of a Senator in his first term to possess. Here his habits of industry and close attention to business made him strong and appreciated. A Senator of opposite faith said of him, "The thorough business habits of the deceased made him a useful man in the Senate. He did much valuable work in the Senate that escaped public attention, and for which he never received credit. He was not a man who sought notoriety. His valuable services consisted largely in thorough and efficient committee work—just such work as shapes and molds legislation, and which is seldom properly appreciated by the public."

It may be truly said that rarely has a junior Senator had the influence, or commanded the attention of that illustrious legislative body, so much as Senator Gear. His presence and power were felt there, and amounted almost to a leadership.

The useful career of this distinguished statesman came to

an end on the morning of the 14th day of July, 1900. That end came quietly and peacefully; and while rather suddenly it was nevertheless not a surprise to his friends, who had been familiar with the fact that the health of the veteran commoner was steadily failing.

In all the relations of life, the Governor and Senator was a true man. He was a devoted husband and father, an estimable citizen, a public servant of the highest type, a statesman of enlarged and progressive views.

Gov. Gear's memory was phenomenal. While I would not say of him, as is sometimes vainly said of a man, "He never forgot a face," I would say that very few men I have known came so near being thus equipped with an unfailing memory. When he did remember a person, he seemed also to recall at once all he had ever known of that person. This happy faculty was of vast service to him in his public career. He was moreover one of the most faithful of friends, as all realized who were ever included in the circle of that friendship.

Few members ever served their individual constituents so faithfully as he did. His correspondence was enormous. Senator Mason said of it, that when Gov. Gear and he were members of the House of Representatives it was the largest that came to any member of that body, and it always had attention.

When he was Governor he attended to the correspondence of the office largely in person. There were no stenographers in the employ of the State then, and it was before the days of the typewriter. Yet it was attended to promptly and fully. The Governor wrote rapidly, and expressed himself clearly.

He has now passed to the realms of the unseen, perhaps rather of the real. The State mourns it. One of the most approachable and lovable of men, few could have gone hence whose departure would be so keenly felt as that of this worthy citizen.

I cannot better close this sketch of the departed Senator than by quoting from what was said of him by one who had known him all his life in Iowa, the venerable Dr. Salter of Burlington, and by one who had known him all his public life and who was much of that time intimately associated with him, the distinguished Congressman from the Seventh District, Hon. John A. T. Hull.

Said Dr. Salter:

His name is written large in the history of this commonwealth, in the records of Congress, and in the hearts of thousands of our people. While he died in the height of his fame with such honors clustering his brow as fall to few; secure so far as human authority and power go in one of the high dignities of the world; he bore honor and fame with the same simplicity that characterized him in every situation.

Said Captain Hull:

His loss will be mourned in Iowa while the generation now living there shall rule. His memory will be borne in the affectionate hearts of the people he loved so well. We will build him an enduring monument in our State, in the affections of our children; and we can say to his friends that they can take pride in the fact that they were related to this splendid specimen of American manhood and American statesmanship.

This paper would be incomplete without mention of the worthy woman who was for well nigh half a century one of the best of helpmeets, friend, adviser, counselor—everything which the best of wives may be, and who with two of their four children survived him. To her, Miss Harriet Foote, he was married in the year 1852. She too has now passed from earth, and rejoined her husband. This lady was born November 11, 1818, and died October 4, 1902. Her birthplace was Middlebury, Addison county, Vermont, at the south point of Lake Champlain. She was the daughter of Justus Foote. Her mother, Harriet Swan Graham, was the daughter of Rev. John Graham, a native of Scotland, of the clan Graeme, who became minister of the parish at Suffield, Connecticut. A colleague of Mr. Graham in that pastorate was Rev. Daniel Waldo, who was chaplain of the House of Representatives in the Thirty-fourth Congress. Miss Foote came

with her mother from Vermont to the home of her brother, John Graham Foote, afterwards senator (1860-1864) and capitol commissioner (1872-1886). Of this excellent woman, one who knew her well thus wrote:

Mrs. Gear did not seek public life for herself. She idealized and idolized her home. To her it was everything it could mean for wife and mother. But, having met its many obligations, Mrs. Gear entered with great spirit and earnestness into the public life of her distinguished husband. In her clear insight into human nature and human motives, her keen discernment and lofty ideals, . . . Mrs. Gear was a strong, sustaining force, which the Senator dearly prized.

During the administration of her husband, Mrs. Gear, seeing that the battle-flags of the regiments were disappearing where they were kept, that every zephyr carried away some of the precious material of which they were made, determined to make an effort to preserve them from further destruction. She accordingly obtained permission from the Executive Council to undertake the task. Securing the help of many of the widows and daughters of soldiers and others, she had the flags covered with a material which, while it exposed the colors to view, yet protected them from being torn to pieces by the winds. In this work, Mrs. Gear prepared nearly if not quite every flag for the quilting process by putting the tattered fragments of the valued emblems in their proper places, and turning them over to those who did the sewing. To this work Mrs. Gear devoted several weeks of constant labor. The fact that the colors of the regiments which did so much for the fame of Iowa can now be distinguished is largely due to the judicious care thus taken of them by this thoughtful woman.

The social life of the capital was much enlivened during the administration of Governor Gear. He and his wife were delightful hosts; and many times during the sessions did they entertain members and others; and gatherings of those days live in local history as among the most charming of like events in the memory of denizens of the capital.

Of this estimable couple, the Rev. Dr. Salter, the vener-

able senior pastor in Iowa, said, in the course of a funeral tribute to Mrs. Gear:

The two lives were mingled and blended in a more perfect union than ordinarily falls to human lot. Her own large intelligence, her acquaintance with the social, moral, and political questions of the age, her public spirit, her devotion to her country's cause and honor and advancement, her simplicity of life, her gracious and dignified manners, her wisdom and discretion and courage of speech, her reserve and silence when patience and the unspoken word were the best, her quiet discernment of artifice and imposture, her instant appreciation of whatsoever things are just and pure and true and good, her generous disposition to help every worthy cause and all worthy persons, and the respect she won for herself alike from the friends and from the competitors of her husband in his public career—all combined to give her consideration and influence among public men and in the public affairs of Iowa and the nation.

*The Sioux City Journal*, whose editor, Hon. George D. Perkins, was in both the State and National legislatures with Gov. Gear, and knew both husband and wife intimately, paid tribute to her memory thus:

Senator Gear's political life fell in stormy times. His best lieutenant was his wife. She was constantly with him, and she bore her part in every battle. Senator Gear had rare faculty in making friends, and Mrs. Gear was inventful in social pleasures involving politics. Going back to the time of his service as Speaker and Governor, it is safe to say that Mr. Gear knew more Iowa people by name than any one else, with his wife a close second.

Iowa has never had as high a type of woman politician as it had in Mrs. Gear. She was a stately lady. She was hostess at her husband's board. She had keen observation; she knew where the ground was solid, and she knew where it was treacherous. But she had the tact to keep what she knew and what she observed from the knowledge of her happy companies. She never sought credit for herself; everything with her was "Henry Gear's".

The Senator died in the harness as he had hoped to do, with the confidence and warm affection of his State freshly written as his heirloom. With his death, despite all the loving struggle of her heart and hands to ward off the summons, her lifework was ended. She had only to wait.





**J. C. BELTRAMI, THE ITALIAN TRAVELER,**  
As he dressed when among the Western Indians.

## THE EASTERN BORDER OF IOWA IN 1823.

EDITED BY WILLIAM SALTER.

J. C. Beltrami, "formerly Judge of a Royal Court in the Ex-Kingdom of Italy" (1806-14), published "A Pilgrimage in Europe and America," 2 vols., London, 1828. The second volume contains a description of a voyage to the sources of the Mississippi, with a map of the river. Fifty pages cover the eastern boundary of Iowa. Beltrami came down the Ohio river, and up the Mississippi to St. Louis, in April, 1823. In his company were William Clark, of the Lewis and Clark expedition of 1804-6, afterwards Governor of Missouri Territory, and for many years Superintendent of Indian Affairs on the Missouri and upper Mississippi, and Lawrence Taliaferro, U. S. Indian agent among the Sioux.

On the 2d of May Beltrami left St. Louis in company with Mr. Taliaferro on the *Virginia*, a steamboat 118 feet long, 22 feet wide, Captain Perston. His narrative is diffuse, but has some items of interest, showing the state of things and the manners and customs of the Indians upon our eastern border, nine years before the Black Hawk War. The narrative, somewhat abridged, is as follows:

A chief of one of the tribes of the Saukis, The Great Eagle, was on board. The first thing he did, when we were some distance from shore, was to take off the uniform Governor Clark had given him as a present from the Great Father (President Monroe). He showed high satisfaction at finding himself once more *in statu quo* of our first parents. The youngest of his two children had not even a leaf or a bit of cloth round the loins, whilst we were shivering with cold, though wrapped in our flannel and great coats.

Clarksville and Louisiana are two rising villages, the latter 112 miles from St. Louis. From the top of a pretty hill the eye rests on nothing but immense and impenetrable woods, the only asylum we have henceforth to expect; for, with the exception of the forts upon the river and Prairie du Chien, this is the last vestige of civilization towards the north.

In the midst of these masses of trees, one meets with beautiful tracts of meadow land, destitute of shrubs or bushes, or they sometimes exhibit the appearance of groves and clumps of trees disposed with so much symmetry that, but for the death-like stillness which pervades this silence, it would



be impossible not to think that they had been placed by the hand of man.

On the 6th (May), while the steamboat was taking in wood, I wandered into a forest. The varied forms and tints of the landscape insensibly led me on, and a flock of wild turkeys induced me to go so far that I was unable to regain the place where the steamboat had stopped. In this dilemma my compass was my guide; but what was my surprise at finding the vessel gone! A bend of the river concealed every signal I could make, and the discharges of my gun resounded vainly in the forest. I betook myself to my legs; fortunately the steamboat ran aground. At this moment my companions discovered that I was missing. The canoe which was dispatched to meet me arrived just in time, for I was so out of breath that I must have given up the pursuit. The Great Eagle, vexed and angry that the pilot had not taken his advice respecting the channel, jumped into the river and swam to the bank. The following day we found him surrounded by his tribe at Fort Edwards, where he had arrived before us. They had formed a temporary encampment, and were exchanging furs with the traders of the South-west Company. Scarcely were we within sight of the encampment when the children of Great Eagle plunged into the river and swam to their den with the eagerness of wild beasts escaping from a menagerie into their native forests. Great Eagle came on board to take his bow and quiver and gun; although exasperated against the people of the boat, he put out his hand to me as a mark of friendship. I availed myself of this favorable moment to ask him for a scalp suspended by the hair to the handle of his tomahawk. It was a pericranium of a chief of the Sioux whom he had killed the preceding year. This scalp is as honorable a trophy to an Indian, as a horse's tail is to a Turk, a Tartar, or a Chinese.

Fort Edwards is built on the eastern bank of the Mississippi; it commands a great extent of the river, as well as the mouth of the river Le Moine, which descends from the wea-

and is navigable for 300 miles into the interior. The banks of this river are inhabited by the Yawohas, a savage people who have been almost destroyed by the Sioux.

The country beyond Fort Edwards on the west of the Mississippi, as far as its sources, and even still farther, which belonged to the Territory of Missouri before the State of Missouri was formed, is now distinguished only under the name of Savage Lands; for throughout their whole extent there are no other traces of civilization than a few scattered huts belonging to traders, themselves descendants of savages.

The Government has had the wisdom to organize an intendancy with sub-intendancies to watch over and protect the people, prevent abuses on the part of those authorized to trade with them, and oppose the usurpation of that right by foreigners. This was necessary, because the English Northwest Company had extended its establishments far into the territory of the United States, which enabled the Cabinet of St. James to excite the Indians against the United States.

The Saukis were the first Indians we met with towards the north; I visited their camp; their huts are covered with mats or skins. The Canadians, the classical nomenclators of these countries, call them lodges. They are elliptical. Each generally contains a family; they sleep in a circle upon skins, mats, or dried grass. Fire is made in the center, as among the ancients; the smoke passes through the round opening in the roof. A copper or tin boiler, which they get from the traders, supported by a wooden fork stuck in the ground, pieces of wood hollowed into spoons, bits of the bark of trees formed into plates and dishes, the horns of buffaloes cut into cups, constitute their table service. A stake supplies the place of a spit, fingers serve for forks, the earth for a table, a skin on the carpet of nature for a tablecloth. They sit indiscriminately around the food with which Providence and their guns supply them. Neither kings nor courtiers are treated with any distinction. In this perfect republic equality is not less the privilege of animals than men. The

dogs, although illegitimate and descended from wolves, are seated at the same table with the savages, and at the same divan; they partake of the same dishes, and sleep in the same beds. I have seen young bears treated as a part of the community.

The faces of the Saukis are not disagreeable; their heads are rather small, with no hair except a small tuft upon the pineal gland, like that of the Turks; this gives the forehead an appearance of elevation. Their eyes are small, eye-brows thin; the cornea approaches rather to yellow, the pupil to red; they are the link between those of the orang-outang and ours. Their ears are sufficiently large to bear all the jewels with which they are adorned; two foxes' tails dangled from those of the Great Eagle. I have seen others to which were hung bells, heads of birds, and buckles, which penetrated the whole cartilaginous part from top to bottom. Their noses are large and flat, like those of the nations of Eastern Asia; their nostrils are pierced and ornamented like their ears. The maxillary bones are very prominent, the under jaw extends outwards on both sides. Their mouths are large, teeth close set, and of the purest enamel; their lips a little inverted. Their necks are regularly formed; they have large bellies and narrow chests so that their bodies are generally larger below than above. Their feet and hands are well proportioned; their arms slender; this may be attributed to want of exercise. The only part of the body savages inure to fatigue is the legs, which are more robust than the rest of their frame. Their complexion is copper-colored, whence they call themselves the Red People, as a distinction from whites and blacks. Except the tuft on the head, they have no hair on any part of the body. They pluck it out at an early age, and as they use the most persevering means for its extirpation, nothing is left but a soft down.

You would be astonished at the striking coincidences between the habits of the Indians and those of the ancient and modern people of the old world. Notwithstanding the con-

tinuance of cold weather the men had nothing but a single covering of wool or skin, which serves them day and night. They throw it about them with grace and dexterity, as the Romans did their *pallium*. Their coverings for the feet and legs, which they call *mokasins*, are made of the skin of the roe-buck, buffalo, or elk, and are like the *cothurni* of the Greeks and Romans. In summer they generally go bare-foot; in winter they wear a kind of skin or cloth gaiters which they call *mytas*. They wear a covering round the loins; the rest of the body, even the head, is naked, whether it rains, hails, or freezes, or the earth is parched with the heat of the dog-days.

Their offensive weapons are the bow, arrow, pike, lance, as among the ancients; the axe, club, dagger, as among combatants of the middle ages; the tomahawk, as used by the Tartars of Tamerlane; and the gun used by modern nations. The shield is their only defensive weapon. It is of leather, round or oval. They paint it as the Romans did, and like them trace the origin of their armorial bearings from it. They paint those hieroglyphics upon their tents, as we do upon the doors or walls of our mansions. I have one which is ornamented with plumes, and bears the head of the manitou or peculiar god of the hero from whom I received it,—the head of a wild duck, by which he expected perhaps to petrify his enemies, as Perseus did with the head of Medusa.

A kind of tunic with large sleeves, which comes down to the girdle of the female Saukis, is like the Hebrew ephod; plates of white metal, fixed on the part which covers the breast, seem an imitation of the *fibulae* of the ancients. A petticoat fitting close to the body descends to the knees; their legs are covered with a kind of gaiters, resembling those of the ancient Scythian women. The covering of the feet and legs is distinguished from that of the men only by its elegance; in summer their feet and legs are uncovered. During youth their forms are attractive, but these flowers soon fade; evening succeeds to the morning without the interval

of noon; for the women are the porters, the beasts of burden of the men, who, they say, would lose all dignity if they condescended to any other occupation than hunting and war. There is no slavery more abject than that of the Indian women. They are looked upon with such contempt that the greatest insult to an Indian is to say, "You are a squaw." It frequently happens that these victims of the tyranny of man have such a horror of the fate of their sex, that they destroy their daughters at birth.

The men and women daub their faces with red, yellow, white, or blue. When in mourning, they paint the whole face black, and even the body, during a year; the second year they paint only one-half; and at last merely streak themselves with it in various patterns. Both men and women wear ornaments on the neck and arms; some wear small glass beads the traders sell them; others, the teeth or claws of wild beasts. That the female savages wear necklaces, like the Greeks and Romans, is not extraordinary, for they are worn everywhere; but what does surprise one is, that like the women of antiquity they offer them to the departed spirits of their relatives, of which I have been a witness.

I saw one of these tribes break up their tents to go in search of a new domicile. The kitchen utensils occupied the center of the canoe; mats and skins covered them; the children, dogs, bears, were placed opposite; the men on either side; the women at the two extremes exercised the functions of pilots and sailors; sometimes, the men rowed. The vessel is the hollowed trunk of a tree.

The evening of the 6th May we set out from Fort Edwards, where we were treated by the officers with much politeness; we soon returned, however, for the steamboat, being too heavily laden, was unable to make a passage at the middle of the Rapids of the Moine, nine miles above the Fort. On the 7th, while the steamboat was getting ready, I made a little shooting excursion. I killed a monstrous serpent, almost entirely black, spotted with yellow, called by the In-

dians *piacoĩba*. They dread it more than the rattlesnake, though its bite is not so dangerous, because it glides insidiously among the briars and grass, and its attacks are unexpected; whereas the other gives notice of its approach. At sight of my prize the Indians welcomed me as if I had been a beneficent Manitou. Their nakedness and wandering life render reptiles (*womanduska*) objects of terror; yet no one dare kill them, for they believe them to be malevolent spirits, who would visit their families with every kind of misfortune if they attempted to destroy them. :

The next day (May 8th) we ascended, though not without difficulty, the rapids which continue for twenty-one miles, when we saw another encampment of Saukis upon the eastern bank. Nine miles higher, on the western bank, are the ruins of Fort Madison. The President of that name had established an *entrepot* of articles most necessary for the Indians to be exchanged for their peltry. The object of the Government was not speculation, but by example to fix reasonable prices among the traders. Fearing, however, the effect of any restraint upon the trade of private individuals, it has withdrawn its factories and agents, and left the field to the South West Company, which has been joined by a rival company, and now monopolizes the commerce of almost the whole savage regions of the Mississippi and Missouri. Its centers of operation are St. Louis and Michilimackinac.

At a short distance from this Fort, on the same side is the river of the Bete Puante (Skunk), and farther on, that of the Yahowas, so called from the savage tribes which inhabited its banks.

The fields were beginning to resume their verdure; the meadows, groves, and forests were reviving at the breath of spring. Never had I seen nature more beautiful, more majestic, than in this vast domain of silence and solitude. Wooded islands disposed in beautiful order by the hand of nature varied the picture; smiling hills formed a delightful contrast with the immense prairies which are like oceans, and

the monotony is relieved by isolated clusters of thick and massy trees. These enchanting scenes lasted from the river Yahowa till we reached a distant and exquisitely blended view of what is called Rocky Island, 160 miles from Fort Edwards. Fort Armstrong at this point is constructed upon a plateau above the level of the river, and rewards the spectator with the most magical variety of scenery.

The eastern bank at the mouth of Rocky river was lined with an encampment of Indians, called Foxes. Their features, customs, and language are similar to those of the Saukis, whose allies they are. On the western shore of the Mississippi, a semi-circular hill encloses a spot carefully cultivated by the garrison, and formed into fields and kitchen gardens. The Fort saluted us on our arrival with four discharges of cannon, and the Indians paid us the same compliment with their muskets. The echo, which repeated them, was striking from contrast with the deep repose of these deserts.

We arrived on the 10th, about noon. After dinner I visited the Saukis, three miles to the east, on the north bank of the Rocky river. Here they had formed their most extensive encampment, the only one they constantly inhabit during the summer months.

In this village I witnessed the dexterity with which Indians handled their bows. Children, nine or ten years of age, hit a small piece of money of six sous, which I fixed up for them to aim at, at a distance of twenty-five paces, often at the second trial. At last I was obliged to remove it to thirty-five, or they would soon have exhausted the little purse I had filled for this visit. The chiefs offered us a refreshment of bear's flesh, dried in the smoke, more delicious than our hams, and of roots resembling chicory highly flavored; they call them *pokinota*.

Their faces exhibited every variety of color. Some of the hieroglyphics painted on their bodies reminded me of the mysteries of the ancient Egyptian priests. Those who fa-

vored us with the Medicine Dance (*Wakaw Wata*) had their faces covered with them.

As the only people the Indians ever heard of are French, English, Spanish, and Americans, the Saukis were astonished when I told them that I did not belong to any of them. I made them believe that I came from the moon; their astonishment was then converted into veneration, for they adore her as a benevolent deity whose rays enable them to hunt, fish, or travel, during the night.

This medicine dance is the offspring of political knavery and superstitious credulity. It has some analogy with the mysteries of Eleusis, and with others which turn the brains of some moderns. The initiated are enclosed within a parallelogram formed by a barricade covered with skins. The profane may witness the ceremony at a distance. As I wished to know the secret, I determined to try a clandestine entrance; accordingly I glided into the enclosure, but was turned out, although a son of the moon. A president, whose head is adorned with plumes, and horns of a buffalo, takes his station, surrounded by musicians, east of the enclosure. At the west, two warriors with bows and arrows guard the entrance. A master of ceremonies, club in hand, stands in the center, and receives orders of the president. The elect, male and female, are seated on the north and south, according to seniority or rank. An orator, placed on the left of the president, every now and then raised his eyebrows, and showed by every movement of his agitated body his impatience to speak. I could neither understand nor guess the meaning of his speech. The vehemence and animation of the oratory of savages excite astonishment, contrasted with their taciturnity and apathy in common transactions. Sometimes the inspiration is so powerful that they tremble in every limb, like the Shakers. At a signal of the president, the musicians played upon their horns and drums; the latter, beaten with a stick covered with leather, produce a sound torturing to the ears. At this music the president, orator, and male



and female elect, form a circle. Each carries the skin of an otter, beaver, or some animal, made into the form of a bag open at the two ends; and at the moment the president raises his in the air, the ceremony begins. The president, making frightful contortions, and stammering out prayers, blows into one end of his bag, the other end of which is turned towards his right hand neighbor. At this instant the latter falls to the ground; he is considered dead. He is only restored to life by degrees, as his exorcist pronounces some expiatory formulae which operate like galvanism; the resuscitated person is thus completely purified. The bag and ceremony have given him a new soul.

If I may give my opinion on this farce, the medicine dance is a spiritual medicine to prepare the soul in this transitory life for a celestial and eternal one. The president and the other persons of the mystic chain become successively active and passive, until the president himself falls, dies, and is restored in his turn; he then closes the dance.

In the midst of this laughable scene, I suffered much from not being allowed to laugh. My interpreter who saw my inclination, intimated to me that its indulgence might condemn me to an *auto da fe*. I have been told that those who propose themselves for admission make large offerings, and are sometimes obliged to give all they possess to the order. I was told that in this camp there are houses in which young girls are appointed to watch over a fire which burns in the center, like the Roman and Peruvian vestals. A bag of such miraculous properties as the medicine bag deserved all my attention. I exerted every effort to obtain one. Vain, however, would have been the veneration I expressed for the prodigies it performed, had I not made a present of good whisky to the person who gave it me, and to the high priest as a bribe for his sanction. This was the first convincing proof I saw of the fatal allurements of spirituous liquors to the savages.

The next day we quitted Rocky Island, where the gen-

tllemen of the garrison were as polite to us as those of Fort Edwards. The rapids above this island, which is three miles in length, are stronger and extend farther than those of the Moine.

Six miles from the rapids we met with another tribe of Foxes, on the western bank. Higher up, after passing the rivers la Pomme (Wapsipinicon) and la Garde (Maquoketa) we saw a place called the Death's head (*Tete des Morts*), a field of battle where the Foxes defeated the Kikaskias, whose heads they fixed upon poles as trophies of their victories. We stopped at the entrance of the river la Fievre, a name in conformity with the effect of the bad air which prevails there. At seven miles from its mouth the Indians formerly collected lead, which they found scattered over the surface; they converted it into bullets. The Government purchased these lands, consisting of fifteen square miles, which it has granted out to adventurers, who pay the tenth of the net produce of lead. It has established an agent to watch over its rights.

A whole family from the interior of Kentucky have come to establish themselves at a distance of thirteen or fourteen hundred miles from their home. They were in the steamboat with their arms and baggage, cats and dogs, hens and turkeys; the children too had their own stock. The facility and indifference with which the Americans undertake distant emigrations are amazing. The spirit of speculation would carry them to the infernal regions if another Sibyl led the way with a golden bough.

Twelve miles higher up, upon the western bank, are other lead mines called Dubuque's. A Canadian of that name was a friend of a tribe of the Foxes, who have a kind of village here. In 1788 these Indians granted him permission to work the mines. His establishment flourished; he had no children. The attachment of the Indians was confined to him, and to get rid of those who wanted to succeed him, they burned his furnaces, warehouses, and dwelling, and by this

measure expressed the determination of the red people to have no other whites among them than such as they liked. The creditors of Dubuque appealed to Congress to secure to themselves these mines. It is said, that their claim was founded on a treaty between Dubuque and the Indians, that this treaty had been sanctioned by Carondelet, the Spanish governor of Louisiana west of the Mississippi, and that General Harrison had confirmed it in 1804; but Congress decided in favor of the Indians, who still keep exclusive possession, and with such jealousy that I was obliged to have recourse to the all-powerful whisky to obtain permission to see them. They melt the lead in holes which they dig in the rock, to reduce it into pigs. They exchange it with the traders, but they carry it themselves to the other side of the river, which they will not suffer them to pass. Notwithstanding these precautions, the mines are so valuable, and the Americans so enterprising, I question whether the Indians will long retain possession of them.

Dubuque reposes with royal state in a leaden chest in a mausoleum of wood, which the Indians erected upon the summit of a hill that overlooks their camps and commands the river. This man was become their idol, because he possessed or pretended to possess an antidote to the bite of the rattlesnake. Nothing but artifice and delusion can render the red people friendly to the whites, for they despise and hate them. A respectable gentleman, a friend of Dubuque, attempted to persuade me that this juggler was in the habit of taking rattlesnakes into his hands, and by speaking to them in a language they understand could tame them and render them gentle as doves. I observed that I believed what he asserted, because he said he had seen it, but that if I saw it with my own eyes I should not believe it. These people, proud as they are of their independence, are so inclined to superstition that they would become the most abject slaves, if they were civilized after the fashion of the Jesuits.

A little above the river Turkey, which is navigable to a considerable distance inland, is an old village which the Foxes have deserted. Here terminates the pretended territorial jurisdiction of these savages; I say pretended for savages hunt wherever they find no obstacle; which is the cause of the bloody wars by which they are destroying each other. The true name of these savages is Outhagamis. Foxes (Reynards) is a nick-name, given them by the French who discovered these countries; it was probably significant of their resemblance to these animals. Their number is much diminished. It scarcely amounts to more than sixteen hundred, who are distributed into four tribes, like the Saukis.

The Owisconsin river is the principal channel of the fur trade carried on by these savage countries by way of Michilimackinac and the lakes with Canada and New York, of which Prairie du Chien at the distance of six miles on the same eastern bank is a considerable entrepot. After passing through a space of about 670 miles of desert, this village comes upon one as by enchantment, and the contrast is more striking as it bespeaks a degree of civilization. French is the prevailing language, and strangers are well received. Americans ought to regard this village as one of the most interesting scenes of the last war against the English. This is the only place where the Anglo-savage army observed the terms of capitulation during that war. The garrison, which General Clark had placed there to neutralize the intrigues by which the English emissaries in these forests endeavored to increase the number of allies of Great Britain, was forced after a heroic resistance to surrender, but on conditions intended to prevent the massacres so often perpetrated by the savages upon prisoners. The English Colonel (Wm. McKay) kept his promise, though acting under General Proctor who saw with indifference the tomahawk and knife of these barbarians reeking with human blood.

Prairie du Chien is the rendezvous of a number of Indians who come there in autumn to lay in provisions, and in

spring to settle with their creditors who receive skins in payment. They are much more punctual than the whites would be, if they had no other guide than the law of nature, nor any other argument than their bow and arrow, knife and gun. I saw there some Winebagoes who are distinguished from other Indians by their gloomy and ferocious countenances. They are regarded as the most malignant; they were intimately connected with Proctor. Their chief, Mai-Pock, paid his court to him by appearing with a necklace composed of the ears, noses, and scalps of Americans. He regaled his friends with human flesh. I saw him, but refused to shake hands with him. It is supposed that this nation came from the northern parts of Mexico; they speak a language peculiar to themselves, and are the only friends of the Sioux, who seem also to have emigrated from Mexico. They roam and hunt towards the sources of Rocky river, upon the Owisconsin, Fox river, Green Bay, and upon Lake Michigan. They are divided into seven tribes, who dispose their small encampments upon these rivers. Their number is about 1,600. The first Frenchmen that arrived among them called them Puants, from the disagreeable odor that exhales from their bodies.

Nine miles above the Prairie, at a point where the savages pay their adoration to a rock which they annually paint with red and yellow, the Mississippi presents scenes of peculiar novelty. The hills disappear, the number of islands increases, the waters divide into various branches, and the river extends in some places to a breadth of nearly three miles, which is greater by one-half than at St. Louis, and its depth is not diminished; for from the Prairie to Fort St. Peter we ran aground only once; but from St. Louis to the Prairie four times.

The vigorous fertility of these countries imparts strength to the grass and brushwood. Once a year the Indians set fire to the brushwood, so that the surface of the vast regions they traverse is successively consumed by the flames. It was

dark, and we were at the mouth of the river Yahowa, the second of that name, when we saw at a distance all the images of the infernal regions. The trees were on fire, which communicated to the grass and brushwood, and was borne by a violent northwest wind to the plains and valleys. The flames towering above the hills gave them the appearance of volcanoes, and the fire winding in its descent through places covered with grass, exhibited a resemblance of the undulating lava of Vesuvius. This fire accompanied us with some variation for fifteen miles.

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Mr. Beltrami had now passed above the northern boundary line of Iowa. On the 7th of July, at Fort St. Peter, he joined Long's Expedition to the sources of the Mississippi. This occupied nearly three months. Upon returning, he was very desirous to go from Fort St. Peter across the country to Council Bluff on the Missouri. But the season, he said, "was too far advanced in these excessively cold climates," and besides war was raging where he must have gone. Accordingly, he went down the Mississippi, leaving Fort St. Peter Oct. 3d in a decked keel-boat. At Prairie du Chien he found excellent company in two young officers from the Military Academy at West Point, who had brought recruits for Fort Crawford, and were going to Fort Council Bluff. "What a pity," he says, "that they should be doomed to pass their days in inhospitable wilds, surrounded by a corrupt and degenerate race as the Indians in the neighborhood of such establishments always are!" They arrived at St. Louis October 20th.

"A Table of Short Distances on the Mississippi," makes the whole distance on the eastern border of Iowa 397 miles, as follows:

Fort Edwards to the top of the Rapids.....	22 miles
To Old Fort Madison.....	10 miles
To River Bets Puante (Skunk).....	10 miles
To Yellow Hills (Oquawka, Ill.).....	22 miles
To River Yawoha.....	28 miles
To Grande Prairie Mascotin.....	16 miles
To end of the same.....	17 miles
To River la Roche, or Rocky.....	31 miles
To Fort Armstrong Isle.....	4 miles
To the top of the Rapids.....	16 miles
To Village of the Foxes.....	9 miles
To Marias d'Oge (Meredosia, Ill.).....	10 miles
(Formerly inhabited by a savage of that name.)	
To Old Village Sauvage.....	10 miles
To Potatoe Prairie.....	9 miles

To Prairie du Frappeur.....	10 miles
(Formerly inhabited by a savage of that name.)	
To River la Pomme.....	18 miles
To Cheniere .....	10 miles
To River la Garde.....	10 miles
To Tete des Morts.....	16 miles
To River aux Fievres.....	4 miles
To Dubuque mines.....	18 miles
To Prairie Macotche.....	16 miles
(Name of a savage who inhabited it.)	
To Old Village de Batard.....	10 miles
(Formerly inhabited by savages whose chief was called the Bastard.)	
To Turkies River.....	16 miles
To Old Village de la Port.....	10 miles
To River Owisconsin.....	10 miles
To Prairie du Chien.....	6 miles
To Painted Rock.....	9 miles
To Cape Winebegoes.....	18 miles
To Cape a' l' All Sauvage.....	10 miles
To Upper River Yawoha.....	19 miles

Beltrami's Map names the Des Moines river "Monk R"; the Skunk, "Polecat R"; the Iowa, "Yawoha R"; the Upper Iowa, "Upper Yawowa R."

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MODEL JUSTICE.—We have in this county a Justice of the Peace, who might well be a model for all justices. In a recent suit, after giving his judgment, he made the parties agree to go home and never bring another, in consideration of which he induced the witnesses to throw in their costs and gave in his own.—*Bellevue Democrat*, May 7, 1851.

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BOOKER T. WASHINGTON is not only the most eminent citizen in the south; he is teaching the whole country some lessons in a new sort of good breeding based on the scriptural description of charity, which vaunteth not itself, endureth all things, seeketh not its own, and does not behave itself unseemly.—*Topeka Capital*.

## MY BOYHOOD RECOLLECTIONS OF THE SAC AND FOX INDIANS.

BY CHARLES A. WHITE.

Perhaps none of the laws which have been enacted by Congress for the regulation of our dealings with the Indians is now more rigidly enforced than are those which relate to the sale of intoxicating liquors; but for several years after the first settlements were made in Iowa business relations with them were controlled by no such laws. The Indians' thirst for whiskey was irresistible, and no small part of the stock of every trader upon the frontier was devoted to supplying this demand. Indeed, so little was the public conscience then aroused upon this subject that the bottle was a potent and deliberately used influence in overreaching the Indians and its presence, even in treaty assemblies, has been publicly rumored. That rumor accorded with Black Hawk's claim, as a justification of the relentless war which he waged against the whites, that the chiefs of his tribe had been made drunk when they signed the treaty of 1804 ceding to the United States an aggregate of more than twenty-two thousand square miles of land in what are now the states of Missouri, Illinois and Wisconsin; and I am not aware that this accusation was ever disproved. That the Indian signers of that treaty were then drunk seems probable from the fact that they accepted the paltry compensation which was given them, namely, less than twenty-three hundred dollars in hand and an annual payment to the double tribe of one thousand dollars, all in goods. Black Hawk was a savage, and should be judged as such, but judged righteously; which I believe has not always been done. Even if the contemporary popular reports of his atrocities in war and of his drunkenness after his defeat and humiliation were true, which I neither affirm nor deny, I think there is reason to believe that no more patriotic, no braver or more skillful Indian warrior ever led his people to battle or protected them in defeat. The ear-



lier recollections of my childhood are connected with popular stories of his savagery, but my subsequent personal contact with his people, the combined Sac\* and Fox tribes, was more suggestive of comedy than of tragedy. It was in 1838, the year in which he died and only six years after the close of the war which is still called by his name, that I went with my father's family to live at Burlington, then the principal town on the Upper Mississippi. At that time one portion of the tribe occupied a tract of land bordering the Iowa river, and another portion dwelt on a tract bordering the Des Moines river, where Black Hawk ended his days. The following remarks are a result of my observations of those Indians, made as a boy of from twelve to sixteen years, and of the life-long impression which they left upon me.

For several years after the date which I have mentioned parties of the Iowa river division came frequently to trade at Burlington, making the whole journey and return in dug-out canoes of their own construction. Their usual camping-place was just above the town and as it was not far from my home I often went there to observe their native customs as well as some of those which had been modified through their contact with the whites. Unfortunately I had little opportunity to observe their virtues and the greater part of what I have to relate pertains to the vice of whiskey-drinking, already referred to. This vice they readily learned from the whites while they were slow to adopt any advantage which civilization offered unless it harmonized with their native customs. For example, because I shall mention their use of iron implements and utensils it is proper to remark that although they discarded rude pottery, flint and bone for industrial uses, they only adapted the more efficient iron to such uses in accordance with their ancient customs, with no wish

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\*I remember that, in answer to inquiries by white men, I often heard these Indians pronounce their tribal name as if it were written Saw-kee, but I do not know whether that was their own pronunciation or their attempt to give the pronunciation of the white man. In the text of the treaty of 1804, just referred to, it was written "Sauke."

or thought of thereby adopting any custom of the white man. But to return to our visitors. In summer time, when the river was low, they sometimes camped upon the gravelly beach, with little shelter; but in cooler weather they pitched their wickeups on the lower end of Flint island just above the northern boundary of the town, or upon the bottom land of the nearer side of Flint slough, which separated the island from the mainland. Except in times of flood this slough, or secondary river channel, was not much more than a canoe-length wide, and the lower portion of it was long ago obliterated by that primary instrument of urban improvement, the dump cart.

Their wickeups were sometimes covered with skins and later with strong cotton cloth, but when I first saw their camps the wickeup covering was sometimes of elm or cottonwood bark, which was taken from the trees in spring time, when the sap began to flow. I once witnessed the whole of this process of house building and often saw dead trees still standing that had been thus denuded. The women did this work and when the party reached the camping-place some of them, each with her hand ax, attacked the trees, cutting the bark into proper lengths by making rows of doubly oblique strokes around the trunk. The bark was then removed in sheets by means of the axes and rude wooden wedges. Every sheet when thus removed had notches along each end like huge saw teeth, which were made by the ax cuts. Meantime other women were busy with their axes and knives making the frame of slender willow or cottonwood poles. One of them drove a short stick into the ground for a center, doubled and stretched a string over it, gathered the loose ends in her left hand at the desired length for a radius and then, walking backward with another short stick in her right hand, she marked a perfect circle for the ground plan of her house. The poles were thrust into the soft ground upon this circle and their tips tied together at the top of the structure with strips of bast. The poles were then stayed by tying

withes horizontally upon them at the proper distances apart to support the sheets of bark to which the latter were tied with strips of bast or slender withes. They were placed with the grain perpendicular upon the frame and lapped to shed the rain, the notched edges giving a rude appearance of neatness to the wickeup. A hole was left at the top for the escape of smoke and another at one side for the entrance, when the conical or dome-shaped house was finished and ready for occupancy. When the party went away the bark was taken down and packed in their canoes for future use.

That case of house building occurred on the lower end of Flint island, but I was obliged to witness it from the mainland shore several rods away, although I was usually allowed to inspect their camping operations at will. The water in the slough was not deep, but the soft mud at the bottom and shores was, and I could not therefore wade across. The Indians kept their canoes moored to the island side and when they went to town one of the women camp-keepers would push a canoe load of passengers across and pull the empty canoe back by its painter. Members of the party were ferried back to camp in the same manner, but as I had no ticket of invitation I had to content myself with perching upon a big rock which had fallen down from the adjacent bluff. From that point of observation I saw everything clearly and did not get in the way of the workers.

The wickeup of these people was not a dwelling house in our sense of that term. It was a temporary store house for the protection of their goods and a place in which to sleep at night; and also a place wherein to sleep off their drunks, in which debauches the women often joined the men. The cooking and other ordinary work of the camp was done in the open air and I often witnessed those operations. Their food was mostly the game, which they easily procured in that region, supplemented by a little meal or flour obtained by trade. Their cookery was usually a boiling of their food in sheet iron camp kettles. On one occasion I saw the women pre-

pare what the party evidently regarded as a royal tortoise stew. In summer time, when the falling of the water in the rivers expose the sand bars, the female soft-shelled tortoise comes out to deposit her eggs and cover them with sand, leaving them to be hatched by the sun's rays. Each one deposits a large number of spherical eggs which measure about three-quarters of an inch in diameter. The animal's tracks will usually betray the place where the eggs are deposited; and by lying in wait and running quickly one may catch the tortoise also. On the occasion referred to the tortoise hunters of the party had been very successful, and when I reached their camp a woman had just set out a water bucket nearly full of boiled eggs, which the others began to devour greedily without salt. This mess of eggs was merely an entree, for another woman was busy cutting up several large tortoises for the principal meal. Although the supply was so abundant she was no more wasteful of her material than a Washington chef would be when making terrapin stew. She put into the kettle everything, skin, shell, meat and bones, and even added the entrails after she had passed them between her fingers to remove their surplus contents. I did not stay to dinner. Perhaps I should not have done so if I had been invited, for I do not even eat the chitterlings that are found in the Washington markets. I was told that their muskrat stews were very good but I never tried them for myself, although I was then a boy and much given to gastronomical experiments.

In the years of which I write Burlington had a growing population of from 400 to 1,000 white settlers. The principal business was then done in a few low, one-story, unplastered log houses on the river front between Columbia and Arch streets, but after that time Jefferson became the principal business street. The most valuable articles for trade which the Indians brought to town were furs and peltries. The articles they most desired to obtain were calicoes and other cotton cloths, powder and lead and—whiskey. The govern-

ment furnished them with most of their blankets according to treaty agreement; the cloths, powder and lead were also necessities, but whiskey was a luxury which few of them were willing to dispense with. The eastern market prices of furs were then low compared with those which afterward prevailed, and the traders made it a rule to give the Indians as little as possible for them. Whiskey also was then very cheap, for the Internal Revenue collector was then unknown. I remember once to have seen it quoted in a St. Louis paper at seventeen cents a gallon by the barrel. The Indians knew all this and would cheat the traders if they got a chance, which was not often. One of their tricks is worth relating as illustrating certain characteristics of both traders and Indians. In one of the trading houses the proprietor had laid some boards, to form a loft under the roof, upon the cross-beams which were only a little above the head of a man of ordinary stature, and as he bought the furs he threw them up there to remain until he had time to pack them. This the Indians also knew, as well as the fact that the whiskey barrel was kept in the back room. One day two Indians came in, one of them having a fine mink skin and an empty pint bottle under his blanket. These he produced and offered the skin for the bottle full of whiskey. The trader readily agreed because a pint of whiskey cost him not more than three cents net. He threw the skin upon the loft and went back to fill the bottle followed by Indian number 1, to see that the whiskey was not watered when it was drawn. Indian number 2 remained in the front room ostensibly to wait for his companion, but really to reach up and pull down that mink skin. When the trader and number 1 returned, number 2 asked to sample the whiskey, which his companion readily allowed. Finding it satisfactory he also produced a fine mink skin and bottle for a similar trade. This was done and the two friends departed, each with a bottle of whiskey at the expense of one mink skin for both.

The taste for whiskey and the comparative ease with which

those Indians could obtain it had, with few exceptions, a demoralizing effect upon the whole tribe; and the parties who visited Burlington would frequently hold deliberately planned and carefully executed drunks. They would take a quantity of whiskey to camp and appoint at least one woman to remain sober and care for the drunken members, after which she would herself take a solitary spree. The first act of the amazonian guard was to disarm all the others before they began to drink and to see that no weapons were within their reach. Her insignia of office were a stout hickory stick and a bunch of buckskin thongs. The first was to whack the unruly ones and the second to tie their hands and feet if necessary. The men of course opened the carousal and as they began to stretch themselves upon the ground the women, if there were others beside the guard, followed their lords and were soon as drunk as they. It is to their credit that I never saw a child among them on such occasions. They usually had the decency also to hold their orgies in their wickeups, but following is a brief account of one which I witnessed in the summer of 1840 in the open air.

A party of four men and three women had camped without a wickup just above the present junction of Main and Water streets. It was toward nightfall and the party had returned from their visit to town bringing their whiskey in a tin water bucket. This they had placed upon the ground with several half-pint tin cups around it, and the drunk was in full blast when I reached the place. Indeed, it had passed its culmination, for all the men were lying upon the ground dead drunk. An elderly woman was on guard and of course perfectly sober. The two other women had begun their part in the debauch and were sitting upon a stone, each with her cup of whiskey in hand and each with an arm around the other. They were sipping the liquor and singing a maudlin chant with beaming faces. I went near to get a full view of the show and was angrily ordered away by the guard. I thought it prudent to go, but I only climbed the bank close by,

which was ten or twelve feet above the party, and that position gave me a better view than I had before. The guard continued to scold and threw stones at me. She could throw better than the average woman, but she did not hit me nor scare me away, although I was the only outsider present. Besides that, her attention was just then required by one of the men who had crawled up to the bucket to get another drink. She did not molest him for this, but when he arose and staggered muttering toward the pile of guns and knives which she had laid aside for safety, she hit him on the head with her stick and he dropped quietly to the ground. The other men were too drunk to get up, but as one of them was trying to do so she had to tie him; and she was otherwise kept too busy to mind me. Meantime the two other women were "gettin' fou and unco happy." In fact they were already full and there was yet nearly a quart of whiskey before them in the bucket. Moved as by a common impulse each thrust an index finger into her fauces and the immediate result was complete relief of the distended stomach. The suddenness of the relief seemed to daze them for a few minutes but they then returned to their cups and were drinking and singing again when I left them.

During the few years in which those Indians continued their visits to Burlington I witnessed many other incidents illustrative of their wanton habits, the full significance of some of which I did not then clearly perceive. It is my purpose to confine this record of incidents to my boyhood recollections, which are still very distinct, but I may say that in recalling those scenes in after years I fail to recognize that they offered any encouragement for hope of future improvement. Indeed, the article in *THE ANNALS* for October, 1899, by Hon. A. D. Bicknell, depicting the present condition of the remnant of the Iowa division of the tribe, which still lives there, shows that they have not only retained all their old antipathy to the civilization of the white man, but that they have really undergone degeneration from their

primitive condition. These are sad facts for the philanthropist, but let it be understood that the foregoing remarks are made only with reference to the parties which were observed by myself and to their successors which were discussed by Mr. Bicknell.

The laws which Congress finally enacted prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors to the Indians were themselves an open acknowledgment of the former destructive prevalence of the drink evil among them, but it is just to our people to say that the times were then largely at fault, and that the national conscience is now cleaner than formerly in this respect. Repugnant as were such drinking practices as I have just described, they were probably no worse than those which prevailed among our own ancestors and, within the memory of persons now living, among otherwise respectable white men in connection with some of their social functions. It should further be said to the credit of the Indians of former years that although some of their prominent men, especially after their subjugation and humiliation, indulged in drunkenness others tried hard to induce their people to abandon the use of liquor. I remember, for example, that at the close of a council which Governor Lucas held in Old Zion church at Burlington a war-dance was given by a party of Sac and Fox braves as an entertainment to the whites and at the request of the latter. At its close the performers received a liberal contribution and Chief Hard-fish made a speech thanking the donors and vehemently advising the braves not to spend a picayune of it for whiskey. Those former days were pregnant with promise of human improvement, since largely fulfilled as regards the white man, but they were not better than these.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, December 5, 1902.



# ANNALS OF IOWA.

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## EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT.

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### MR. COFFIN'S GREAT REFORMS.

It is known to tens of thousands of people in every State of the Union how earnestly Hon. L. S. Coffin, of Webster county, labored for years to secure legislation which would compel the adoption of safety appliances in coupling cars and running trains on the railroads, and thus prevent the immense suffering and loss of life which had long been visited upon the poor brakemen. The number of casualties were known to have amounted throughout the United States, to from 20,000 to 30,000 per year. The clumsy and antiquated devices by which cars were coupled together, and running trains brought to a stop, had been in use, with little or no improvement, since the early days of railroading. How he studied the subject for several years, and brought about one of the noblest reforms ever projected by an American citizen, he tells in the article from his pen which appears in this number of *THE ANNALS*. Mr. Coffin is now close upon eighty years of age. He writes from memory of these events which occurred years ago, and if any inaccuracies appear, they are due to the lapse of time. His intention has been to adhere strictly to the truth. His statements bear that stamp most unmistakeably, and that he can tell the story more faithfully than any other living man will not be questioned by any of his thousands of acquaintances and friends. The preparation of this article by Mr. Coffin, the leading actor in this great movement for the prevention of suffering and the saving of human lives, was undertaken by the advice of his friends in Iowa and other states. It is not only highly interesting but it adds important pages to the history of our times. Mr. Coffin tells the story of a struggle of years—

how he traveled up and down throughout the country, writing for the newspapers and periodicals, addressing large audiences, and urging state legislatures to memorialize Congress, until public sentiment was largely in favor of the proposition and the reform made possible. The Iowa legislature had passed his bill, but this only made more fully apparent the absolute need of a general law which would secure uniformity in all the states. He therefore went to Washington and brought the subject to the attention of Congress. Here, after a severe contest his bill became the law of the nation. The fight was a long and severe one, and he had arrayed against him some of the most powerful influences of the time. He generously gives to Senator Allison and Speaker Henderson, from our State, credit for some most efficient work in winning the grand success. They stood by the measure from first to last.

It is true that the subject of safety appliances on railroad trains had received attention before Mr. Coffin became interested in the work. State laws had been passed by Connecticut as early as 1882, and later by Massachusetts, New York and Michigan. But these laws, being only of local application, had not been enforced. Practically, they were dead letters. The subject had also become one of much interest and discussion at the annual meetings of the Master Car Builders' Association. In May, 1889, a circular was issued by the Interstate Commerce Commission to the various Railroad Commissions for the purpose of securing their views in this important matter. Nineteen states responded. The third annual report of the Interstate Commerce Commission (1889), gives a detailed account of this agitation and discussion. Mr. Coffin fully recognizes the work done, the substantial help given, and the stand taken by the states that had acted on this matter, and by the Interstate Commerce Commission. But it was through his efforts that public sentiment was finally aroused throughout the country and the work pushed to a successful issue—the bill passed by Congress and practical results secured.

It should be a matter of pride to all intelligent and justice-loving Iowa people that this important and most philanthropic measure will always be identified with the name of an Iowa man, and that its incorporation into the laws of the nation was due to the efforts of one of our citizens—an Iowa farmer.

This great measure was no sooner safely placed upon the statute book than Mr. Coffin started another humane movement, which though of far less scope and importance, is yet one of the most commendable works of Christian benevolence. It is known to all readers that beyond the pittance of a suit of clothes and five dollars in money, the State makes no provision for the benefit of convicts discharged from our penitentiaries. They are turned out upon the world destitute, discredited and distrusted, with poor prospects confronting them. It is little wonder that so many of them, from the cold neglect with which they are treated, drift back into crime to be soon returned to the penitentiaries. Mr. Coffin is of the opinion that a large majority of these men, if given a helping hand when they leave the prison walls, can be saved to society and to themselves, and become good citizens. In carrying out this idea he has erected a beautiful and commodious home—"Hope Hall, No. 3"—on his well-known Willow Edge Farm, three miles west of Ft. Dodge. The purpose of this home is to give the ex-prisoner a temporary resting-place, surrounded by good influences, until employment can be secured for him.

This home has been erected from funds contributed almost wholly by Mr. Coffin, though he has had timely and important aid from many of the good citizens of Ft. Dodge and others. It is patterned after a similar enterprise—"Hope Hall, No. 1"—at Flushing, N. Y., and another—"Hope Hall, No. 2"—at Chicago. These institutions were projected and built, and are under the successful management of Mrs. Maud Ballington Booth, whose writings and eloquence on the rostrum have made her name a household word throughout the country. "Hope Hall No. 3" was ded-

icated by Mrs. Booth on the 24th day of October, 1902. It is not expected to be open for the reception of ex-prisoners before the coming spring.

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### THE IOWA HISTORICAL RECORD.

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A printed slip in the October number of *The Iowa Historical Record* announced the discontinuance of that periodical. It is to be succeeded this month (January, 1903) by a new quarterly magazine under the title of *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*. *The Record* has been published by the Iowa State Historical Society since January, 1885. Its successor, like *The Record*, will appear under the auspices of the Society. *The Record*, while its support has never been adequate to its merits, or sufficient to justify any but the most meager expenditures in placing it before the public, will be greatly missed by all who have read it from its commencement. Its eighteen volumes are a most valuable repository of the materials of Iowa history. It contains the writings of many of our representative men of the time during which it was published, the most of whom have passed away or removed to other regions. What they have contributed to its pages will remain an imperishable monument to their memories. The Iowa library which has secured and carefully preserved the volumes of *The Record* may be considered very fortunate, for they will long be consulted by the students of Iowa history.

The most flattering prospects would seem to greet the new periodical at the outset of its career. It will have abundant materials for its pages in the researches and writings of historical scholars in this State and elsewhere. The last legislature generously provided the Society with funds adequate to its needs. These forecasts of prosperity are very largely due to the untiring efforts of Prof. B. F. Shambaugh, who is to be congratulated upon the distinguished success he has fairly won.

### THE PORTRAIT OF DR. WILLIAM SALTER.

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One of the most pleasing events that has ever transpired in the State Historical Department, was the public presentation to the State, November 24, 1902, of a fine oil portrait of this illustrious clergyman and author, of the city of Burlington. Few other men of his sacred calling, in any State of the Union, have ever come to occupy so high a place in the esteem and affection of the people throughout a wide acquaintance. It is most appropriate that his portrait should occupy a place of honor in the State Historical Art Gallery. The movement through which this portrait was secured was due to the efforts of Hon. Messrs. Frank Springer, of Las Vegas, N. M., and Philip M. Crapo, of Burlington. The other donors were Mr. and Mrs. C. E. Perkins, Mr. and Mrs. C. P. Squires, Mr. and Mrs. William Carson, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Hedge, Mr. and Mrs. H. S. Rand, Mr. and Mrs. C. H. Higbee, Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Blythe, and Mr. and Mrs. Lasell.

The following gentlemen from the city of Burlington were in attendance at the presentation: Rev. Robert L. Marsh, Rev. Ludwig Holmes, J. R. Nairn, J. F. Segner, F. A. Millard, Robert Donahue, Luke Palmer, S. P. Gilbert, George B. Salter, and Philip M. Crapo. Arthur Springer, of Columbus Junction, and Hon. Frank Springer, of Las Vegas, N. M., were also in attendance.

Rev. Dr. A. L. Frisbie, of Des Moines, kindly consented to preside. In taking the chair he paid a brief but most appreciative tribute to the life-work of Rev. Dr. Salter, his long time co-laborer in the Congregational Church of Iowa, and introduced Hon. Frank Springer, who spoke as follows:

It is a kindly maxim, born of the generous instincts of human nature, that we shall say nothing but good of those who are dead. It lends a melancholy pleasure to our memorial occasions, and often imparts to our thoughts at such times a kindness and charity which we do not always feel toward our fellow men, amid the asperities and harsh contentions of every day life. When, however, there is found one living, and who has lived long

among us, of whom, by the common consent of all who have ever known him, nothing but good can be said, the impulse to do him honor may well touch even a tenderer chord, so that for the moment we may be possessed by the finer emotions of our natures, to which it would be well indeed if we yielded ourselves more often. And it is not strange that at such a time we should desire by committing to the State on enduring canvas a just delineation of his features to signify our appreciation of a character like this without waiting for the signal of the grim messenger to remind us that the time for doing justice is at hand.

It does not require the softening touch of time nor the chastening hand of death to round off the career of William Salter, so that we may justly characterize or fittingly commemorate it. His sixty years of citizenship in the State, marshaling for us their memories of a blameless life, come forward as witnesses, and we point to them as the reasons why we are here today.

I do not deem this a time for extended eulogy or biography of this good man. Coming to Iowa in 1843 and settling shortly afterward in Burlington as a minister of the gospel, he has remained in the pulpit which he adorned for over fifty years. And now, in the evening of a grand and useful life, when the shadows are beginning to lengthen, and while he looks with calmness upon the low descending sun, he is engaged in finishing, in the vigor of an intellect which his eighty years have scarcely dimmed, and with all the enthusiasm of earlier days, a history of the State he has loved and honored so long.

His life, spent in the pursuit and practice of his sacred calling, has necessarily been quiet and uneventful. And yet it spans the period during which this State was transformed from a primeval wilderness into the imperial commonwealth we behold it now. It represents the history of Iowa. He was a part of it; he helped to make it, and he is better qualified to relate it for the benefit of those coming after than any man now living.

We are apt to forget, in the rush and stress of a busy life, that we are making history as we go along. And those who have borne a part in the building of this marvelous commonwealth of yours can render no greater service to the young generation to which they have transmitted it than to leave their own memorials of the times through which they have lived. By no other means can the youth of this day gain so true a conception of the mighty work of the fathers, or of the transcendent grandeur of their own State.

Great not merely in her wondrous resources and amazing progress, in the matchless fertility of her soil, in her schools and her charities, in the patriotism and heroic records of her citizens, but because, with her rural population, full of intelligence, thought and calm reflection, and with her freedom from the curse of large cities, she represents more nearly than any other community on this continent, the genius of republican institutions. Small wonder that she holds today such weighty influence in the councils and policies of the nation, or that presidents, when they want to

feel the pulse of public sentiment, should make pilgrimages to her borders and get in speaking distance of her people.

These reflections may seem not quite in keeping with the spirit of this occasion, but they come unbidden in the presence of these reminders of the men who made this splendid community. And, besides, much may be excused to one whom the chances of life, in early manhood, led into other fields, but who, after having borne an humble part in the building up of another community, and having also seen somewhat of the best that man and nature have done elsewhere, both at home and abroad, still counts as among the most valued of all his possessions his birthright in this great State.

As for eulogy, it would be difficult to portray in words the deep and abiding affection which exists for this venerable man in the hearts of those to whom and to whose people he has ministered, in their joys and in their sorrows, for more than half a century. I speak not merely of those who were members of his own congregation. His influence and his good works were never confined to such narrow limits. He belonged to the people of Iowa. Wherever there were wounded hearts to heal, or darkened souls to be cheered by the light of hope; wherever the poor in spirit were to be comforted; wherever the friendless needed recognition or encouragement—there he was found. What their creed was he never stopped to inquire.

In the times that tried our souls, when the sons of Iowa were offering their lives that the nation might live, he went into the field, preaching the gospel of patriotism, fortitude and good cheer to our heroes at the front. In war and in peace, to the camp and to the hearthstone, he has brought to grateful thousands of Iowa's best and noblest sons and daughters the consolations not only of religion but of a charity not bounded by any church or creed, but broad as the precepts of his Divine Master. There is scarcely a family in southeastern Iowa, among the pioneers who bullded the State, and their descendants to whom, at some time and in some way, his words have not been a comfort and his presence a benediction.

Foremost in all good works; a friend of liberal education; a promoter of learning in its broadest sense; an outspoken champion of right principles wherever right and wrong joined issue—his example has been a blessing to his fellow men and his life an honor to the State.

As a slight evidence of the affection and honor in which they hold him, the citizens of Burlington have caused to be executed a faithful portrait of Dr. Salter as he appears today. No eulogy that I could pronounce would be half so eloquent or significant as this testimonial, coming as it does from his fellow citizens, who claim him as peculiarly their own. The donors of this picture have delegated to me the pleasing office of presenting it to the State. I esteem it a high privilege and an honor to be thus associated with them, and in their company to feel myself, for the moment, a citizen of Iowa again.

And therefore, sir (to Gov. A. B. Cummins), on behalf of the people of Burlington, and of the thousands of others who will be gratified by the

event, I tender this portrait for your acceptance as the property of the State, hoping that it may find a worthy place in this pantheon of her great men.

The portrait was draped with the beautiful Henderson flag which was slowly lowered by Hon. Philip M. Crapo at the conclusion of Mr. Springer's appropriate address. In a few well chosen remarks the gift was accepted by Gov. A. B. Cummins, who paid high tribute to the venerable clergyman, who is so widely known even far beyond the boundaries of Iowa. He quoted Dr. Frank W. Gunsaulus to the effect that the people of this State combined more of the qualities of good citizenship than those of any other State in the Union. "This," said the Governor, "was due to the Rev. Dr. Salter and his associates in the pioneer period of the State. . . . I believe the men and women of this generation ought to be forever grateful for the instruction, the spirit that has come down to us from former times. It is fitting that we should express in the manner we are doing today the gratitude that must fill every loyal heart."

At the conclusion of the Governor's remarks letters of regret were read from U. S. Senator W. B. Allison, the reverend and venerable Ephraim Adams, of Waterloo, Hon. Eugene Secor, of Forest City, Hon. Thomas Hedge, of Burlington, Maj. Hoyt Sherman, of Des Moines, Judge W. I. Babb, of Mt. Pleasant, and other distinguished persons.

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#### GENERALS DODGE AND WILLIAMSON.

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None of the surviving soldiers of the civil war have ever surpassed Gen. G. M. Dodge in sincere sympathy for his comrades who have passed on before. Not long ago we saw him organize and carry out an effort to honor the memory of Col. W. H. Kinsman, and just now he has paid a splendid tribute to the late Gen. James A. Williamson. This last is in the form of a memoir of that distinguished Iowa soldier, which filled many columns in *The Des Moines Daily Regis-*



*ter and Leader* of December 14 and 21, 1902. It is an elaborate and sympathetic account of Williamson's career from his muster into the Fourth Iowa Infantry to the day of his death. This is also to be reproduced in a beautiful pamphlet, of which every member of the old command will receive a copy. Gen. Dodge has written many papers, addresses and reports, but we have never read anything better from his pen. He wrote from the fullest information and in deep sympathy with his old comrade-in-arms. We trust that by some means this concise record of the career of one of our bravest Iowa soldiers and noblest men may have a wide circulation in our State.

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#### JUDGE DILLON'S LAW PUBLICATIONS.

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The following is the authentic bibliography of the law writings of the Honorable John F. Dillon, who was elected Judge of the Supreme Court of this State in 1863, for the term of six years. He was re-elected, but before taking the oath of office, was appointed Judge of the U. S. Circuit Court, for the Eighth Judicial District, serving from 1869 until 1879, when he resigned. He was professor of real estate and equity jurisprudence in Columbia Law School from 1879 until 1882. Since the last date he has practiced law in New York City. Judge Dillon's works have met with a large sale in the city of London—where, in fact, some editions were published—and elsewhere throughout the United Kingdom. In this country they were recognized as standard legal authorities at once upon their publication, and repeated editions have been called for by the profession. Judge Dillon is also the author of many pamphlets on legal and historical topics, and of one of the most tasteful memorial volumes that has appeared in this country. This last was published in memory of his wife and daughter, who were lost at sea, July 4, 1898.

NEW YORK, October 24, 1900.

Hon. Charles Aldrich, Des Moines, Iowa.

MY DEAR SIR: Referring to your letter of May 11, in which you asked me if I had ever prepared a bibliography of my writings, and that, if so, you would be glad to receive a copy, I beg to state that my published writings in book form are as follows:

1. "Digest of the Decisions of the Supreme Court of the State of Iowa, from the organization of the Court in 1839, to 1660;" published 1860 by Luse, Lane & Company, Davenport.
2. Five volumes of "Cases Determined in the United States Circuit Courts for the Eighth Circuit:"  
 Volume 1, 1870-71, published 1871 by Griggs, Watson & Day, Davenport;  
 Volume 2, 1871-73, published 1873 by Day, Egbert & Fidler, Davenport;  
 Volume 3, 1873-76, published 1876 by Day, Egbert & Fidler, Davenport;  
 Volume 4, 1876-78, published 1878 by Egbert, Fidler & Chambers, Davenport;  
 Volume 5, 1879-80, published 1880 by Egbert, Fidler & Chambers, Davenport.
3. "Treatise on the Law of Municipal Corporations:"  
 1st edition published in 1872 by James Cockcroft & Company, Chicago, and Griggs, Watson & Day, Davenport;  
 2nd edition published in 1873 by James Cockcroft & Company, New York;  
 3rd edition published in 1881 by Little, Brown & Company, Boston;  
 4th edition published in 1890 by Little, Brown & Company, Boston.
4. "Removal of Causes from State Courts to Federal Courts, with forms adapted to the several Acts of Congress on the subject;"  
 1st edition published in 1875 by the Central Law Journal, St. Louis;  
 2nd edition published in 1877 by the Central Law Journal, St. Louis;  
 3rd edition published in 1881 by William H. Stevenson, St. Louis.
5. "Laws and Jurisprudence of England and America; being a series of lectures delivered before Yale University;" published in 1895 by Little, Brown & Company, Boston.

I have no extra copies of any of these works except the fourth edition of "Dillon on Municipal Corporations" and my book on "Laws and Jurisprudence." I take pleasure in sending you by express today copies of these books, which I shall be glad to have placed in the Historical Department of Iowa.

With kind regards, I am

Very sincerely yours,

JOHN F. DILLON.

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THE LENGTH of the leading articles in this number of THE ANNALS has made it necessary to omit several which had been prepared for its pages, but for which we hope to find room hereafter.

## NOTABLE DEATHS.

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MOSES M. HAM was born in the town of Shopleigh, York county, Maine, March 23, 1838; he died at Dubuque, Iowa, Dec. 25, 1902. Mr. Ham came of revolutionary stock. His ancestors bore an honorable part in the colonial and revolutionary wars and the war of 1812. He was educated at the Collegiate Seminary at Carysville, and at Oneida College, Schenectady, N. Y. He graduated at the last named institution in 1855. Migrating westward he first settled in Jonesville, Mich., where he became principal of the public schools which place he held for two years, at the expiration of which time he began his career in journalism. He secured a position on *The Detroit Free Press*, of which Wilbur F. Story (afterwards of *The Chicago Times*) was the editor. He entered the military service in the war for the Union, and was for a short time adjutant of a Michigan regiment, though he saw no active service. He remained with *The Free Press* until 1863, when he removed to Dubuque and secured an interest in *The Herald* of that city. He was first associated with Stillson Hutchins and Patrick Robb. Two years later Mr. Robb died and Mr. Hutchins removed to Washington, D. C. Mr. D. D. W. Carver, who had been associated with A. B. F. Hildreth in *The Charles City Intelligencer*, then became a joint partner with him in the proprietorship of *The Herald*. Mr. Ham from this time was the editor of *The Herald* "for thirty-five years without a break." It became under his editorial management, one of the foremost democratic papers in the State. It was able and enterprising in all its departments, but especially in its commercial reports. Mr. Ham occupied a high position in the councils of his party, not alone in Iowa, but in the nation, serving as delegate in its national conventions and as a member of its national committees. He enjoyed the confidence of Samuel J. Tilden and President Cleveland. He was tendered the appointment of assistant postmaster general by the latter, which he declined for business reasons. He accepted the position of postmaster of Dubuque, which he held eight years. He served a term as state senator, and as trustee or regent of the State University several years, and long as a member of the local board of education. He was a tireless worker, who gave all his energies to whatever task his hands or head found to do, a vigorous, able and versatile editor. No man in his city enjoyed in a higher degree the personal respect and confidence of those who knew him well. Several years ago he became a victim of that fell disease known as locomotor ataxia, which resulted in paralysis of his lower limbs. He was unable to move about except in an invalid's chair. But until a short time before the end came his mind was bright and clear and he continued to write for the public press. Two of his articles relating to the early history of Dubuque were prepared for and appeared in this magazine. He and Mr. Carver presented to the Historical Department of Iowa a file of *The Herald* for more than forty years, a gift which will always be esteemed as of great value by the students of Iowa history.

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MARTIN TUTTLE was born in Monroe county, Ohio, Nov. 27, 1824; he died in Des Moines, Nov. 9, 1902. He was the son of James and Esther Crow Tuttle; his father born in Kennebunk Port, Maine; his mother of Pennsylvania German-Quaker stock. He was a younger brother of General James Madison Tuttle, the hero of Fort Donelson. Their earliest ancestor in America, John Tuttle, arrived in Boston in the ship Planter, 1635. Martin Tuttle married Miss Mary George, of Fayetteville, Ind., March 7, 1849, and soon removed to Farmington, Iowa. Their children are Alice, Mrs. W. W. Baldwin, of Burlington; Georgia, Mrs. John H. Drabelle, of St. Louis; Charles, deceased 1901; Sarah, Mrs. Francis F. Connor, of Bur-

lington; James, of San Francisco; Mary, Mrs. George B. Salter, of Burlington; John, of Chicago. The mother died in February, 1870, and in August, 1872, Mr. Tuttle married Mrs. Harriet Moulton Battelle, mother of Mr. Will Battelle. Mr. Tuttle was a merchant in Farmington until 1860, when he removed to Des Moines, and established himself in business with his father on Court Avenue in the Sherman block. A Democrat of the old school, he was elected mayor in 1874. Of a well balanced mind, a poised judgment, and a friendly nature, his industry, enterprise, and fair dealing won him general confidence and a warm place in the hearts of his fellow citizens as a man of solid worth, reliable in all circumstances. He was president of the Central State Bank of Des Moines, and a director of the Peoples Savings Bank. As an American citizen, justice and equal laws were his political ideals of human society and the State, and upon these foundations he did his part with other pioneers of like character in building up Iowa and the Capital City to the prosperity and fame they have reached.

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ORLANDO G. TREMAINE was born at Oconomowoc, Wis., Nov. 21, 1854; he died in the hospital at Wauwatose, Wis., whither he had been taken for treatment, Nov. 12, 1902. He was the second son of the late Hon. Ira H. Tremaine, of Hamilton county, Iowa. He came to this State with his parents in 1867, the family settling upon a farm six miles south of Webster City. He was educated at the Iowa State University, and at Hahnemann (Homœopathic) Medical College in Chicago. After his graduation he located at Ida Grove, Iowa, for the practice of his profession, where he achieved a brilliant success. He was always a growing man, attracting wide attention not only by his successful practice but by his writings and original investigations and experiments. He became eminent in his profession. In the autumn of 1893 he was elected to a professorship in Hahnemann Medical College, which he filled acceptably for four years, when he resigned and returned to the practice of his profession at Webster City. He succeeded admirably as a practitioner until about the year 1898, when he contracted a serious illness from the effects of which he never fully recovered. He resumed his college work in January, 1900, but was compelled to return to his Iowa home the following spring much reduced in health. After that he gradually declined until the end came. From his boyhood days he had been an active and useful member of the Presbyterian Church. Skilled in his profession, useful in his church, and highly esteemed wherever he was known, his premature death was a sad loss to the community in which he had grown to manhood.

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LEWIS W. ROSS was born in Hanover township, Butler county, Ohio, Oct. 15, 1827; he died at Council Bluffs, Iowa, Nov. 22, 1902. Mr. Ross entered Farmers College in his native state in May, 1848, remaining until 1850, when he changed to Miami University, where he graduated in 1852. He settled in Cass county, Iowa, in 1856, removing to Council Bluffs in 1861, which became his permanent home. He was elected State Senator in 1863, from the district composed of the counties of Fremont, Mills, Cass and Pottawattamie, serving four years. As a legislator he ranked with the first. He was elected a trustee of the State University in 1864, and re-elected in 1868. In 1874 he was chosen to the board of regents of that institution for the term of six years. In 1880 he was made a resident professor in the law school, and the following year was promoted to the office of chancellor of the law department. He was largely instrumental in organizing and establishing the law, medical and homœopathic medical departments. He was author of "An Outline of Common Law and Code Pleading," and "An Outline of the Law of Real Property." He ranked high as an equity and real estate lawyer. Chancellor Ross was an honored member

of the Iowa Pioneer Law Makers Association, and was always in attendance upon its biennial meetings. He took a deep interest in the State historical department, and gave it words of the heartiest approval and encouragement from the first. Says Congressman Walter I. Smith, "He was an ideal lawyer, a conscientious citizen, and a man of unusually clean life and character."

The venerable and revered Father Philip Laurent was born near Dijon, France, Feb. 23, 1828; he died at his old home across the sea, Dec. 3, 1902. Father Laurent was educated for the Catholic priesthood in his native place, in the old city of Autun, at Plombieres, at Troyes and at Paris. He became acquainted with Matthias Loras the first Bishop of Dubuque, whose cordial and repeated invitations to come to the new State of Iowa the young student accepted. He was ordained in Dubuque in 1851, and sent to Muscatine where he took charge of the old St. Matthias congregation. It was with this people mainly that he spent his days, though he taught awhile in the Catholic Seminary a few miles west of Dubuque, and performed missionary work in several other localities in Iowa. He was with his congregation fifty years, during which time "he erected a beautiful church edifice, school houses, and homes for pastor and sisters." These are his monuments. Father Laurent was equally beloved and respected by Catholics and Protestants, and educators and professional people were his warm friends. Seldom, if ever, has the press of Muscatine paid such high tributes to one called hence. After a life of the highest usefulness in a foreign land, the good priest while visiting at his old home was called to his final rest. It was understood that he desired to return and end his days at Muscatine. As one of the earliest and foremost of the missionary priests who came to this region, he will occupy a prominent place in the history of the Catholic Church of Iowa.

JOHN FITCH KINNEY was born in New Haven, N. Y., April 2, 1816; he died at San Diego, California, Aug. 16, 1902. After receiving his school and college education he studied law, settling at Marysville, Ohio, where he was admitted to the bar in 1837. He practiced his profession at Mt. Vernon, Ohio, from 1839 to 1844, when he removed to Lee county, Iowa. He became secretary of the council of the seventh and eighth territorial legislatures, and also district attorney. On the admission of the State he was appointed associate judge of the supreme court dating from June 12, 1847, and reappointed Jan. 26, 1848. On the 8th of the following December he was elected to the same position by the general assembly for six years. In 1853 President Pierce appointed him chief justice of the supreme court of Utah. After serving until 1857 he removed to Nebraska, where he practiced law until 1860, when President Buchanan reappointed him chief justice of Utah, in which place he served until 1863, when he was elected delegate from that territory to the thirty-eighth congress without opposition. He served until 1865, and then removed to San Diego, Cal., where he spent the remainder of his days, though he held some appointments under the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. While in Iowa he earned proud distinction as an independent, learned and able jurist.

TYLER P. WALDEN was born in Adams county, Ohio, June 13, 1846; he died in Allerton, Wayne county, Iowa, Sept. 16, 1902. He came to Lee county, Iowa, when a child, with his family. In the sixties he removed to Wayne county, where he afterwards lived. He served as deputy county auditor for several years. In 1874 he organized and became cashier of the first bank ever established in Allerton. He was elected a member of the 29th general assembly, and was recognized as a useful member of that body.

JAMES C. ADAMS was born in Bourbon county, Ky., August 23, 1842; he died at Cresco, Iowa, Nov. 10, 1902. He began his apprenticeship at the printer's trade at the age of 12 in Clinton, Ill., and remained in newspaper work throughout his life. At the breaking out of the civil war he left college to enlist in Co. F, 41st Ill. volunteer infantry, serving through the war. In the years immediately following he engaged in newspaper work in Eureka, Ill., and in Columbus, Miss. At the latter place he had some thrilling experiences at the hands of the Kuklux. In 1871 he established *The Delta* at Avoca, Iowa. He was very actively in favor of prohibition, speaking and working for the cause constantly. His contest with the railroads because of their exorbitant rates of transportation resulted in a great saving to those in his vicinity. In 1883 he removed to Dakota. Here he supported the cause of the admission of the Dakotas as states. He was elected to the territorial senate and was a member of the constitutional convention. In 1893 he purchased *The Howard County Times*, at Cresco, where he afterwards resided. During forty years of active political and public life he was an unselfish worker for every good cause, without regard to personal interest or remuneration.

JOSEPH C. STONE was born in Westport, N. Y., July 30, 1829; he died suddenly at Burlington, Dec. 3, 1902. He came to Iowa territory in 1844 with his parents, who settled in Le Claire, Scott county, where some of his family yet live and where his father and grandfather died. The young man attended the medical department of the St. Louis University, where he graduated in 1854. When the Crimean war broke out he secured a commission in the Russian service and remained abroad for more than a year. He then engaged in the practice of his profession at Iowa City. He was appointed by Governor Grimes, Superintendent of Public Instruction in 1857, and served for a short time. At the breaking out of the war he enlisted as a private in the First Iowa Cavalry; subsequently he became captain, assistant adjutant general, major and lieutenant-colonel. He remained in the service until the end of the struggle. He then settled in Burlington, which city was his home the remainder of his life. In 1867 he was elected to the Forty-fifth Congress, but retired after but one term of service. He succeeded George W. McCrary and was succeeded by Moses A. McCoid. The deceased physician had long been looked upon as one of the leading surgeons in southeastern Iowa.

CALVIN P. HOLMES was born in Madison county, N. Y., in 1839; he died at Des Moines, Iowa, Dec. 23, 1902. When a small boy his parents removed to Ohio, where he was educated in the common schools. In 1854 he came with the family to Maquoketa, Iowa. After graduating from the Academy at that place, he studied law and was admitted to the bar at De Witt, Clinton county. He began practice at Anamosa. In 1868 he came to Des Moines and for four years filled the position of deputy under his brother, Hon. William H. Holmes, who had been elected State treasurer in 1862. Another brother, Rev. O. A. Holmes, was long prominent in the Baptist Church of Iowa, and one of the founders of Des Moines College. He afterwards resumed the practice of law in Des Moines. He served on the city council and at one time as city solicitor, and for many years was the counsel for what is now the Chicago Great Western Railroad. In 1890 he was elected district judge and for twelve years served in that capacity. His repeated elections give the highest evidence of the universal esteem in which he was held. In November, 1902, he was re-elected for a fourth term by a large vote.

DEBORAH ELLYSON was born at Damascus, Ohio, May 15, 1816; she died at Des Moines, Iowa, Oct. 3, 1902. In 1842 she was married to Jonathan

Wright Cattell. Four years later they removed to Springdale, Cedar county, Iowa. He was elected to the State Senate in 1856, and as State Auditor in 1858. He then removed to Des Moines, which became the permanent residence of the family. Mr. Cattell was a man of much note in public affairs. He held the office of Auditor of State six years, and was elected State Senator by Polk county in 1865, holding that position four years. He was noted for his intimate and comprehensive knowledge of State affairs, and was often mentioned as "a walking cyclopedia of Iowa information." He died in 1887. Mrs. Cattell was a leader in temperance reform and as such was widely known. She was one of the founders of the Equal Suffrage Society of Polk county. In whatever work she engaged she was always active and zealous. Her circle of friends was co-extensive with her acquaintance, and her death called forth expressions of the deepest sympathy and respect. Though living to good old age the deaths of both Mr. and Mrs. Cattell were due to accidents.

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ROBERT EMMETT CARPENTER was born in Harford, Pa., August 13, 1834; he died at Long Beach, Cal., November 6, 1902. He was a graduate of the Wyoming, Pennsylvania, Seminary. In 1852 he came to Iowa and engaged in business with his brother, Gov. C. C. Carpenter at Ft. Dodge. During the gold fever period he went west, remaining for some time in Colorado and later teaching school in Texas. When the war broke out he enlisted with an Iowa regiment and served a short time. He was for several years deputy county treasurer of Webster county, and also served as clerk of the board of supervisors. In 1880 he was appointed superintendent of the National Yellowstone Park, but after a short period it passed under military control. Mr. Carpenter then went to Watertown, S. D., where he edited *The Courier News* for six years. He was also receiver of the U. S. Land Office at that place. He afterwards made his home in Des Moines for some time, but some five years ago returned to Ft. Dodge. He was a fine speaker and prominent in political circles in both Iowa and South Dakota.

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BENJAMIN FRANKLIN SNOOK was born in McArthur county, Ohio, June 20, 1835; he died in Webster City, Iowa, Dec. 4, 1902. When a child his parents removed to Indiana and settled on a farm near Crawfordsville, where he grew to manhood. In 1855 he came with his parents to Iowa, locating in Mahaska county. With the exception of four years, he had since been a resident of this State. In early life he joined the Christian Church and became a minister in the denomination; somewhat later he united with the Seventh Day Adventists. But about thirty-five years ago he became a Universalist, and during his long ministry in this church he labored in many different towns, including Vinton, Cedar Rapids, Tipton, Cedar Falls, Bloomfield, Clarinda, Iowa Falls, Steamboat Rock, Storm Lake and Webster City. In 1880 he went abroad. After his return he spent much of his time lecturing on his travels in Palestine.

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WILLIAM K. BARKER was born in Thorntown, Indiana, Nov. 15, 1843; he died at Cresco, Iowa, Nov. 11, 1902. In 1857 he removed with his parents to Iowa, settling on a farm near the present town of Cresco. When the war broke out he enlisted in Co. B, Seventh Iowa Volunteer Infantry, and served throughout the war. He spent some years after the war teaching, farming and reading law. In 1877 he was admitted to the practice of the law. From 1887 to 1890 he served as county attorney of Howard county. He was elected a member of the 29th general assembly, and was considered one of the ablest members of the House. He served on several important committees and was a member of the joint commission appointed to edit the new code supplement.

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